

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Church and State
OF
SCOTLAND,

*Beginning the Tear of our Lord 203, and continued to the end of
the Reign of King JAMES the VI. of ever blessed Memory.*

In Seven Books.

Wherein are described,

The Progress of Christianity, The Persecutions and Interruptions of
it, The Foundation of Churches, The Erecting of Bishopricks,
The Building and Endowing Monasteries and other Religious
Places, The Succession of Bishops in their Sees, The Reformation
of Religion, And the frequent Disturbances of that Nation by
Wars, Conspiracies, Tumults, Schisms.

Together with great variety of other Matters, both
Ecclesiastical and Political.

WRITTEN

By that Grave and Reverend Prelate, and wise Counsellor, *J. SPOTSWOOD*,
Lord Archbishop of *S. Andrews*, and Privy Counsellor to King *CHARLES*
the *FIRST*, that most Religious and Blessed Prince and Martyr.

Res in exitu aestimantur, & cum abeunt ex oculis, hinc videntur.

**The Fourth Edition Corrected, whereunto is added
a Large Appendix.**

L O N D O N,

Printed for *R. Royston*, Book-seller to his Most Sacred Majesty,
MDC LXXVII.



*Aspice, non frustra Veneranda hæc pingitur Icon,
Vivit adhuc tanti quælibet umbra Viri.
Prisca nitet Vultu Pietas, Virtusq; Sepulchri
Nescia, in Effigie nescit et ipsa Mori.
Sic vno Intuitu Vultus, Morumq; Volumen
Perlegis, et Pictor transit in Historicum.*

IOANNES SPOTISWOODE ARCHIEPISCOPVS
S. ANDREANVS, TOTIVS SCOTIÆ PRIMAS ET ME-
TROPOLITANVS, EIVSDEMQUE REGNI CANCELLARIVS

THE
PUBLISHER
TO THE
READER.

THIS History being wrote in calm and quiet Times, and by a person whose temper and disposition was not unsuitable to them, had the ill hap to have an hideous Storm tread upon the heels of it; which, among other greater wrecks and Ruins, might very likely have buried this, never to have been raised up again: But Providence had so disposed of it, that a Copy of it lighting into more Ingenious and Noble hands, it was thought a sin by them to stifle and conceal it from the world, which now being in dotage, and infinitely in love with Change, may read here (if they do not feel it already) the sad Effects which an unruly and a misgovern'd Reformation, usher'd in by Tender Consciences, brings upon them.

Nor doth it come forth now to cast any Obloquy upon that Church or Nation, famous in former Times for so much Piety, that the devotion of the Natives under so cold a Clime (whether you consider the rich Endowments or magnificent Structures of Places dedicated to Gods Service) can hardly be match'd; but to shew rather the Variation of all Humane Things, and how easie it is to slide from something that might look like Superstition into the contrary Vices of Sacrilege and Profaneness; for which they have felt so remarkable a Scourge, that unless it be in the same Island (and all Circumstances considered, scarce in that) cannot the whole world and the Stories of it sute them with a Parallel.

But there is less to be said of this, because if the Times become patient of hearing Truth, you may possibly by the Industry of some good hand have the latter and more Fatal part of the Story: For though this Cloud in the North was at first no bigger than a Hand, and might have been grasp'd, and easily dispers'd by the Authority then in being (had it not miscarried in being too tender towards it) it hath since, for the sins of both Nations, rowl'd it self into a more universal Darknes, and pour'd down such a sweeping Rain upon us, as hath carried away all that is Sacred with it. And for us that live to see the Desolation on all hands, our only portion left us is to mourn in secret; for

To the Reader.

-----Nihil, præter plorare, relictum est.

And that you may know to how innocent and unbiassed a Person you owe this Story, do but impartially read it, and you shall find it woven with so even a thread, and so much of the spirit of Meekness in all the passages of it, that neither the Rage of the first Reformers, nor the Fury of them who in after-Times did second them, could tempt him to dispense so much with his own nature as to pass any bitter Reproof upon them, but leaves them upon the Stage with the bare Narrative of their Actions, and trusts the judgment of the Reader either to condemn or to acquit them.

What the Life of this Author was, hath been diligently and faithfully collected by a Reverend Person of that Nation, who out of the midst of the ruins of his Church hath gather'd out of the Rubbish of it the substance of these following particulars; that this world of ours, being now grown barren of such Examples, might at least have an excellent Copy set before them, which if they have not the will to imitate, yet let them use it as they do their Pictures, and commend the Hand, though they neglect his Vertues.

There is no more to say to thee but this, That if there be so much Devotion in thee as to melt thee into Prayers and Tears for the Sufferings of thine own Church, let there be so much Charity too as to bestow some of them on our Neighbour-Nation, from whom our ruine came, and which hath since so deeply smarted for it, that a discreet and a very considerable person among them hath so far in my hearing expressed his Penitence for it as to say, That it was true, that he with the rest of his Nation had buried Episcopacy and their Ancient Monarchy in one and the same Grave; but upon the sad consequences of it, they could be content to tear up the very earth of that Grave with their Teeth, so that they might raise up Both again.

And when this single Vote shall come to be the Vote of the whole Nation, God is where he was, and, without the attending the revolution of Plato's Great Year, can, when he pleaseth, and by what means he pleaseth, restore them to their former Happiness.

Non, si male Nunc, & Olim sic erit.

THE

THE AUTHORS LIFE,

Written by

*The Right Reverend Father in God, Bryan Late Lord
Bishop of Winchester.*

THough Buildings are looked upon with more pleasure when they are rear'd than in their Foundations, yet that this Reverend Prelate, raised in his own Country to the highest Honor that his condition was capable of, may not seem obscurely to have stole into the World, as a Mushrome of a night's growth, or as that Roman did of whom it is said in Tacitus, *Videtur Curtius Rufus è se natus*; it can no way be impertinent to mention that he was descended from the Lairds of *Spottiswood* in the *Merse*, an ancient race of Gentlemen, and the chief of that surname. His Grandfather died in the bed of Honor with his King, *James* the Fourth, in the battel of *Flodden* field: a Battel that might have been looked upon as most unfortunate to that Nation, had not their latter contests by the Sword proved infinitely more unhappy.

His Father was no Sword-man, but betook himself to the study of the Arts, passing his course of Philosophy in the College of *Glasgow*, with a purpose the better to enable himself for Theology, to which, by the guidance of Gods Spirit over him, he stood most affected. But matters of Religion being at that time in his Country like the eddies of waters, rowling and confused, (the old way questioned, and the new persecuted) none knowing in this turning tide which ways the Times would run, he withdrew himself into *England*, where bringing with him an unsettled mind, and doubtful what party he should incline to, Providence cast him upon a familiarity with Archbishop *Cranmer*, who soon confirm'd him in those Truths which afterward he never varied from. About the time of the death of King *James* the Fifth he returned into *Scotland*, where by occasion given by the Earl of *Glencarn*, (to whom he had applied himself) he became known to *Matthew* Earl of *Lennox*; who finding him a person judicious, and discreet, and fitted by these qualities for managing of business, employed him to *Henry* the Eighth of *England*, when *France* upon some jealousies was so unkind to him as to cast him off. Affairs upon this succeeding to the Earl of *Lennox* his mind, the Earl came into *England*, with whom some Months he there remained. But longing to see the
smoke

smoke of his own Country, he returned once more to enjoy himself among his friends; where being known to Sir *James Sandilands* of *Calder*, (a person of great authority in those times) he was moved by him to accept of the Parsonage of *Calder*; which upon the beginning of the Reformation was then void. Not long after this he was made Superintendent of *Lothian, Merse and Tewiot-dale*, where he exercised fully the power and discharged faithfully the Office of a Bishop, though under another style: for it was not the Office, but the Name, which the first Reformers out of humor startled at; though they who have succeeded them (for in Errors of this kind the last comers think they have done nothing unless they outbid the former) have since to their own ruine cast out both. He continued in this holy Function with the approbation of all good men till his death; when being full of days, and leaving the perfume of a good name behind him, he peaceably departed out of this life on the fifth of *December*, in the year 1585. His Wife was *Beatrix Crichton*, a grave and a discreet Matron, Daughter to the Laird of *Lugton*, an ancient Baron of *Scotland*. And from these Parents *John Spotiswood*, the Author of this History descended.

Born he was in the year of our Lord 1564, when he was no sooner brought into the World but a remarkable passage accompanied it: For among the rest that were present (not ordinary Gossipers, but Women of good note) there was one among them who in a sober, though in a prophetick fit, taking the child in her arms, called aloud to the rest in these or the like terms, *You may all very well rejoyce at the birth of this Child, for he will become the Prop and Pillar of this Church, and the main and chief instrument in the defending of it.* From what principle this prediction came, or how she was thus inspired, I will not search into; but that her words came really to pass may evidently appear to him that reads this short Story of his life.

His Education was answerable to his Birth. For, being a Child of a pregnant wit, great spirit and good memory, he was by the care of his Parents brought up in the University of *Glasgow*, where he came so early to perfection, that he received his Degrees in the sixteenth year of his age: for though the Fruits of the Earth under that Northern Clime do not mature so soon, the men generally are of a better mold, and mellow as early into a Ripeness as any of those Nations who, because they have more of the Sun, plead for a priority, forgetting that some kind of Grain is ripened best by Frosts. And this so many Excellent men of all sorts as have been of that Nation are so many examples of.

But to revert to this one amongst the rest, who having laid his foundation in humane Arts and Sciences, did not make his period there, but used them as the runcles of a ladder by which he might climb higher to the knowledge of Diviner things, to the practice of which

which by way of charge he was sooner called than he expected; for his father being by age and weakness of body unable to appear any more in publick, none was thought fitter to succeed in the Parsonage of *Calder* than his Son, though otherwise in a well-govern'd Church his age (being then but eighteen) might in an ordinary course have been a bar against him: but his early parts, and his conscientious diligence in attending this Cure, supplied his defect of years; and the Greenness of his youth was corrected and tempered by so sober a Gravity, as no man could either despise his youth, or think him unfit for the employment.

Nor were these Vertues of his buried and confined within the boundaries of his Parish; for having formerly had a relation to the Noble family of *Lennox*, he was looked upon as the fittest person of his quality to attend *Lodowick Duke of Lennox* as his Chaplain in that honourable Ambassy to *Henry the Fourth of France*, for confirming the ancient Amity between both the Nations: wherein he so discreetly carried himself, as added much to his reputation, and made it appear that men bred up in the shade of Learning might possibly endure the Sunshine, and when it came to their turns might carry themselves as handsomely abroad, as they whose education being in a more Pragmatick way usually undervalue them. In the retinue of this Noble Person he returned from *France* through *England*, where *Queen Elizabeth* being in her declining age was in his Masters name saluted by this Ambassador, who seeing her might draw on so fast, could the easier guess that his Masters rising in this Horizon was not then far off.

Some two years after this *Queen Elizabeth* (after the glorious Reign of forty four years) by her Death made way for King *James* her Successor; and when all the World stood at a gaze what would become of the Crown of *England*, (which the Jesuite under the name of *Dolman* had bandied over into *Spain*, and some of the contrary extreme were then in consultation (though upon different purposes) to make a game of it at home) there was a Diviner hand of providence which so unexpectedly ordered it, that without any contest at all it settled on the right Heir, to the admiration of the neighboring Nations, and (had we known our own good) to the infinite Happiness of this. The King, being to take possession of his Hereditary Crown here, chose out for his Attendants the most eminent persons of all kinds: and among his Clergy this Author (being then no farther advanced than to his Cure of *Calder*) was summoned to this service. That year *James Beaton* Archbishop of *Glasgow* dying, the King (who being of excellent Parts himself could the better discover and value them in others) not only preferred him to that See, but farther admitted him for his prudence and dexterity in Civil things to be one of his Privy Council in *Scotland*. And being graced with these Honors, he was sent back from *England* the same

same year to attend Queen *Anne* in her Journey to *London*, who knowing his integrity made him her Almoner for the better dispensing of her Charity, which could not confidently be credited but to clean hands and an uncorrupt heart, such as his really was.

An. 1610. Not long after this he presided in the Assembly at *Glasgow*, where the power of Bishops *ex Jure postliminii* was restored. The same year, upon the Kings command, he with the Bishops of *Brechin* and *Galloway* repaired to *London*, where he received the solemnities of Consecration from the Bishops of *London*, *Ely* and *Bath*, in the Chappel at *London-house*.

An. 1615. At his entry to the Archbishoprick of *Glasgow* he found the Revenues of it so dilapidate, that there was not one hundred pounds sterling of yearly Rent left, to tempt to a new Sacrilege: But such was his care and husbandry for his Successors, that he greatly improved it, and yet with so much content to his Diocese, that generally both the Nobility and Gentry and the whole City of *Glasgow* were as unwilling to part with him, as if he had been in the place of a Tutelar Angel to them. But part with him they must; for after eleven years presiding there, the See of *S. Andrews* being vacant, King *James* (who like another *Constantine* thought himself as highly concerned in providing Successors for Churches as Heirs for his Crown) removed him from *Glasgow* (being then about the age of forty nine years) to be the Primate and Metropolitan of all *Scotland*.

An. 1616. The next year after this he presided in the Assembly at *Aberdene*, where the Earl of *Montross* being the Kings Commissioner, the Excommunicated Marquess of *Huntley* was upon his Penitence received into the Bosome of the Church. And at the same Assembly there past an Act for the drawing up a Liturgy for the Church of *Scotland*, and some of the most learned and grave among the rest (*William Comper* Bishop of *Galloway* being designed the chief) were deputed to that Work, wherein the Service of God and the Peace of that Church was so deeply concern'd: Which I the more willingly mention, that the deceived party might know that the design of a Liturgy, which was afterward look'd upon as the dangerous *Trojan Horse* sent in by their suspected Neighbors, might have proved more properly such a *Palladium* to them as might have preserved them to this day, had they not only scornfully, but seditiously rejected it, and have therefore found the same fate as they of *Troy* did; of whom it was observed,

Peritura Troja perdidit primum Deos.

Being invested by the Kings favour in this Primacy, he made so much farther use of it, as he procured three hundred pounds sterling of yearly Rent (being by the Sacrilege of former times swallow'd up in the

the Crown-Revenue) to be restored to his See: Nor did he find any difficult business of it; for certainly these latter Ages have not produced in any Nation a Christian Prince that understood better than he the horror of Sacrilege and the Concernments of Religion, which never suffers more than when the Professors of it are exposed to Scorn and Poverty. For however this was the portion of the best and Primitive Times, when the Christian Faith had no publick Civil Authority to own it; yet after it had pleased God to make Kings the Nursing-Fathers, and Churches were endowed by pious men, their Revenues were ever held Sacred, till the Covetousness of some and the profaneness of others had consulted with that subtle Oracle, that delivers it *tanquam è Tripode* that there can be no such sin as Sacrilege; for as Nothing can be given to God, so Nothing can be taken from him.

All King *James* his time he lived in great favor with him, and was the prime Instrument used by him in several Assemblies, for the restoring the ancient Discipline, and bringing that Church to some degrees of Uniformity with her Sister-Church of *England*; which had we on both sides been worthy of, might have proved a Wall of Brass to both Nations. Nor was his Industry less for the recovery of some remnants and parcels of the Churches Patrimony, which (though they were but as a few Crums in comparison of that which at a full Meal Sacrilege had swallow'd) he found to be an hard Province; yet by his zeal and diligence he overcame many difficulties, and so little regarded his own ease, that for the effecting of this, and what else conduced to the recovery of that Church in Patrimony and Discipline, they who knew the passages of his life have computed that he made no less than fifty journeys from *Scotland* to *London*.

Nor was he less gracious with King *Charles* his Blessed Son, who was Crown'd by him in the Abbey Church of *Halirud-house* with such high applause and acclamations of that Nation, that it could not have been possibly imagined that such an *Hosanna* should ever be turned into a *Crucifige*; or that a Prince, so passionate a lover of his own native Country, should find such enemies in the bowels of it, as either to contrive or to assist his Ruine. But thus God had ordered it (as in the case of *Josiah*) rather as a punishment for our sins, than his, that leaving his earthly Crown (which to him really proved but a Crown of Thorns, whatever it may prove to others) to the bold Hand that would next venture to take it up, he might be put in possession of a more glorious Diadem, and sit Crowned there, where (if the joys of Heaven admit of such a diversion) he looks down upon things below and all that happens here with so much unconcernment, as what was said of the brave *Roman* may in a Christian sense be more suitable to him,

The Authors Life.

-----Illic, postquam se Lumine vero
Implevit, Stellasque vagas miratur, & Astra
Fixa Polis, vidit quanta sub nocte jaceret
Nostra dies, ridetque sui ludibria trunci.

But to return to this pious man, (who was so happy as to have his eyes closed before the Crown which he so solemnly set upon his Masters Head was to the astonishment of the World snatched from him) there must be added to this Story, That as he enriched his See of *Glasgow*, so he did the like for *S. Andrews*, procuring the Revenues of the Priory (being then in Lay hands) to be added to his Church. But having compassed this, to shew that it was done rather for the Churches Interest than his own, he dealt by way of humble Petition with the King, that of his large Diocese of *S. Andrews* so much as was of the Southside of the River of *Forth* might be dismembred, for the erecting of a new Bishoprick: which accordingly was done, and being amply endowed was seated in their prime City of *Edinburgh*.

An. 1635.

Two years after this the Earl of *Kinnoul* being Chancellor dying (a person of singular Prudence and Integrity) his Majesty knew not where to fill the place with a Successor with whom he might more securely trust his Conscience than with this aged Prelate, near to God by his Function, and by his age (being then arrived to *David's* great Climacterick) so near to his end, as might well put him in remembrance that the account which he was to give of his Stewardship could not be far off. And this Honor he enjoyed to his death with the approbation of all, only such excepted whose evil eye at the Clergy and their own particular Ambition wrapt into such a fancy, as made them think every Honor to be misplac'd that was not settled on their own shoulders.

He had not fully measured out four years in the discharge of the duties of this place which did not so entangle him but that the danger of the Church, which then was drawing on, filled him full of thoughts which way he might divert it) when that unhappy design which had been so long hatching under the wings and warmth of a male-content and seditious party begun to be ready to fly abroad. And what could be called for as a fitter Midwife to this birth, than something that at least might look like Religion? For the Rule was given long ago, before ever *Machiavel* liv'd to vent it, and is likely to hold to the end of the World,

-----Quoties vis fallere Plebem,
Finge Deum.

And from hence rose that Storm which with so much violence fell on this Reverend good man, that he was forced by it for safety of his life to retire

The Authors Life.

retire into *England*, where age and grief, with a sad Soul in a crazy *An. 1639* body, had so disordered him, that he was driven to take harbor in *Newcastle*, till by some rest and the care of his Physicians he had recovered so much strength as brought him to *London*. But this proved but a short reprieve, for being come thither he fell into a relapse, and the sentence of death being to be executed on him, he took his bed some nine days before, waiting for that blessed hour, when being freed from any farther heart-breakings for those Evils he could not prevent, he might be admitted into his Masters joys, where future Calamities could not reach him.

In this time of his Sickness and preparation for his end he was visited by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and some other Bishops, with whom, with great devotion, he received that blessed *Viaticum*, the Bread that came from Heaven, in the strength of which he was to pass unto Eternity.

After which, though his desire was rather to compose himself for privacy and silence than to admit of any company, he could not prevent the Visits of many honorable Persons. Among whom the Visit of the Marquess *Hamilton* (being looked upon by the eye of the World as disaffected to the whole Order) deserves more particularly to be remembred; and the circumstances of it you shall have in those terms as they are related.

The Marquess coming near to his bed-side was pleased to say, My Lord, I am come to kiss your Lordships hands, and humbly to ask your blessing. To which the Archbishop with a soft voice answered, My Lord, you shall have my blessing, but give me leave to speak these few words to you: My Lord, I visibly foresee that the Church and King are both in danger to be lost, and I am verily persuaded that there is none under God so able to prevent it as your Lordship; and therefore I speak to you as a dying Prelate in the words of *Mordecai* to *Esther*, *If you do it not, Salvation in the end shall come where else, but you and your house shall perish*. To whom the Marquess made this worthy reply, That what he foresaw was his grief, and he wished from his heart he were able to do that which was expected from him, though it were to be done with the sacrificing of his Life and Fortunes. After which upon his knees he received the Archbishops Blessing and departed. I shall make no Commentary upon it, for the best interpreters of words are actions.

As he lived, so he died in peace, with a stillness so much more than ordinary, that they who were about him could not by any outward agony perceive when that peaceable Soul of his departed. But before the last minute (sad to his friends, but to him infinitely joyful) had closed up those eyes which had so long been watchful for the Church he govern'd, his Intellectuals and best Faculties being clear and undisturbed, and desiring to leave the world a copy of the Faith he died in,

he premised it to his last Will and Testament in this form following.

First, for that I esteem it the duty of every Christian (especially of those whose service it hath pleased God to make use of in his Church, to make some open declaration of his Faith wherein he lives and dies, I profess that I believe all the Articles of the ancient Christian Creed, commonly called The Apostles Creed; the sum whereof is, That God is One in Three Persons; the Father, Creator of all things; the Son, made Man in fulness of time, who by his Passion and Death having redeemed Mankind, rose from death, and ascended to heaven, from whence he will come to judge all flesh; and the Holy Ghost, proceeding from the Father and the Son, the Sanctifier of all that believe; That this God hath chosen to himself a Church, the Members whereof living in Communion, though never so dispersed, shall by his infinite mercy receive remission of all their sins, and being raised again in their Bodies at the last day shall enjoy everlasting life.

This is the sum of my Faith: Other Additaments, which Ignorance and Corruption have superinduced into Christianity, I simply refuse, beseeching God to purge his Church from the Errors and Superstition that hath crept into the same, and at last to make us all that are called Christians the Sheep of one Fold.

For matters of Rites and Government, my judgment is, and hath been, That the most simple, decent and humble Rites should be chosen, such as the Bowing of the knee in the receiving of the holy Sacrament, with others of the like kind; Profaneness being as dangerous to Religion as Superstition. As touching the Government of the Church, I am verily perswaded that the Government Episcopall is the only Right and Apostolick Form; Parity among Ministers being the breeder of all Confusion, as experience might have taught us. And for those Ruling Elders, as they are a mere humane Device, so they will prove (when the way is more open to them) the Ruine of both Church and State.

In the simplicity of this Faith he lived, and in this he died, like one of the Bishops of those Primitive Times, when the modern names of Faction were not known; and whosoever agreed to these Fundamentals, the Church was not so nice a Mother as to cast them out. And though in the passages of this Life enough hath been said already to give you the Character of this Excellent person: Yet because Pictures drawn at length, where nothing of the figure or proportion is left out, are the most graceful Pieces, I shall so far enlarge it for the Readers sake, as may with more advantage induce him to copy it out into his own life and manners.

And for this, though the voice of publick fame be loud enough to give directions, yet I shall rather owe them to those persons of integrity who in his Life-time being admitted to be nearer witnesses of his Conversation than others, may with more security be hearkned to. For

Flattery

Flattery follows no man farther than his grave, and it were well if Malice went no farther.

And this he had the less reason to fear, because in his Life he had set so severe a watch upon himself, that his Conversation was without reproof, even in those times when the good name of every Clergy-man was set at a rate, as formerly were the heads of Wolves. Only one hath been found (that ever I heard of) who thought he could not sufficiently vindicate his *Diana*, the new model'd Church of Scotland, (which under the notion of the *Kingdom of Christ* were then busied to set up a Kingdom of their own) unless he raked into the grave of this innocent person, and violated his dust, whom in his Life-time he could not look upon without reverence. Nor shall I do him the honor to name him, much less to answer him, but rather leave him to the Tribunal of his own Conscience, where, if the Court be not infinitely corrupted, he stands condemned already. And this I forbear the rather, that writing his Life I might in this particular imitate the Life I write of, which had so much of Moderation and calmness in it, that though he had many encounters with those *φύσεις δεσπαιζόμεναι*, (such as Bishop Nazianzen complains of) yet he never dealt with them at their own weapons, but borrowed his from the Armory of his Saviour, from whence he was furnished with Humility enough to oppose their Pride, and Meekness enough to answer their Choler.

As for his Patience in suffering, which is a neighbor Vertue to the former, he is a rare example; for living in those Tumultuous and undistinguishing times, when Rapine and Malice was called Zeal, and Sedition wore the colours of Religion, and being thereupon driven both from his native Country and from the Honors and Preferments which he enjoyed, he was never so much as heard to complain of his enemies, but upon his death-bed made it his solemn Prayer to God, that he in his own particular might be forgiven upon no other terms than as he for Christs sake forgave them.

For Piety he was more for substance than for shew, more for the Power of Godliness than the bare Form of it. Frequent he was in his private Prayers, and in the publick Worship of God of such an exemplary carriage, as might warm the coldest Congregation to gather heat, and to joyn with him in the same fervency and height of his Devotion.

For Preaching he was rightly gifted, though not in the modern sense, where Ignorance and Impudence, without any farther Commission, make up the Preacher. For his constant way was to deliver much matter in few words; not affecting or looking for applause from them, who doat upon the best Lungs and the longest Preacher, but considering seriously whose Message he brought, he discharged it with so much judgement, and yet with such simplicity of spirit, as might sooner get Souls for God than praise from men.

For outward works of Charity, he looked upon them as the proper Badge of his Heavenly Master, and could no more esteem him a Christian who boasted of his Faith without them, than he could believe a Thorn or Bramble to be a Fig-tree. And in his own particular he acted in this way to the utmost of his means; for besides the dispensing of his private Charity, where the right hand was not to know what the left hand did, he publickly upon his own charges built and adorn'd the Church of *Darfy* after the decent *English* form; which if the boisterous hand of a mad Reformation had not disordered, is at this time one of the beautifullest little pieces of Church-work that is left to that now-unhappy Country. Nor is to be buried in silence what he did in a time of Famine for the relief of the Isles of *Orkney*, when he did not only incite others to a liberal Contribution, but led the way to them by his own example, in such a proportion as suited rather with the largeness of his mind than of his fortunes.

There remain but two things more to be accounted for, The Children of his Body, and the Issue of his Brain. The former were numerous, but of these three only came to perfect age, whom he had by *Rachel Lindesay* daughter to *David Lindesay* Bishop of *Rosse*, of the House of *Edzell*, an Honorable Family in *Scotland*. His eldest Son Sir *John Spotswood* lives yet, though not in a plentiful, yet in a contented condition, not any way cast down, or alham'd of his Sufferings, but comforting himself rather, that in this general Ruine brought upon his Country he hath kept his Conscience free, though his Estate hath suffered.

His second Son was Sir *Robert Spotswood*, a great ornament to his Nation for his many and rare Abilities, who, after he had studied nine years abroad, was for his great wisdom and knowledge in the Laws preferred first by King *James* to be Lord of the Session extraordinary, and afterward by King *Charles* not only to be the constant President thereof, but to be his chief Secretary for that Nation. And although he suffered a violent death upon the Scaffold at *S. Andrews*, yet seeing he was found guilty of no Crime but that of Loyalty and Fidelity to his Master, which in no Records of Law nor in any Age but this (*ubi ipsa rerum nomina perdidimus*) was ever reckoned among Treasons, let his Memory be had in honor, as of a Martyr that suffered for Righteousness sake: for which he had so great a zeal, that upon that very Scaffold where he was to suffer he shew'd such a Religious and honest Boldness towards his Countrymen, as to call to as many of them as curiosity had brought thither to see his end, That they should keep fast their Duties to their God and to their King, and beware of those Seditious Ministers into whose mouthes, as into the Prophets of *Ahab*, the Lying spirit had entered, both to seduce them, and to ruine that noble Nation.

The third left of his Progeny was a Daughter, who being vertuously and

and religiously bred, was happily married to Sir *William Saint-clare* of *Rosline*, one of the ancient Barons in *Scotland*.

As for any Works that he left behind him (besides the memory of his Life, which might have made the greatest Volume) I hear of none extant but this excellent History: For though he were a person both of great Place and Parts, he was not easily tempted to trouble the Press and to shew himself abroad. Nor was this History undertaken by him by any free motion of his own, but by the instance and command of King *James*, whose discerning spirit had singled out him as a person best qualified for an Historian, with Prudence and Candor, and clearness of Style, and so much innocent courage, as neither to fear to speak the Truth, nor to dare to speak a Lie. And though his obedience to the Commands of his Sovereign had a very powerful influence upon him; yet being to deal with a King who made not his Will his Law, but, being a great Master of Reason, was as ready to hear as to give it, he took the liberty in an humble way to propound several Objections, one of which more especially deserves to be remembred, not only for the Historians sake, but for his that set him on work: and it was thus; *It is not unknown to your Majesty* (saith the Bishop, being willing enough to find an handsome excuse) *that your Majesties Mother being defamed by the bold writings of a malicious party and the credulity of easie people (who, to avoid the trouble of searching into them, use to swallow such Reports as these without chewing) hath not left a clear Name behind her: And as in mine own particular judgement I cannot joyu with them in those Scandals which they have with so malicious a falsehood cast upon her, so your Majesty must give me leave to say, that in all things she did I cannot approve her: And being of necessity to speak of her in the Series of this History, what to do therein I know not.* To whom the King replied, *Speak the Truth, man, and spare not.*

And upon this encouragement from so Excellent a King (which few of the Rulers of this present world dare give to their Historians) he cheerfully set about this Work, and laying aside all Partialities, that he might more faithfully go through with it, he had not only the use of all the Registers both of Church and State in *Scotland*, but of all Letters of State that could any way concern the work he was about, which either were sent to him to be survey'd by his own eyes, or transcribed by sworn Officers, and attested by the Clerks hands. With this caution and with these advantages he undertook, continued and finished this History, as the Intervals of publick business and his own private Studies and Devotions would give him leave. And the Work being of that nature as not to be *Res Ingenii* and to be woven out of his own Brain, but such as required search and deliberation, and such helps as were not always ready at command, but were to be waited for, let not the Reader wonder that this History, begun by King *James* command, should not come into the

The Authors Life.

world till both King *James* was in his grave, and the Writer too ; but let him rather wonder that it comes out now : for it was left like an Infant of the *Israelites* in an Ark of Reeds, and, if Providence had not found out very tender hands and heart to save it, it had been lost. And now it is time to bring this Reverend Prelate to his Grave, though his good Name and Story may be longer-lived. The manner of his Burial by the command and care of his Religious King was solemnly ordered ; for the Corps being attended by many Mourners, and at least 800 Torches, and being brought near the Abbey-Church of *Westminster*, the whole Nobility of *England* and *Scotland* (then present at Court) with all the Kings servants and many Gentlemen came out of their Coaches, and conveyed the body to the West-door, where it was met by the Dean and Prebendaries of that Church in their Clerical habits, and buried according to the solemn Rites of the *English* Church, before the extermination of decent Christian Burial was come in fashion.

Above his Corps these words following are engraven in Brass.

MEMORIÆ SACRUM.
DOMINUS JOANNES SPOTISWOOD, ECCLESIAE SANCTI
ANDREAE ARCHIEPISCOPUS, SCOTIAE PRIMAS
ET REGNI CANCELLARIUS,

VIGINTI ANNOS PRESBYTER,
UNDECIM ANNOS ARCHIEPISCOPUS GLASGOENSIS,
VIGINTI QUINQUE ANNOS SANDREAE,
ET PER
QUATUOR ANNOS REGNI SCOTIAE CANCELLARIUS,
EX HAC VITA IN PACE MIGRAVIT
ANNO DOMINI 1639.
SEXTO CALENDAS DECEMBRIS,
REGNI CAROLI 15.
ÆTATIS SUE 74.

*Præful, Senator, pene Martyr hic jacet,
Quo nemo Sanctior, Gravior, Constantior
Pro Ecclesia, pro Rege, pro Recta Fide,
Contra Sacrilegos, Perduelles, Perfidos,
Stetit ad extremum usque Vitæ Spiritum,
Solumque talium Meritorum Præmium
Diras Rapinas Exiliumque pertulit.
Sed hac in Urna, in Ore Posterum, in Deo
Victor potitur Pace, Fama, Gloria.*

M. D.



G. Faithorne Excudit.

*Carolus Primus D.G. Angliae
Scotiae Franciae et Hiberniae Rex. &c.*

To the KING His Most Sacred Majesty,

CHARLES,

By the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, France
and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.

MOST DREAD SOVEREIGN,

THERE is not amongst men a greater help for the attaining unto wisdom, than is the reading of History. We call Experience a good Mistress, and so she is; but, as it is in our Scottish Proverb, It seldom quits the cost: History not so; it teacheth us at other mens costs, and carrieth this advantage more, that in a few hours reading, a man may gather more Instructions out of the same, than twenty men living successively one after another, can possibly learn by their own Experience. Therefore hath History by all wise men been ever held in good estimation; and none thought to deserve better of the Church and State wherein they lived, than they that have taken the pains to record unto Posterity the things fallen forth in their days: For there is no new thing under the Sun; what hath been, or is, the same also shall be, saith the Preacher.

To know the success and event of every course, there needs only the knowledge of things past, and sit comparing of them with the present. Now this knowledge is chiefly got by History; the want whereof hath bred in our Church many strange mistakings. For did men understand how things went at our Reformation and since that time, they would never have been moved to think that Episcopacy was against the Constitutions of this Church; one of the first things done in it being the placing of Superintendents with Episcopal Power in the same, and no act so often iterated in the General Assemblies of the Church, as that Ministers should be obedient to their Superintendents under pain of Deprivation. Then for the Consistorial Discipline brought from Geneva some sixteen years after the Reformation; did men know the Troubles raised thereby both in the Church and State, with the necessity that Your Majesties Father of blessed Memory was put to for Reforming that confused Government, they would never magnify nor cry it up as they do. To remedy this want, and let all that desire to be truly informed of things fallen out in our times, I took the pains to collect this History, which I do now humbly present unto Your Sacred Majesty. If the same shall be graciously accepted, as I cannot but presume upon Your accustomed humanity to all, I have that I desire: for with me it is a small thing to be judged of others; God knoweth I have followed the Truth, and studied to observe the Laws of History.

The Collection permitted in the two First Books, concerning the Planting and Progress of Christian Religion in this Kingdom, with the worthy Instruments that God raised to propagate the true Faith both here and in the neighbouring Countries contained no great matters: as of those first Ages whereof we have few or no Records remaining, how should any great things be truly affirmed? Yet the little I have found and brought together may let us see the exceeding goodness

The Author to the King.

goodness of God toward this Nation, having so soon after the Ascension of our Saviour unto the Heavens made the Gospel here to be Preached, and a Church thereby gathered, which to this day hath found a safe harbour under Your Majesties Royal Progenitors. Fourteen hundred years and above we reckon since King Donald the First of that name his embracing the Christian Faith: All which time there hath not been wanting in the Royal Stock a wise kind Nourishing Father to this Church: or if a careless and dissolute King (which in so long a Succession of Princes is not to be wondered) happened to reign, the same was ever abundantly repaired by one or other of the Kings that followed; neither did this bring them less happiness than honor: For give me leave, Sir, to speak it, which I hold not unworthy of Your Majesties consideration, the Scottish Kingdom, once the least of nine Kingdoms that ruled in the Isle, by the wonderful providence of God is now increased, first in the Person of Your Majesties blessed Father, and now in your own, as the Scepter of the whole is put into Your Majesties hands; which that You may long happily sway and your Posterity after you to the worlds end, is the hearty wish of all loyal Subjects. For my part, (next to God his undeserved love) I do ascribe this happiness to the Piety and Devotion of your Princely Ancestors, and to their zeal in maintaining the Rights and Liberties of this Church. Your Majesty keeping the same course (which, blessed be God, you hold,) You may be confident of God his protection against all dangers whatsoever; for He will honor them that honor Him, and never turn away his Face from his Anointed.

God Almighty I beseech to multiply his Blessings upon Your Majesty and Your Royal Progeny, to give You the desire of Your Heart, and clothe all your Enemies with shame.

So he prayeth that is

From the place of
my Peregrination
15 Nov. 1639.

Your Sacred Majesties

Most humble Subject

and Servant,

S. Andrews.

CHARLES R.

Charles the Second, by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all Our Loving Subjects to whom these presents shall come, Greeting. Whereas Our Welbeloved Subject and Servant Richard Royston, Our Bookseller in Ordinary, hath by his humble Petition informed Us, That he hath acquired, and is become the Lawful and Sole Owner and Proprietor of a certain Work compiled by the late Most Reverend Father in God John Spotswood Archbishop of S. Andrews in Our Realm of Scotland, and of the Privy Council of Our late Royal Father of blessed memory, Entitled, *The History of the Church of Scotland beginning the Year of Our Lord 203, and continued to the end of the Reign of King James the Sixth.* Which he the said Richard Royston is now about to set out in a fair Volume in Folio being the Fourth Edition. And having therefore humbly besought Us, that as well in regard the said Copy is his sole Propriety, as that the Charge he shall be at in Publishing the same will be very great, We would be pleased, for the better preventing the Reprinting the said Work by any others to grant him Our Royal Privilege for the sole Printing thereof for Fourteen Years; Out of Our Princely inclination to encourage undertakings of publick use and benefit, and being also willing to gratify Our said servant, of whose Loyalty and good Service We retain a gracious sense; We have thought fit, and do hereby grant Our Royal Licence and Privilege unto the said Richard Royston, his Heirs, Executors, Administrators and Assigns for the sole Printing and Publishing the aforesaid History for the term of Fourteen Years from the date hereof; And We do by these Presents require and command, That during the said term of Fourteen Years, no Printer, Bookseller or other Our Subjects do presume to imprint or cause to be imprinted without the knowledge and consent of him the said Richard Royston, his Heirs, Executors, Administrators or Assigns, the foresaid Book in whole or in part, or to sell the same so imprinted, or to import into Our Kingdoms any Copys thereof imprinted in parts beyond the Seas, upon pain of the loss and forfeiture of all Copies so imprinted, sold or imported contrary to the tenour of this Our Royal Licence, and of being further proceeded against, as the Laws and Statutes of this Our Realm do direct.

Given at Our Court at White-Hall, the Ninth day of April 1677. in the Nine and Twentieth Year of Our Reign.

By His Majesties Command,

H. Coventry.

The Contents of the several Books.

Book I.

Containeth the Planting and Progreſs of Chriſtian Religion in this Kingdom, unto the Subverſion of the Picts, which fell out about the year of our Lord 840. fol. 1.

Book II.

Containeth the Succeſſion of Biſhops in the ſeveral Sees of this Kingdom, eſpecially in the See of S. Andrews, with other principal things that happened in their times. fol. 25.

Book III.

Sheweth the History of the Reformation of the Church, and how it was wrought. fol. 117.

Book IV.

Sheweth the things that fell out after Queen MARY her coming from France into this Kingdom, unto her Reſignation of the Crown to King JAMES her Son. fol. 176.

Book V.

Declareth how matters paſſed in the State and Church during the Government of the Four Regents, his Maſteſty being yet Minor. fol. 213.

Book VI.

Containeth the things that happened after his Maſteſties aſſuming of the Government in his own perſon, unto his happy Succeſſion to the Crown of England. fol. 282.

Book VII.

Rehearfeth the Proceedings after his Maſteſties going into England, unto his Dying. fol. 473.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

The Firſt BOOK.

The Contents.

The Planting and Progreſs of Chriſtian Religion in this Kingdom, unto the Subverſion of the PICTS, which fell out about the year of our Lord 480.



Aving purpoſed to write the History of this Church, I have thought meet to begin at the time in which this Kingdom did firſt receive the Chriſtian Faith; for albeit we have few or no Records left us of thoſe firſt Times; yet as much is to be found in Stories as will ſhew what was the condition of this Church in every Age: and herewith we muſt content our ſelves, till we come to the times that yield greater plenty of matter. When I ſhall come to our own Time, I purpoſe to ſet down at length the things that have happened both in the Church and State, together with the Counſels and Cauſe of thoſe Events, without the which the History ſhould be of little uſe; for, take away from Story the Cauſes whereupon, the Manner how, and the Purpoſe wherefore things were done, that which remaineth is more like a Fable than an History, delighting the Reader, it may be, for the preſent, but giving little or no Inſtruction at all. I am not ignorant how unſafe it is to write of matters ſo recent, and what offence it may give to divers perſons; but the deſire I have to give poſterity a true information of things, and to have them made wiſe by our Errors, weigheth down with me all ſuch fears: wherefore, without further prefacing, to begin.

B

I N

An. 203.

Scotland converted to the Faith of Christ, Anno 203. Boeth. li. 6. Buch. li. 4. Lest. l. 3.

IN the year of our Lord 203 (which was the fourth of *Donald* the First his Reign) the Faith of Christ was in the Kingdom first publicly embraced; King *Donald* with his Queen and divers of his Nobles being then solemnly baptized. Yet was not that the first time wherein Christ was here made known: for *Tertulian*, who lived some years before, speaking of the propagation of the Gospel throughout the World, doth reckon among the Countries, the parts of *Britannia* unto which the *Romans* could not find access; and what these parts were we cannot doubt, all the In-land of *Britannia* being then made subject to the *Romans*, and no part free but that little corner of the Isle which the *Scots* did inhabit. Moreover, it cannot in reason be thought that the Conversion of this Kingdom was all wrought at one instant, great Alterations, such as that must needs have been, not being made but by little and little; so as we may well think that numbers of people have been won to the Christian profession before the same was publicly embraced by the King and the Nobles.

The Planters of Christianity in this Kingdom.

Reasons why Pope *Viſtor* could not be the worker of our Conversion.

But who they were that God used as Instruments in that work is not certainly known. *Nicephorus* writeth that *Simon Zelotes* (after he had travelled through *Egypt*, *Cyrene*, *Africk*, *Mauritania* and *Libya*) came at last *ad occidentalem Oceanum insulasque Britannicas*, and there preached the Gospel: *Dorotheus* addeth that he was crucified in these parts. There be Authors likewise of no small credit who write that *St. Paul* the Apostle, after his Imprisonment at *Rome*, did visit this Isle, and preach the Gospel in the utmost parts thereof.

The opinion most commonly received is, That Pope *Viſtor*, upon the intreaty of King *Donald*, did send hither some Preachers, and that these were the men that wrought our Conversion: but this cannot hold, for divers reasons. As first, If the King did move the Pope in any such business, it must needs have been upon some knowledge and liking he had of the Christian profession; and if so, the Preachers that he sent hither could not be the first that taught us the Faith of Christ. Again, The estate of the time maketh this opinion improbable; for the year in which the King is said to have sent that Legation to *Rome*, was the very last of Pope *Viſtor*, (for he suffered Martyrdom in the year 203) and hardly we can think that in the heat of Persecution, which then did rage in all the *Roman* Provinces, the King would have employed any in such a message. Thirdly, If our Conversion had been wrought by Pope *Viſtor*, how came it that our Church was not fashioned to the *Roman* in outward Rites, especially in the observance of *Easter*, whereof *Viſtor* was so zealous, as he excommunicated all the Churches of the East for their Disconformity with the *Roman* in that point? And it is clear that for the space of many Ages our Church did keep a Form different from the *Roman*, and with much ado was brought to accept their Customs and Rites. Last of all, The learned Cardinal *Baronius*, although he will have our Conversion to be made by some one of the *Roman* Bishops, esteemeth this which is said of *Viſtor* no better than a Fable; for *how is it*, says he, *that neither Beda, nor Marianus, nor St. Hierom have made any mention of it?* In all likelihood, if any such thing had been, some one or other of them would have remembered the same. Leaving therefore this conceit, and not deeming these other opinions very warrantable, if place may be given to conjecture, I verily think that under *Domitian's* Persecution, when the Apostle *S. John* was relegated to *Pathmos*, some of his Disciples have taken their refuge hither, and been the first Preachers of the Gospel in this Kingdom. And this I am induced the rather to believe, because in that hot contention moved about *Easter*, some two hundred years after, I find our Church did still retain the custom of the Oriental, and maintain their practice by the authority of *St. John*, from whom they pleaded to have received the Faith. But whatsoever be in this, sure not long after the Ascension of our Lord, at least whilst the Apostle *Saint John* yet lived, the Faith of Christ was known and embraced in divers places of this Kingdom; so as we may truly glory in this, that we were *inter Primitias*, as *Origen* speaketh, among the First-fruits of the Gentiles

tiles gathered unto Christ. This made that venerable Abbot *Petrus Cluniacensis* call the Scots *antiquiores Christianos*, of greater Antiquity than many others.

But to return to King *Donald*: It was in his purpose to have rooted out Paganism, and planted the Christian Faith every where in his Kingdom; but whilst he was about to do it, the Emperour *Severus* put him to other business; he thinking to take in the whole Isle, and joyn the same to the *Roman* Empire, entered into *Britan* with a mighty Army than had ever here been seen, and leaving his Son *Geta* in the South, went himself in expedition to the North parts, making no stay (though he was gouty and compelled to travel in a Litter) till he was come to the utmost ends of the Isle. The *Scots* in the mean time keeping the Marishes and Mountains, though they durst not encounter the *Roman* forces because of their numbers, yet did annoy them much, taking them at advantages: which *Severus* perceiving, and that there were no means utterly to subdue them, as he had first intended, he made offer of Peace, if so they would quit what they possessed betwixt the Wall of *Adrian* and the River of *Forth*. The condition, though hard and unreasonable, was yielded unto by the *Scots*, who desired to be freed of so mighty an Enemy: and he, to exclude them from the rest of *Britan*, did raise a wall of stone betwixt the Rivers of *Forth* and *Cluyd*, two and thirty miles long, fortifying the same with Bulwarks and Watch-towers in many places. Nor was it long after this Peace obtained that King *Donald* departed this life; whereupon the Christian Religion for many years was little or nothing promoted.

For *Ethodius* that succeeded was a Prince of no government, and the Kings that came after him, all, unto *Cratiliath*, either wickedly inclined, or intangled with wars and troubles; but *Cratiliath* coming unto the Crown in the year 277, made it one of his first works to purge the Kingdom of heathenish Superstition, and expulse the *Druides*, a sort of Priests held in those daies in great reputation. Their manner was to celebrate Sacrifices and perform their other Rites in Groves, with leaves and branches of Oak: and thence, saith *Pliny*, they were called *Druides*; for *δρῦς* in the Greek language doth signifie an Oak. *Cesar* in his Commentaries doth farther write, that besides the managing of Sacrifices which were committed to them, they were trusted with the decision of controversies private and publick, and that such as would not stand to their judgment were interdicted from being present at their Sacrifices and holy Rites; which was taken for a grievous punishment. It is likewise testified of them, that they were well learned in all natural Philosophy, men of moral conversation, and for Religion not so grossly ignorant and superstitious as other heathenish Priests: for they taught, "That there was one only God, and that it was not lawful to present him in an Image; That the Souls of men did not perish with the Bodies, and that after death men were rewarded according to the life they led on earth. Some also have written that they did prophesie of the conception of a Virgin, and of the birth of him who should be the Saviour of the world. But that such Mysteries were revealed unto them, and so plainly as the Prophets of God in the Old Testament had scarce the like, is not credible. They lived likewise in great respect with all sorts of people, and ruled their affairs very politically; for being governed by a President, who kept his residence in the Isle of *Man*, (which then was under the dominion of the *Scots*) they did once every year meet in that place to take counsel together for the ordering of affairs, and carried matters with such discretion, that *Cratiliath* found it difficult enough to expulse them, because of the favour they had among the people.

But that which furthered not a little the propagation of the Gospel in these parts was the persecution raised by *Diocletian*, which at that time was hot in the South parts of *Britan*. This brought many Christians, both Preachers and Professors, into this Kingdom, who were all kindly received by *Cratiliath*, and had the Isle of *Man* given them for their remaining, and revenues sufficient assigned for their maintenance. In this Isle King *Cratiliath* erected a stately Church to the honour of our Saviour, which he adorned with all necessary Ornaments, and called *Sodorense Fanum*, that is, the Temple of our Saviour; hence it is, that the Bishops of the isles are styled *Sodorense Episcopi*. For so long as that Isle remained in the possession

An. 277.

Baron. l. 4. Severus his expedition into Britan.

An. 277.

King *Cratiliath* expulses the *Druides*.

A short description of the *Druides*.

Diocletian his Persecution.

Sodorense Fanum. Boeth. l. 6.

An. 360.

Amphibalus
the first Bi-
shop of Man.Culdees, why
so called.
Boeth. li. 6.Bishops in
Scotland at
the first plan-
ting of the
Faith.
Boeth. *ibidem*.

An. 360.

Maximus the
Roman Pre-
fect practiseth
with the Picts
against the
Scots.
Boeth. l. 6.
Buchan. l. 5.The Scots exi-
led.
Buchan. l. 5.

session of the *Scots*, the Bishops of the Isles made that Church their Cathedral. After their dispossession, the Isle *Jona*, commonly called *Icolmkil*, hath been the Seat of the Bishops, and continueth so until this day.

In this Isle *Amphibalus* late first Bishop, a *Britan* born, and a man of excellent Piety: he lived long, preaching carefully the Doctrine of Christ both amongst the *Scots* and the *Picts*, and after many labours taken for promoting Christian Religion died peaceably in the same Isle. Our Stories report that at the same time there lived in this Kingdom divers zealous and notable Preachers, of which number they name these six, *Modocus*, *Prifcus*, *Calanus*, *Ferranus*, *Ambianus*, and *Carnocus*, that seem to have been men of principal note; and of them all generally it is witnessed, that, living solitary, they were in such a reputation for their Holiness of life, as the Cells wherein they lived were after their deaths turned into Temples or Churches. And of this it came that all the Churches afterwards erected were called *Cells*, which word I hear is yet retained amongst the *Irish Scots*. The Priests they termed *Culdees*, which *Heſſor Boeth.* thinks to have signified as much as *Cultores Dei*, the Worshippers of God: but it is more like this title was given them for their living in these Cells, where people assembled to hear service. Somewhat it maketh for this, that in certain old Bulls and Rescripts of Popes I find them termed *Keledei*, and not *Culdei*.

The same *Boeth.* out of ancient Annals reports that these Priests were wont for their better government to elect some one of their number, by common suffrage, to be chief and principal among them, without whose knowledge and consent nothing was done in any matter of importance; and that the person so elected was called *Scotorum Episcopus*, a *Scots* Bishop, or a Bishop of *Scotland*. Neither had our Bishops any other title whereby they were distinguished before the daies of *Malcolm* the third, who first divided the Country into Dioceses, appointing to every Bishop the limits within which they should keep and exercise their Jurisdiction. After that time they were styled either by the Countries whereof they had the oversight, or by the City where they kept their residence.

But to return to *Cratilius*: During his Reign Christian Religion did prosper exceedingly; and *Fincormachus*, his Cousin-german, that succeeded, keeping the same course, gave in his time a perfect settling unto it. So great a happiness it is to have two Kings of qualities alike good succeed one to another; for what the one beginneth, the other doth perfect and accomplish.

Yet this felicity endureth not long, the state both of the Kingdom and Church being within a few years after his death quite overturned by this occasion. *Maximus*, a man born in *Spain*, but of *Roman* education, being sent Lieutenant into *Britan*, and presuming to bring the whole Isle under his power, did practise secretly with the *Picts* for rooting out the *Scots*, promising that all the lands which the *Scots* possessed should be given to them. The *Picts*, a perfidious people, greedily embracing this offer, did joyn their forces with the *Romans*, and both made invasion upon the *Scots*, who, doing the best they could for their own defence, after divers sharp encounters, in a Battle fought at the water of *Dun in Carrick* were wholly defeated, and King *Eugenius* with the most part of his Nobility slain.

This defeat was followed with a rigorous Edict, commanding all the *Scots*, of what age, sex or condition soever, to depart out of this Isle before a certain day: which was so precisely executed, as neither man nor woman, young nor old, were permitted to stay; nay not a Church-man (though all of that profession were in good esteem among the *Picts* themselves at the time.) Thus all the *Scots* went in exile, betaking themselves some into *Ireland*, others into the countries of *Denmark*, *Norway*, *Sweden*, or where it was in their fate to be cast: only some few Churchmen, after they had long wandered from place to place, got privately into *Jona*, one of the West Isles, where living in a poor condition, they laid the foundation of a Monastery, which in succeeding Ages became famous by the beneficence of our Kings, and the sanctity of the Monks that there professed. Never was any Church or Kingdom brought to a greater desolation; but how long it continued, our Writers do not agree: for *Boeth.* will have the *Scots* to live in exile the space

of

of 44 years, and saith that they returned in the year 422. *Buchanan* casts their return into the year 404, and so maketh their exile to have lasted 27 years only.

Now whilst they lived thus exiled, it happened that one *Regulus* a Grecian Monk arrived in these parts. This man (as they write) living in *Achaia*, had warning given him in a Vision by night to forsake his Country and go into *Albion*, an Isle situate in the utmost parts of the world, and to carry with him the Arm-bone, three Fingers, and as many Toes of St. *Andrew* the Apostle. The man troubled at first with the strangeness of the Vision, did after a little time resolve to follow the warning, and taking a little Box in which he put those Reliques, went to Sea, taking some persons in company with him. The Story nameth *Damianus* a Priest, *Gelasius*, *Thebaculus*, and *Mermacus*, brother to *Damianus*, Deacons; *Nerinus* and *Elisenius* a Cretian, *Merinus* and *Silvinius* his brother, Monks by profession. Some eight more are said to be in his company, but their names are not expressed. The Ship wherein they sailed being tossed with grievous tempests, was driven at last into the Port or Haven called then *Otholinia*, now St. *Andrews*.

Hergulfus King of *Picts*, under whose dominion that part of the Country as then was, advertised of the Strangers arrive, and the *Reliques* they had brought with them, came thither, and pitying their losses, (for besides the Reliques they had nothing saved) when he beheld the men, and the form of their service, did so like it, as he took order for their entertainment. Shortly after he gave unto *Regulus* his own Palace, with certain lands adjoining, and nigh thereunto erected a Church, (the same whereof we see a part yet remaining on the South of the ruined Cathedral, called to this day *The Church of St. Rewle*.) Here did *Regulus* and his company abide, serving God devoutly, and for the austere life they led were in great reputation with all men.

Whether *Regulus* had such a Vision or not, I leave it to those that list to believe. But that he did bring with him such Reliques is not improbable; for in these times Christians did hold the Bones and Reliques of Martyrs in a respectful reverence: which doth in no sort justify the abuses which afterwards crept into the Church, when from the keeping of Reliques, they grew to worship and adore them; yea, and in many places, Priests out of their covetousness did use impostures, foisting in the Bones of Asses and other Beasts in stead of the Reliques of Martyrs and Saints departed. These and the like abuses did justly bring the keeping and carrying about of Reliques to be detested. In the time of persecution, when the Bodies of Martyrs were thrown into the fields and cast into Dung-hills, it might be held a charitable and pious work to gather and preserve them: but now that those things are superstitiously used, and vile deceits therewith practised, no wise man will allow such follies. Better it were, as *Cassander* advised, to incite people to the imitation of the Saints Vertues, than to reserve their Bones, which can serve to no use, and savoureth only of vain ostentation.

But leaving this, let us follow the story. In the Battle wherein *Eugenius* fell, *Echadius*, or, as others call him, *Ethodius* his Brother, being sore wounded and found among the dead, was saved by the clemency of the *Roman* Prefect, and, flying into *Denmark* with his young son *Erthus*, was received by the King of that Country, and kindly entertained. This *Erthus* matching with one *Rocha* the daughter of a Nobleman in these quarters, had by her a Son called *Fergus*, a Prince of much valour, who growing in years, and his Father and Grandfather both deceased, out of an innate hatred against the *Romans*, joyned with the *Franks* in a War they made upon the *Gauls* that were subject to the *Romans*. That Expedition not succeeding, he followed *Alarick* King of *Goths*, and was with him at the sack of *Rome*. *Alarick* dying, he served under *Athaulfus* his successor, and, by the fortunate exploits he made, purchased the reputation of a great Captain: The fame whereof (with the news that were dayly brought of the defection of the *Roman* Provinces, and of the Irruptions made upon the Empire by the *Goths*, *Vandals*, *Franks*, and other Barbarians) gave the *Scots* encouragement, and put them in some hopes of returning to their Country. Once or twice, by the help of the *Irish*, having sought to repossess themselves, still they were put to the worst. But *Maximus* in the end pro-

B 3

claiming

An. 370.

Regulus ar-
rives in Albion.
An. 370.Hergulfus
King of the
Picts gave his
Palace to Re-
gulus.

An. 404.

claiming himself *Cæsar*, and transporting beyond Sea the whole power of *Britan*, they resumed new courage, and upon advertisement of *Fergus* his return to *Denmark*, did intreat him to take the opportunity, and do somewhat for himself and for his Country. The *Picts* in the mean time being held in miserable subjection by one *Victorinus* a new Governor sent into *Britan*, and so repenting the course they had taken, did secretly reconcile with *Fergus*, offering restitution of all they possessed belonging to the *Scots*, and their assistance for recovering the rest.

An. 404.
King *Fergus*
came to the
Firth of *Murray*.
Booth. li. 7.

Fergus upon these advertisements prepared to return, and with him divers voluntaries of the *Danes*, *Normegians* and others did joyn, besides the *Scots* that lived exiles in those parts. With this company taking Sea, on the eighth day after his embarking he landed in the Firth of *Murray*; and from thence marching directly to *Argile*, where the Chair of Marble was kept, was placed therein, and crowned with the Rites accustomed. The news hereof dispersed, there gathered to him from all parts numbers of people, with whom in a short time he recovered all the Countries out of which the *Scots* had been expelled. The *Britans* upon this sent to implore aid of the *Romans*, of whom they obtained the supply of a Legion under the conduct of *Heraclianus*; but he making no long stay, one *Placidius* was left in place, whom *Fergus* overthrew in battel, and forced to seek Peace. This concluded, *Fergus* dividing the lands among the *Scots* and Strangers that had ventured with him, did re-order all things according to the ancient form. The Churches that were ruined or defaced he caused repair, restored the Church-men to their places, and in the Isle *Jona* erected a Religious House, with a Library furnished with the Books that he had brought with him from *Rome*. Never was any Prince more nobly given, nor in so short space performed greater actions, having regained the Kingdom that was lost, and reduced it to a better estate than before: neither had he ceased there, if the *Romans* had not fallen upon him with a fresh power, and sent one *Maximianus* hither, by whom he was in battel vanquished, and slain in the sixteenth year of his Reign.

He repaireth
the Churches.

King *Fergus*
vanquished
and slain.
Booth. li. 7.

This overthrow did so terrify the *Scots*, that they looked for nothing but to have been chased again forth of the Isle, but the Irruptions made upon all the parts of the Empire did not suffer the *Romans* to make long stay, wherefore having repaired the Wall of *Severus*, and made it much stronger than it was at first, they departed, advising the *Britans* to use their own forces without any more expectation of succour from them. Upon intelligence of their departure, *Greem* a Nobleman of *Britan*, who had lived long among the *Scots*, and whose daughter King *Fergus* had married, raised an Army, and battering down the Wall which the *Romans* had fortified, chased the *Britans* beyond the Wall of *Adrian* an hundred miles more inward, and forced them to accept that for the march, and content themselves with the lands lying in the South of that Wall. Peace on these terms made with the *Britans*, *Eugenius* the eldest of King *Fergus* his sons was declared King; and, because he was yet within years, the Regency of the Realm committed to *Greem* his Grandfather; which he discharged so well, as whilest he lived there was no trouble either within or without the Kingdom.

Greem batter-
eth the wall
of *Severus*.
Booth. li. 5.

Eugenius assist-
ed by the *Picts*,
overcometh
the *Britans*.

But he dying, *Eugenius* (who was then grown to some years) laying claim to his Grandfather's lands, did repeat the same by his Ambassadors; and the *Britans* defending themselves by the conditions of the late Peace, when after divers Messages no satisfaction could be had, War was of new raised. The *Picts* assisting the *Scots*, a sore overthrow was given to the *Britans*, and they compelled to resign all the land lying betwixt *Tine* and *Humber*; which the *Scots* and *Picts* did peaceably enjoy unto the coming of the *Saxons*, about the year 450.

An. 450.

St. Ninian.

The Church notwithstanding these Wars did flourish all this time by King *Eugenius* his favour. *Ninian* (he who with the posterity had the reputation of a Saint) was of great fame at that time. This man was born in *Britan*, and had his education in *France* under *Martin* Bishop of *Tours* his grand-Uncle: having remained there some years, and made good profit in Letters, he returned in to *Britan*, and became a zealous Preacher of the Gospel. His chief residence was among the *Picts* in the country of *Galloway*; there he built a Church all of white stone, (a sort of structure

not

not usual in those parts) and called the same by the name of St. *Martin*; not meaning to have him taken for the tutelary Saint of that place, (which in after-Ages, when Superstition prevailed, was the conceit of the people) but to preserve the memory of his Vertues, and incite others to the imitation thereof. This was the chief respect in those first Times that Christians had in denominating their Churches by the names of Saints departed; that other they utterly disclaimed. *Nos Martyribus nostris*, (saith St. *Augustin*) *non templa sicut diis fabricamus, sed memorias sicut hominibus mortuis, quorum apud Deum vivunt spiritus*. We do not build Temples to our Martyrs as unto Gods, but memorials as unto dead men, whose spirits with God are still living.

An. 450.

St. *Augustin* de
civitate Dei.
li. 22. cap. 10.

Bede in his Ecclesiastical story speaking of this *Ninian*, saith that he learned at *Rome*, and was there taught the mysteries of Truth. But we cannot think that he went a novice thither, being trained up under so kind and learned an Uncle. As ever that was, he proved a notable instrument in the Church; for he converted the Southern *Picts* to the faith of Christ; and for his continual labours in preaching (not among them alone, for he travelled also among the *Scots* and *Britans*) but especially for his innocency and holiness of life, he was in so great regard, as to which of the three soever he came, they did reverence and accept him as the messenger of Christ. Among the Bishops of *Galloway* he is reckoned the first, and thought to have been the Founder of that Colledge; for from that Church which he built all of white stone (as we said) the Bishops of that See have still been, and to this day are, styled *Episcopi Candidæ case*.

Bede his Ec-
clesiast. Hist.
li. 3. cap. 4.

It was in the time of this *Eugenius* that *Palladius* came into *Scotland*, employed, as they write, by *Celestine* Bishop of *Rome* for resisting the *Pelagian* Heresie, which began to spread in this Church. This man, a *Grecian* by birth, learned, moderate and singularly wise, as appeared in all his actions, did purge the Church from those Errors, and won such love and credit, as by the space of 24 years he governed all Ecclesiastick affairs in these parts without any grudge or opposition.

Palladius sent
into *Scotland*
by Pope *Cels-
tine*.
Beda li. 1. c. 13.

Buchanan is of the opinion, that before his coming there was no Bishop in this Church: Nam (saith he) *ad id usque tempus, Ecclesiæ absque Episcopis per monachos regerantur, minore quidem cum fastu & externa pompa, sed majore simplicitate & sanctimonia*; that is, The Church unto that time was governed by Monks without Bishops, with less pride and outward pomp, but greater simplicity and holiness. What warrant he had to write so, I know not, except he did build upon that which *Joannes Major* saith, speaking of the same *Palladius*, *Per sacerdotes & monachos, sine Episcopis, Scoti in fide erudiebantur*; The *Scots* (he says) were instructed in the Christian faith by Priests and Monks, without any Bishops. But from the instruction of *Scots* in the faith to conclude, that the Church after it was gathered had no other form of Government, will not stand with any reason. For be it as they speak, that by the Travels of some pious Monks the *Scots* were first converted unto Christ; it cannot be said that the Church was ruled by Monks, seeing long after these times it was not permitted to Monks to meddle with matters of the Church, nor were they reckoned among the Clergy. As to the pride and pomp which he taxeth in Bishops, of later times it might be truly spoken; but after *Palladius* coming, for the space of six hundred years and more, there was no such excess to be noted in them.

Booth. li. 5.

Buch. his opi-
nion refuted.

Monks not
reckoned
among the
Clergy.

But to return to *Palladius*; he was a man most careful in promoting Christian Religion, and the first that made Christ to be preached in the Isle of *Orkney*, sending *Servanus* one of his Disciples thither. Another called *Tervanus* he employed among the Northern *Picts*, and ordained both of them Bishops. His own remaining for the most part was at *Fordon* in the Country of *Mernis*, where he built a little Church, which from him is to this day by a corrupt word called *Padie Church*: There was his Corps after his death interred. In the year 1494. *William Shevez* Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, visiting that Church, did in reverence of his memory gather his Bones, and bestow them in a silver shrine; which, as the report goeth, was taken up at the demolishing of the Churches by a Gentleman of good rank who dwelt near unto that place. The people of the Countrey observing the decay which followed in that Family not many years after, ascribed the same to the violation of *Palladius*'s Grave.

Servanus and
Tervanus or-
dained Bi-
shops by *Pal-
ladius*.
Booth. li. 7.
Hist. li. 4.

Much

An. 491.
St. Patrick
the Converter
of Ireland.
Bal. cent. 1.
Baron. to. 5. in
Anne 431.
Sect. 191.
Camden in the
description of
Ireland.

Much about this time was Ireland converted to the Faith of Christ by the labors of Patrick a Scotchman, born upon the River of Cluid, not far from Glasgow. They write of him, that being thirteen years of age only he was taken prisoner by some Irishes at an Invasion they made upon the West parts of Scotland, and sold to Moluc, one of their Kings: being kept there as a Slave the space of four years he was ransomed by his parents, and sent to School; where having made a reasonable progress in Letters, he went to France, and there remained 18 years in the company of German Bishop of Auxerre, under whom he attained to a great perfection of knowledge, especially in the holy Scriptures. Thereafter travelling to Rome, Pope Celestine (the same that sent Palladius to Scotland) hearing of his qualities, and how he had lived some years in Ireland, made choice of him as the fittest person to work the Conversion of that people. Patrick accepting the employment, addressed himself shortly after to the journey, and in his way by Scotland took with him Columba, (who came afterwards to be in great esteem.) Divers upon the report of his good success followed him thither; and ere many months passed, all the Country almost was brought to embrace the Profession of Christ.

Job. Bishops in
Descriptione
Britanniae.

He was doubtless a notable person, and most worthy to be remembered. Some idle and ignorant Monks have pitifully wronged his memory by their Legends. But what a singular man he was, and what pains he took to do good in his lifetime, the Churches he founded, reckoned to 365, and the Priests he ordained, numbered to be three thousand, may sufficiently witness. He lived 122 years, & ended his days in the city of Down within the Province of Ulster, in the year of our Lord 491. That fabulous Purgatory (the invention whereof is falsely ascribed to him) was the device of a Monk of Glaffenbury Abbey in England, who bare the same name, but was of a much later time, and lived about the year 850. For the opinion of a fiery Purgatory, in which Souls are tormented after their going forth of the body, was not then known among Christians; nor did the ancient Irish believe any such matter.

Sedulius edu-
cated under
Hildebert a
Bishop.

In our Church at the same time one Hildebert a Bishop was in great accompt for his Learning and Piety. Celius Sedulius had his education under him, a man of excellent qualities, as his works yet extant both in Prose and Poësie do witness. How long Hildebert lived he abode in his company, but after his death he betook himself to travel, and, journeying through France and Italy, failed unto Greece; there he wrote certain Explanations upon the Epistles of St. Paul, and returning from thence to Rome, made his abode in that City. In a Synod gathered by Gelasius Bishop of Rome, in the year 494, in one of the Canons then made touching Books allowed, we read these words; *Venerabilis Viri Sedulii Paschale Opus, quod heroicis descripsit versibus, insigni laude proferimus*. We esteem the Paschal Work, that venerable Sedulius composed in heroic verses, worthy of singular commendations. And even at this day in the Church of Rome certain hymns compiled by him are sung in the Festivals of the Nativity and Epiphany; which sheweth in what esteem he was held.

Bal. cent. 14.
Lest. li. 4.

An. 494.
Gratian. De-
cret. par. di-
stinct. 15.

Sedulius pro-
ved to be a
Scottish-man
against the
Irish Writers.

Some Irish Writers contend that this Sedulius was their Country-man born, as the like they affirm of all that were of any note in our Church in those first Ages. And albeit in divers of his Works he doth intitle himself *Sedulius Scotigena*, and that *Sixtus Senensis, Thrithemius, Baronius*, and divers others do all witness him to be of the Scottish Nation; yet they will have him to be an Irish, because, forsooth, in those elder times the name of *Scoti* was common to the inhabitants of the greater and lesser Scotland. But this reason is naught: for, granting that the Countries were so distinguished of old, and that Ireland was called *Scotia major*, and the part of Britan which the Colony deduced from thence did inhabit *Scotia minor*, whereof there is some appearance; yet that will not infer him to be an Irish more than a Scot. This I trust they will not deny, that Scotland was Christian long before Ireland, and that Sedulius, of whom we speak, was come to a good age before Patrick went about their Conversion. Now if he had been an Irish by Nation, would not he much rather have employed his travels to instruct his Country-men in the Truth, than have spent his time abroad among Strangers? Farther, I should desire these who plead so earnestly to have our men esteemed to be of their Country, to name any

any one or other worthy of credit, that since the Scots were reduced from their exile by Fergus the Second did ever call Ireland Scotland the greater. They will not find any of trust: the name of Scots being long before appropriated to the Colony reduced from thence, and quite extinct among the Irish. It is true that we oft find the Scots called *Irishes*, like as yet we term commonly our Highland-men, in regard they speak the Irish language, and retain divers of their customs. But that the Irish were called Scots, or the country of Ireland called Scotland, since they grew to be different Nations, and were known to be so, I am confident will not be shewed. To close this; howsoever Ireland be the Mother and Scotland the Daughter, as a reverend Prelate hath written, and we deny not (for our first Progenitors we hold came from that Country) there is no reason why the Sons which the Daughter hath brought forth should be reckoned the Sons of another Mother, and she thereby robbed of her honour.

An. 500.
Scotland a Co-
lony deduced
from Ireland.

But to our story; the condition of this Church in those times was most happy, all the care of Preachers being to win Souls unto Christ; Avarice and Ambition, the two main Pests of the Church, had not as yet seized upon them, so as they were held with all people in great veneration. Beda saith, that *whosoever did meet them by occasion, either in the streets, or otherwise in journeying by the way, they would not depart without their blessing*. And which increased greatly the felicity of the Time, the Kings who then reigned were all wise and religious.

An. 500.

Congallus the second deserves by the rest to be mentioned; *Vir ob egregias virtutes* (saith Buchanan) *omnium seculorum memoria dignus; Nam præter equitatem in jure dicundo, & animum adversus avaritiam invictum, certabat moderatione vitæ cum Monachis, qui ea ætate severissima disciplina utebantur*. That is, He was a man for his notable virtues worthy to be had in everlasting remembrance; For besides his equity in the ministration of Justice, and the uncorrupt mind he carried, being free of all Covetousness, in moderation of life he was nothing inferior to the Monks, who in that Age observed a most strict Discipline. This good King considering how easily people are brought to condemn Ministers that stand in need of their supply, and that the contempt of Ministers breedeth ever contempt of Religion, did carefully provide for their necessities, appointing to them Mansion-places at the Churches where they served with a competent portion of land thereto adjoining, and declaring the Tenth of all Corns, Fruits, Herbs and Flocks, which did either produce or nourish, to appertain properly to the Church. He did further enact for the safety of their persons, *That if any should happen to smite a Church-man, his hand should be cut off; and if the Church-man was killed, that the murderer should lose all his goods, and be burnt alive*. For the greater reverence of Church-censures, it was likewise his Ordinance, *That whosoever were by the Church excommunicated, should not be admitted to stand in judgment, nor credit given to their testimony*.

Congallus an
excellent
Prince.
Buch. in vita
Congalli.

Tithes decla-
red to apper-
tain to the
Church.
A Law for the
safety of
Church-men.

The fame of this Kings pious disposition drew Columba back from Ireland, where he had lived a long time. There came with him some twelve in company, of whom the principals were *Sibthacus* and *Ethernanus*, his Nephews by his brother, both of them Presbyters, *Domitius Ruthens* and *Comineus*, men of excellent learning and good behaviour; who were all well accepted of the King. But of Columba he made such accompt, as he did nothing in any matter of importance till he had first consulted with him. By his advice the Monks, that in former times lived dispersed, were gathered into Cloysters or Colleges, and had Rules prescribed unto them: which falling afterward to be neglected, in place of religious Monks, there crept in a sort of idle-bellies, that disordered all things, and made the Profession, which in the beginning was well devised, to be disliked and hated of all.

Columba re-
turneth into
Scotland.
Scotichron.
l. 3.

Boeth. l. 9.

Monks placed
in Monasteries.

King Congallus after a little time sickning, sent Columba into Ireland to bring home Aidanus the right Heir of the Kingdom (who had fled thither after the murder of his Father Goranus) that he might possess him with the Crown before his death: But ere he returned the King was dead, and his Brother Kinnatellus crowned King. This accident troubled Columba, and made him doubtful what to do: For if he should send Aidanus back, he knew not how Kinnatellus would take it; and to go on, (not knowing how the King stood affected towards Aidanus) he held it dangerous.

Columba sent
to bring Aida-
nus the heir of
the Crown
from Ireland.

Congallus dieth,
to whom his
brother suc-
ceedeth.

An. 603.
Boeth. l. 9.
Bede. l. 5.
Lest. l. 4.

Aidanus
crowned
King.

Columba testi-
fied to the
Isle Jona.

Aidanus mak-
eth War a-
gainst the
Picts.

Aidanus rebuk-
ed by Colum-
ba.

Aidanus forced
to take
up Arms a-
gainst the
Picts.
The Picts o-
vercome, and
Aidanus get-
teth the victo-
ry.

Columba dieth
in the year of
our Lord,
603.
Boeth. l. 9.

dangerous. After a little debating with himself, he resolved to hold forward, and taking Aidanus in company, did present him to the King; who, against the expectation of most men, accepted him most lovingly, bidding him be of good heart, for he should in a short time inherit his Fathers Crown: mean while, because of his own age and infirmity, he committed to him the administration of affairs, and designed him his Succellor. After a few daies Kinnatellus dying, Aidanus was crowned King, Columba performing the Ceremonies at which time he is said to have made a most pithy and eloquent speech, exhorting the King to the love of Justice, the Nobles to the observance of Peace, the people to Obedience, and them all to constancy in the Christian profession: wherewith the whole Assembly was so much affected, as by holding up their hands they did solemnly swear to continue loyal Subjects to the King, and to be obedient to him as their Spiritual Pastor.

The Coronation ended, Columba retired to the Isle Jona, (for he loved to remain in that place) and Aidanus applying himself to order the Estate, went through the countries of Galloway, Cathnes and Loghabar, holding Justice-Courts in all these parts, and reforming what he found amiss. But, as no prosperity is lasting, it happened in a sport of hunting, that some Noble-men falling at discord, there was a great slaughter committed, the Authors whereof, fearing the severity of Law, fled to Breudens King of the Picts, and being demanded according to the conditions of the League, were after some delays directly refused. Aidanus taking this to heart, whilest he thought to recover them by force, had his Son Arthur, (Buchanan calleth him Griffin) a Prince of great hopes, and Brenden his Nephew, with divers of his Nobles, killed. Columba grieved with this accident, came to the King, and rebuked him bitterly for making war with his neighbour upon so light an occasion; wherewith he is said to be no less moved than with the loss he had received: for Columba striving to be gone, he caught him by the hand, and confessing he had been too hasty, entreated his best advice and counsel how to repair things. But he replying that no advice could redress the harm that was done, the King burst forth into tears: Columba fell also a weeping, and, after a little space, said that he would counsel him to make peace: which he was content do to at his sight. The matter moved to Breudens, he likewise agreed to remit all to Columba, who shortly after brought them to be friends. But the heart-burning between the two people ceased not, which Ethelfrid King of Northumberland (a wicked and avaritious man) craftily entertained, stirring the Picts to make fresh incursions upon the Scots, so as Aidanus was compelled to take Arms. Columba being advertised of the necessity the King was put to, gave order that private supplications should be made for his safety, and the overthrow of his enemies: which falling out according to their wishes, was generally ascribed to Columba his Devotion. For, as the report went, in the same hour wherein the enemies were defeated, he did call his Collegues together, and willed them to turn their Prayers into Thanksgivings, for that the King had obtained the Victory: yet was the place of the conflict distant from Jona, where Columba lived, 200 miles at least.

The year following, which was the year of our Lord 603. Columba died, being of a good age; neither did the King Aidanus long survive him. The Irish contend that Columba died in the City of Down, and was buried in St. Patrick's Tomb; and for verifying the same, allege an old Distich which was (they say) engraven upon the Tomb, and defaced only in the daies of King Henry the eighth.

*Hi tres in Duno tumulo tumultantur in uno,
Brigida, Patricius, atque Columba pius.*

But it carrieth no likelihood that Columba, being so far in years, would make a journey into Ireland, or that Aidanus, who loved him so dearly, would suffer him to depart whilest he lived. It may be that upon some occasion his Bones were translated thither; yet the Pilgrimages made in superstitious times to the Isle Jona for visiting his grave do shew what the received opinion was of his death and burial.

Kentigern, commonly called St. Mungo, was famous also at this time, and one most familiar with Columba. He was the son of Thametes daughter to Loth King of Picts,

Kentigern, or
St. Mungo.

Picts, begotten (as was supposed) by Eugenius the third King of Scots, his father not being certainly known: posterity not being willing that his birth, whom they so greatly esteemed, should be in any sort stained, gave out that he was born of a Virgin; which was believed of simple and credulous people. But the reproach which lay upon him that way he overcame by his singular Vertues. In his younger years being trusted to the education of Servanus Bishop of Orkney, he gave tokens of his rare Piety; for he was in prayer more frequent than young ones are usually seen to be, of a spare diet, and so compassionate of the poor, as all that came in his hands he distributed among them. Servanus his Master loving him beyond others, was ordinarily wont to call him Mongah, which in the Norish tongue signifieth a dear friend; and this way came he to be called Mungo.

After Servanus death he went to the country of Wales in England, where living a solitary life, he founded a Monastery betwixt the Rivers of Elwid and Edwy. They write that in his Monastery there were daily entertained six hundred three score and three persons, of which number three hundred were kept at some manual work within the Monastery; other three hundred did labour in the fields, and practise husbandry; and the rest, being appointed for Divine service, had the day and night divided among them, so as one company succeeded to another, there were some always in the Church praying and praising Almighty God. Having stayed there a few years, he resigned his place to Asaph, a godly and vertuous man; and returning to Scotland, he made his abode at Glasgow, where he layed the foundation of a stately Church, and was therein at his death interred. It is affirmed that after he came to years of understanding he did never eat flesh, nor taste wine or any strong drink; and when he went to rest, slept on the cold ground, having a stone for his pillow; and that notwithstanding he lived thus hardly, he did attain to the age of nine score and five years. Many lying Miracles have been ascribed unto him; but certainly he was a man of rare parts, and worthy to have been made a subject of truth to posterity, not of Fables and Fictions, as the Legends of Monks have made him.

Baldred and Conwallus were his Disciples, and zealous preachers of the Truth. The first served for the most part in Lothian, which as then was under the dominion of the Picts, and was so beloved and honoured in his life, as after his death the Parishes of Aldham, Tunningham and Preston did contend who should have his Corps to bury. As they grew to some heat, the Bishop of the bounds (the story doth not express his name) intervened, and willed the people to defer the funeral to the next morrow, and in the mean time be earnest in prayer with God, that he would declare his will in that business. The next day they found three Coffins with as many Corpses, betwixt which no difference could be perceived; and interpreting this for a Miracle, went away each of them with a Coffin well satisfied and pleased. What policy the Bishop used in this is not known, but hereby we may see how easily people were in those times led with their Teachers. The other, Conwallus, lived at Inchynnan, some seven miles from Glasgow, and made the Oration at the Funeral of King Aidanus; in which he foretold many things, that came afterward to pass, touching the state of the Kingdom.

There lived at this time in the Isle of Jona one Conwallanus, who was Governor of that Monastery, a man of excellent holiness and learning; from under his hand, as they write, *prodierunt examina sanctissimorum virorum*, hives or multitudes of most holy men came forth. Among these are named Mornanus a Bishop, Cormachus a Presbyter, Hebrad, Dunstan, Jonas, Gabrianus, Gallus and Columbanus, all famous men for their holiness of life. Gallus travelling into Switzerland was in great esteem, and having converted many to the Faith of Christ, laid there the foundation of a Monastery, which was afterwards greatly enriched, and to this day is called by his name St. Gall. Columbanus in Burgundy did found the Abbey of Luxeuil, resolving to make his abode in those parts; but the licentiousness of King Theodorick, whom by no means he could reclaim from his unchaste life, did enforce him to change, so that going to Italy, in the borders thereof he settled himself, and there erected the Monastery of Bobie.

Neither lacked there in the female Sex examples of rare piety. Brigida, commonly

An. 500.
Boeth. l. 9.

Mongah in the
Norish tongue
signifieth dear
friend.
Kentigern his
journey to
Wales.

Kentigern his
austere life
and death.

Baldred and
Conwallus
were Kenti-
gerns Disciples.

Boeth. li. 9.
Lest. li. 4.

Conwallanus
Governor of
the Monastery
in Jona.
Boeth. ibidem.

Brigida.
only

An. 518.
Boeth. l. 9.

monly St. *Bride*, was above the rest renowned both among the *Scots* and *Picts*: this Woman was born in *Cathnes* of honourable parents, and the heir of a fair patrimony, which she voluntarily forsook, that she might be consecrated to God. Divers Virgins moved by her example did in like sort apply themselves to the solitary life; not as the *Votarists* that in after-times rose up, for they did not bind themselves by vows to that which was not in their power, nor did they think to merit thereby at Gods hands, and the chastity they professed, they kept inviolate. Did the times wherein we live afford such Virgins, so far are we from disliking that state of life, as we think it should bring a great benefit to the Kingdom. But the bondage of Vows, with the opinion of Merit and Perfection, is it we discommend, things unknown to the holy Women of those Primitive times. Another *Brigida*, or rather *Brigitta*, there was born in *Sweden*; who, as *Trithemius* writeth, came to *Avignon* in the year 1362, to sue for the Popes confirmation to an Order of Nuns by her invented: But our *Brigida* was of a much older time, and died at *Abernethie* in the year 518, where she was also interred.

Brigida dieth
at *Abernethy*.
An. 518.

An. 600.
Augustin the
Monk sent in-
to *Britan*.
Beda l. 3. c. 2.

The *Britans*
refuse to con-
form them-
selves to the
Rites of *Rome*.

Now are we come to the time in which *Augustin* the Monk was sent into *Britan*. *Gregory* Bishop of *Rome* did chuse this man for planting Religion among the *English Saxons*, who had at that time subdued the *Britans*, and driven them beyond *Severn* into narrow bounds. At his first arrival he converted King *Ethelbert* to the Christian Faith, and wrought much good. But whilest he strove to conform the *Britan* Churches to the *Roman* in Rites Ecclesiastick, and to have himself acknowledged for the only Archbishop of *Britan*, he did cast the Church into a sea of troubles. After divers conferences, and much pains taken by him to perswade the *Britans* unto conformity, when he could not prevail, he made offer, that if they would yield to minister Baptism and observe Easter according to the *Roman* manner, and be assisting to him in reforming the *Saxons*, for all other things they should be left to their ancient Customs. But they refusing to make any alteration, he fell a threatening, and said, *That they who would not have peace with their brethren, should find war with their enemies*. This falling out as he foretold, (for *Edelfrid* King of *Northumberland* invading them with a strong Army slew at one time 1200 Monks that were assembled to pray for the safety of their country-men) made *Augustin* to be suspected of the murder, and did purchase him a great deal of hatred. Whether he foreknew the practice or not, is uncertain, but shortly after the murder of these Monks he himself died.

A Letter from
the Bishops of
England to
the Scottish
Church.
Beda l. 2. c. 4.

There succeeded to him *Laurentius*, a *Roman* also, who followed the business of Conformity no less earnestly, and with his fellow Bishops *Mellitus* and *Iustus*, wrote to the Church of *Scotland* in this manner: *Dominis charissimis, Fratribus Episcopis & Abbatibus per universam Scotiam*, *Laurentius, Mellitus & Iustus Episcopi, servi servorum Dei. Dum nos Sedes Apostolica, more suo, sicut in universo orbe terrarum, in his occiduis partibus ad predicandum gentibus paganis dirigeret, atque in hanc insulam, quae Britannia nuncupatur, contigit introisse, antequam cognosceremus credentes, quod juxta morem universalis Ecclesiae ingrederentur, in magna reverentia sanctitatis tam Britones quam Scotos venerati sumus: sed cognoscentes Britones, Scotos meliores putavimus: Scotos vero per Dagamum Episcopum in hanc quam supra memoravimus Insulam, & Columbanum Abbatem in Galliis venientem, nihil discrepare à Britonibus in eorum conversatione didicimus. Nam Dagamus Episcopus ad nos veniens, non solum cibum nobiscum, sed nec in hospitio, quo vesceremur sumere voluit. In English thus, Laurence, Mellitus and Iustus Bishops. Servants of all the servants of God, to our Lords and dearest Brethren the Bishops and Abbots through all Scotland. While as the Apostolick See, according to the custom it hath observed in the rest of the world, did send us to preach the Gospel unto the Heathen in these Western parts, and that it happened us to come into this Isle which is called Britan, we held in religious reverence both the Scots and Britans, believing that they did walk after the customs of the universal Church: but after we had known the Britans, we judged the Scots to be better minded: yet now we perceive by Dagamus the Bishop who is come hither, and by Columbanus the Abbot in France, that the Scots differ nothing in their observations from the Britans; for Bishop Dagamus being here refused not only to eat with us, but even to stay in the same Inn or Lodging.*

I find no answer returned to this Letter. Some thirteen years after, *Honorius* Bishop of *Rome* did move the matter of new, and in his Letters directed to the Church of *Scotland* exhorted them, *Ne paucitatem suam, in extremis terrae finibus constitutam, sapientiores antiquis sive modernis quae per orbem terrae erant Christi Ecclesiis aestimarent; neve contra Paschales computos, & Decreta Synodalia totius orbis Pontificum, aliud Pascha celebrarent*: That they being a few, and seated in the utmost borders of the earth, would not think themselves more wise than the Ancient or Modern Churches of Christ through the whole world; and that they would not celebrate another Easter contrary to the Paschal compts, and Synodal Decrees of the Bishops of the world.

Pope *Honorius* dying, *Severinus* that succeeded insisted for an answer, which was sent; but he also departing this life before the same came to *Rome*, the Clergy there replied as follows. *Dilectissimis & sanctissimis*, *Thomiano*, *Columbano*, *Chromano*, *Dimao*, *Bathano*, *Episcopis*, *Chromano*, *Hermanno*, *Laufrano*, *Stellano*, & *Sergiano*, *Presbyteris*, *Sarano*, ceterisque Doctores seu Abbatibus *Scotis*; *Hilarius* *Archipresbyter*, & servans locum *Sedis Apostolicae*, & *Johannes Diaconus in nomine Dei electus*, item *Joannes Primicerius*, & servans locum *sanctae Sedis Apostolicae*, & *Johannes servus Dei*, *Consiliarius ejusdem Sedis Apostolicae*. Scripta quae latet ad sanctae memoriae *Severinum* adduxerunt, eo de hac luce migrante, reciproca responsa ad ea quae postulata fuerant sulerunt. Quibus reseratis ne diutante quaestioni caligo indisscussa remaneret, reperimus quosdam Provinciae vestrae contra orthodoxam Fidem novam de veteri Haeresin renovare conantes, Pascha nostrum in quo immolatus est Christus nebula caligine resutantes, & quartadecima Luna cum Hebraeis celebrare nitentes &c. Deinde exposita ratione Paschalis observantiae, de Pelagianis subdunt, Et hoc quoque cognovimus, quod virus Pelagianae Haeresis apud vos denno reviviscat: quod omnino hortamur, ut à vestris mentibus huiusmodi venenatum superstiti-onis facinus auferatur. Nam qualiter ipsa quoque execranda Haeresis damnata est, latere vos non debet; quia non solum per istos ducentos annos abolita est, sed & quotidiano nobis anathemate sepulta damnatur: & hortamur, ne quorum arma combusta sunt, apud vos eorum cineres suscitentur. That is, *Hilarius* the Archbishop, conservator of the privileges of the Apostolick See, and *John* the Deacon in the name of God elect of the same See, likewise *John* the Pronotary and Conservator of the said privileges, and *John* the servant of God, Counsellor of the Apostolick See; to our best beloved and most holy Bishops, *Thomianus*, *Columbus*, *Chromanus*, *Dimanus* and *Bathanus*, and to the Presbyters, *Chromanus*, *Hermannus*, *Laufranus*, *Stellanus* and *Sergianus*, also to *Saranus*, and the rest of the Doctors or Abbots of *Scotland*. The Letters which were brought unto Pope *Severinus* of blessed memory have to this time received no answer, by reason of his decease. We having now unsealed them, left questions of such consequence should be too long unsatisfied, do perceive some of your Province to be renewing an old Haeresie against the Orthodox Faith, and ignorantly refuse to celebrate our Easter, in which Christ was offered, observing the fourteenth Moon, after the manner of the *Hebrews*. Then shewing how and when Easter should be observed, they subjoyn touching the *Pelagians* these words; We farther understand, that the poison of *Pelagian* Haeresie is again breaking out among you; wherefore we exhort you to beware, and to keep your minds free of that venomous Superstition; for ye should not be ignorant how that execrable Haeresie is condemned, and by us every day anathematized, notwithstanding that two hundred years since the same hath been abolished: therefore we beseech you not to stir the ashes of those who have had their Arms once burnt and consumed.

Beda setting down this Letter, saith, that it was full of learning, & contained evident proofs that Easter should be kept upon the Sunday which falleth betwixt the 15 & 21 of the Moon; whereas it was the custom of the Scots Church to keep it upon the Sunday falling betwixt the 14 & 20, which he crieth an Haeresie, and taketh our Church to have been newly infected therewith; neither yet the whole Church, but some certain in it only. But in this last he doth not agree with himself; for speaking afterwards of Bishop *Aidan*, he thus excuses his disconformity with *Rome* in the keeping of Easter, quod sua gentis autoritate devians, that he was overcome with the

An. 6—
Honorius writeth to the Church of Scotland.
Beda l. 2. c. 19.

A Letter from the Clergy of Rome to the Church of Scotland.
Beda ibidem.

Beda his judgment of the Letter.

An. 6— authority of his own Nation, & *contra morem eorum qui ipsum miserant facere non potuit*, and could not keep Easter contrary to the custom of them who had sent him. So he acknowledgeth to have been the custom of the *Scots* Church, and not of certain in it only. And whereas he saies that it was an Error, or Herefy newly sprung up, he greatly mistaketh; for in the contention about the keeping of Easter, which grew afterwards very hot, we shall hear them plead the Antiquity of their custom, and derive it from the very first times of the Church. But that we may know how this Contention grew, and who they were that withstood the alteration desired, we must make a little digression.

Buchan. l. 5.
Boeth. l. 5.
Eft. l. 4.

The *Saxons* having overcome the *Britains*, and brought the Country of *England* to an *Heptarchy* by the partition they made of it, were never quiet, encroaching still one upon another's state, till at last one got all. *Ethelfrid* King of *Northumberland*, the mightiest of the whole, after he had reigned 22 years with great avarice and cruelty, was killed by *Redwald* King of the *East-Angles*, and *Edwin* (whom he had expelled) placed in his room. This *Ethelfrid* left behind him seven sons, *Enfred* or *Eansfred*, *Oswald*, *Ossaus*, *Oswin*, *Offas*, *Osmond*, *Osik* or *Osrick*, and one daughter named *Ebba*, who upon their Father's death fled into *Scotland*, and were liberally entertained by King *Eugenius* the fourth, notwithstanding the enmity betwixt him and their Father whilest he lived. Eighteen years they remained in *Scotland* exiled from their Country, and were by the care of the same *Eugenius* instructed in the knowledge of Christ, and baptized.

Buchan. l. 9.

Edwin being killed in the 17 of his Reign by *Penda* King of *Mercia*, they returned all home, *Ebba* only excepted, who remained still in *Scotland*. The Successour of *Edwin* named *Osrick*, parting the Kingdom with *Enfred* the eldest son of *Ethelfrid*, was made King of the *Deirians*, and *Enfred* King of the *Bernicians*; these two turning Apostates, and forsaking the Christian Profession which they had once embraced, were the Summer following deprived both of their lives and Kingdoms.

Beda. 3. c. 5.

Oswald the second son of *Ethelfrid* did upon their deaths succeed in both the Kingdoms, a noble and vertuous Prince, whose chief study was to promote Christian Religion. To this effect he sent his Ambassadors unto *Donald* the fourth then reigning in *Scotland*, and entreated him, by the old familiarity that had been among them, to help him with some worthy and learned man, that could instruct his people in the Faith of Christ. The King recommending the matter to the Clergy, one *Cormanus* was elected to go thither. But his labour proving unprofitable, he returned about the end of the year, and in a Synod of the Bishops and Clergy informed that they were a people indocile and froward, that the pains taken upon them were lost, they neither being desirous nor capable of instruction.

Cormanus sent into Northumberland.

It grieved the Synod exceedingly to hear this, and while they were consulting what to do, *Aidanus*, a learned man and reverend Preacher, is said to have advised them *not to give over the work at any hands, for that the bad success of Cormanus labours might possibly proceed from himself, that had not used the people tenderly, nor according to the Apostles rule, fed them at first with milk; and therefore desired some other approved man might be employed of new, who would possibly do good among them*.

Aidanus sent for the conversion of Northumberland.

Aidanus ordained Bishop, and sent into Northumberland.

This opinion allowed by all, none was thought fitter for this service than he who had given the advice, and so with common consent was *Aidan* ordained Bishop, and appointed to that Charge. Being come thither, he set himself to amend the fault which he supposed *Corman* had committed, and so tempered his Doctrine, as multitudes of people daily did resort unto him to be instructed. It was a great hindrance unto him at first that he was not skilled in the *Saxon* tongue, neither did the people understand his language; but this defect the King himself supplied, interpreting to the Auditory all that *Aidanus* delivered in his Sermons. So by the Kings zeal and *Aidanus* his diligence such numbers were brought to the Christian profession, as in the space of seven daies fifteen thousand persons were by him baptized.

The Vertues of King Oswald.

Whether this people was more happy in their King or in this Bishop, it is difficult to say. For the King, he did so excel in Piety and Prudence, that, as *Beda* writes, *all the Nations and Provinces within Britan were at his devotion; and not the less, his heart*

heart was never lifted up within him, but still he shewed himself courteous and affable, and of the poor most compassionate. Among examples of his liberality towards these, the same *Beda* relateth, 'That sitting at Table on Easter-day, and *Aidanus* by him, when it was told that a number of poor men were at the gate expecting his Alms, he commanded to carry the meat that was set before him unto them, and the Platter of Silver wherein it was to be broke in pieces, and distributed among them. *Aidanus* beholding it, took the King by the right hand, and kissing it, said, *Nunquam marcescat hæc manus*, never let this hand consume or wither. Which, as he writeth, came also to pass. 'For being killed in battel, and his arm and his hand cut off, the same was inclosed in a silver shrine, and remained for many years uncorrupted in the Church of *S. Peter* at *Bamborough*. This and the other Miracles he reporteth, I leave upon the credit of the Writer, who is too lavish oftentimes in such Fables and Fictions.

An. 651.

As to *Aidanus*, he was an example of Abstinence, Sobriety, Chastity, Charity, and all other Episcopal Virtues; for as he taught, so he lived, was idle at no time, nor did he admit any of his retinue to be so, but kept them in a continual exercise, either reading Scripture, or learning the Psalms of *David* by heart. If he was invited to any Feast, (as rarely he went) he made no stay, but after a little refreshment taken got himself away. In Preaching he was most diligent, travelling through the Country, for the greater part on foot, and instructing the people wheresoever he came. In a word, he was deficient in no duty required of a good Pastor; and having governed the Church in those parts most happily the space of 17 years, died in the Isle of *Lindisfarne*, (now called *Holy-Island*) the place he chused for his Residence, where he was also buried.

The commendation of the Bishop Aidanus.

After his death, which happened in the year 651, *Finnanus* was ordained Bishop, and sent to the *Northumbrians* from *Scotland*. He followed his Predecessor in all, and was greatly troubled by *Romanus*, or *Conanus*, (as others name him) about the observing of Easter. This *Conanus*, born in *Scotland*, had lived some years beyond Sea, and was much taken by the *Roman* Rites; for advancing whereof (so zealous he was that way) he left his station in *Kent*, and coming to *Northumberland*, did challenge the Bishop to a Dispute. The Bishop answering, that he would not refuse to dispute, but to admit an alteration in Church Rites, whilest he lived, he would not, the Dispute ceased; and so for the time that he sat Bishop, Easter was celebrated after the ancient manner of the *Scots*. *Finnanus* in the meantime applying himself to better exercise, did work the Conversion of the *East-Saxons* and *Mercians*. For having baptized *Penda* the Prince of *Mercia*, he sent with him four Preachers, who reformed all that part of the Country. *Divina*, or *Duina*, a *Scottish*-man was one of those Preachers, and consecrated Bishop of *Finnan* in the year 656. In the Catalogue of the Bishops of *Litchfield* I find him first placed. There succeeded to him *Kellach*, a *Scottish*-man also; but he renouncing his Charge, because of the Contentions that arose, returned to his Country.

Finnanus succeeded Aidanus. An. 651.

Now *Finnan*, having governed the Churches of *Northumberland* the space of ten years, died in *Lindisfarne*, and was buried in a Church which he himself had there erected. So great was the affection of these *Northumbrians* to these preceeding Bishops, as they would accept of none other but a *Scottish*-man. Whereupon *Colman* was brought, and placed in that See. In his time the controversy of Easter was again awakened, and more hotly followed than before: great dealing there was to work him to a Conformity, but he would not forsake the course that his Predecessors had kept. After divers Conferences, a publick Dispute was in the end condescended to for deciding the question. The place was chosen at *Whitby*, (*Beda* calleth it *Starnshalt*) a Religious house in *Yorkshire*, whereof *Hilda* a learned & devout woman was Abbess: she was a professed adversary to all the Rites of *Rome*, especially Clerical Tonsure; which made *Colman* more willingly to agree unto the meeting. *Oswy* King of *Northumbria* with *Elfred* his son were present in person, and many Ecclesiastick men of all degrees. The Reasoners were *Colman* on the one part, who was assisted by the *Scottish* Clergy, and *Hilda* the Abbess; on the other part, *Agilbert*, a French-man born, Bishop of the *East-Saxons*, *Wilfrid* and *Agatho* Presbyters, with

Finnan dieth, to whom Colman succeeded.

The controversy about Easter awakened.

A Dispute for the time of Easter.

An. 651.

with Jacob and Romanus, two learned men. *Cedda* lately consecrated a Bishop by the Scots was chused to be *partis utriusque Interpres*, that is, (as I take it) the Recorder of all that should be spoken by either party, or enacted in that Conference and Meeting. The King himself did incline to *Colman*, but his Son favoured the other party, for that *Wilfrid* had been his Tutor.

Osby King of Northumbria his Speech to the Disputers.

Colman his Reasons for the observing of Easter after the Scottish manner.

Wilfrid his Reply to Colman.

Colman interrupteth Wilfrid for calling their observation foolish.

Wilfrid excusing himself, persisteth in his Reply.

When all were placed in their seats, the King using a short Speech said, *That it was meet they who served one God, and looked to be heirs of one Kingdom in the Heavens, should keep one Rule and Form, and not vary in their Rites and Ceremonies*: therefore desired, *seeing they were come together for composing of differences, especially touching the Celebration of Easter, that they should calmly enquire what was the most ancient and best Form, to the effect all might observe and follow the same*. Then turning towards *Colman*, he willed him to deliver his opinion and reasons; who answered as followeth. 'The Easter which I observe I received from my elders, who did send me hither, and ordained me Bishop: all our Forefathers, men beloved of God, are known to have celebrated Easter in the same manner that I do; and if any think light of this, the blessed Evangelist *S. John*, the Disciple whom our Lord especially loved, with all the Churches whereof he had the oversight, observed the same, which to us is a warrant sufficient.

Agilbert being desired next to declare his mind, excused himself by the want of the English tongue, entreating the King that *Wilfrid* might be allowed to answer for them all; which granted, *Wilfrid* began in this sort: 'The Easter which we keep, we have seen observed at *Rome*, where the holy Apostles *Peter* and *Paul* did preach, and suffered Martyrdom. As we travelled through *France* and *Italy*, we saw the same order every where kept; and by relation we hear that the Churches of *Africk*, *Asia*, *Egypt*, *Greece*, and, to be short, the whole Christian world doth observe the same time: only these men and their followers, the *Britans* and *Picts*, with some remote Islands, and not all these neither, do foolishly contend in this point against the whole world.

Here *Colman* interrupting his speech said, 'It is a marvel you should call our doing foolish, seeing we follow the ensample of that great Apostle who was held worthy to lie in the Lord's bosom, and is known to have lived most wisely.

Wilfrid replying said, 'Far be it from me to charge *S. John* with Folly, he observed the Rites of *Moses Law* according to the letter, the Church as yet Judaizing in many things, and the Apostles not being able to abdicate upon the sudden the whole Observations of the Law which God had ordained: for this cause did *S. Paul* circumcise *Timothy*, offer sacrifices in the Temple, and shew his head at *Corinth* with *Aquila* and *Priscilla*; which things he did only to eschew the offence of the Jews. In this consideration, *S. James* said to the Apostle *S. Paul*, *Thou see'st, brother, that many thousands of the Jews do believe, yet are they all zealous followers of the Law*. But the light of the Gospel now shining throughout the world, it is not lawful for a Christian to be circumcised, or to offer carnal sacrifices to God. Thus *S. John*, keeping the custom of the Law, began the Celebration of Easter upon the 14 day of the first month at evening, not caring whether it fell upon the Sabbath-day or any other day of the week. But *S. Peter* preaching at *Rome*, when he considered that the Lord did rise from the death on the first day after the Sabbath, thought good to institute Easter on that day. And that this is the true Easter to be observed by all Christians, it is clear by the *Nicene Council*, which did ratify and confirm the same by their Decree. But you neither follow the example of *S. John* nor *S. Peter*, nor doth your Celebration of Easter agree either with the Law or Gospel. For *S. John*, observing it according to the Law, had no respect to the first day after the Sabbath, whereas you keep not Easter but on the first of the Sabbath: *Saint Peter* did celebrate Easter from the 15 of the Moon to the 21, which you do not; for you keep Easter from the 14 to the 20 day, and often you begin Easter on the 13 day at night, whereof the Law maketh no mention; neither

'did

'did our Lord the author of the Gospel eat the Pascheover on the 13 day, but upon the 14 at night, and at the same time he did celebrate the Sacrament of the New Testament in remembrance of his death and passion. So as I have said, you neither agree with Law nor Gospel, with *S. John* nor with *S. Peter*, in the Celebration of the greatest Feativity.

To this *Colman* answered; 'And did *Anatholius* then, who in the Ecclesiastick History is so highly commended, go against both the Law and the Gospel, when as he said that Easter ought to be kept from the 13 day to the 20? or shall we think our most reverend Father *Columba* and his Successors, who were all dear unto God, did transgress in observing Easter after that manner? They were men of great Piety and Virtue, as their Miracles have declared; and I making no doubt of their Holiness, will endeavour to follow their Order and Discipline.

Then said *Wilfrid*, 'It is known that *Anatholius* was a godly and learned man; but what have you to do with him, that observe not his customs? for he followed the true rule of keeping Easter, and observed the Circle of 19 years, which either you know not, or if you do, ye set at naught, although the same be observed in the universal Church of Christ. He did so account the 14 day, as he acknowledged the same to be the 15 at night, after the manner of the Egyptians, and so the 20 day he believed to be the 21 in the evening; which distinction you know not, as appears by this, that sometimes you keep Easter on the 13 day before the full Moon. As to your Father *Columba* and his followers, whose Rule and precepts confirmed by Miracles you confess to follow, I may answer, That in the day of Judgment the Lord will say to many that prophesied in his name, did cast out Devils, and wrought other miracles, *I know you not*. But God forbid I should speak this of your Fathers; seeing it is better to believe good of those we know not, than ill. Therefore I will not deny them to have been the Servants of God and beloved of him, seeing they served God with good intent, though in simplicity. Neither do I think the Order they keep in Easter did hurt them much, so long as they had none among them that could shew the right observation thereof. If the truth had been shewed them, I doubt not they would have followed the same as well in this matter as in others which they knew. But if you and your associates should refuse the Decrees of the Apostolick See, or rather of the whole Church allowed by holy Scripture, now after you have heard the same, without all question you sin heavily. Howbeit your Fathers were holy men, you must not think that a few dwelling in a corner of a remote Isle are to be preferred to the universal Church of Christ. And if *Columba*, your Father, yea and ours also, if he was of Christ, was mighty in Miracles; yet is he not to be equalled to the Prince of the holy Apostles, unto whom the Lord said, *Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock will I build my Church, against which the gates of Hell shall not prevail; and will give unto thee the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven*.

The King, who had hearkened diligently unto all which they spake, taking hold of these last words, asked *Colman* if it was so that the Lord had spoken these words unto *Peter*. He answered, that it was truth. And can you shew, says he, that the like authority was given to your Father *Columba*? *Colman* answered, Not. Then said the King, Do both agree in this, that these words were spoken to *S. Peter*, and that the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven were given to him? They answered that they did. Then said he, *Seeing S. Peter is the door-keeper of Heaven, I will follow his Rule in everything, lest when I come to Heaven's gates the doors shall be shut against me*. These speeches of the King, full of simplicity, were seconded with the acclamations of many of the hearers, and the victory adjudged to the adversaries of *Colman*.

But he nothing moved therewith retained still his opinion, and would not change; yet fearing that some trouble might arise if he should make longer stay in those parts, he resigned his Bishoprick, in which one *Tuda a Scottish-man* succeeded, who was content to submit himself to the Roman observation of Easter, and to receive the Clerical Tonsure: but he lived not one whole year, and died of the Plague.

C 3

Colman

Colman resigneth his place.

The King determineth the Question.

An. 651.

Colman his Answer.

Wilfrid his reply.

An. 651.
Colman re-
turned into
Scotland.
Buchan. l. 5.

Colman returning into Scotland was welcomed by his Countrymen; for he was in great esteem, and bore no small authority, both in the Church and State, before he went into England; as appeared in the Insurrection made against King Ferghard. The Nobility having consulted to depose him from his Kingdom for the detestable cruelties he had committed, by Colman his authority they were only kept back, who told them, *That the punishment of Kings belonged to God, and that he ere it were long would take vengeance of his wickedness.* Which as he foretold came to pass; for the King after a few days being at hunting, happened to be bitten by a Wolf, and falling into a Fever, such a putrefaction ensued in his body, that out of every part there issued abundance of Lice and Vermine, which made him abhorred of all men. Languishing in this Consumption a long space, and touched with a bitter remorse for his wicked life, he sent for Colman, to whom he expressed a great sorrow for the ill life he had led, intreating the help of his prayers; and, to testify his humiliation, would needs be carried forth to the next fields wrapped in sackcloth; where after an open confession made of his wickedness, he was absolved by Colman, and shortly after yielded up the ghost.

The memory of this, which was yet fresh in the minds of people, together with the report of his constancy, (for so it was interpreted) did purchase unto him great love and reputation; but he, making short stay at home, went soon after into Ireland where he built a Monastery for the English and Scots that followed him thither. They not well agreeing, he bought a piece of ground and founded a Religious house for the English apart. Bishop Lefly in his Chronicle writeth, that after this he passed into Germany, and having travelled through Boheme, Hungary, and a great part of Greece, as he returned by Austria, he was killed by some Pagans in those parts: for this he citeth Johannes Stabius, the Historiographer of Maximilian the first. But whatsoever became of him, he was certainly a man of great integrity, and therefore much respected of all men.

A declining
in the Church
by the Dis-
sentions that
grew in the
same.

Gndwin de
Presulibus
Anglie.

Buchan. l. 5.

After this time we find a continual declining in the Church: for the Decision taken in that conference of Whitby, touching the controversy of Easter, increased the Dissention, and put all out of frame; they that were in place urging the Rites more strictly than was convenient, and others chusing rather to quit their places than to give way unto them. Theodorus, then Archbishop of Canterbury, is blamed for exercising the authority of his place too peremptorily about these things, and forcing the British Bishops to conform themselves: Wilfrid, Archbishop of York, dealing in like sort with the Scottish Preachers, that had planted the Gospel among the English, thrust them from their places. *Nam optione data, maluerunt loco cedere, quam Pascha Catholicum ceterosque Ritus canonicos Romane Ecclesie recipere;* It being given to their option, whether they would stay and admit the observation of Easter and other Rites of the Church of Rome, they made choice to leave their places and depart. The Clergy at home became also divided: for Adamannus or Adamnanus a Bishop, who had been Tutor to Eugenius the sixth, being sent in Ambassage to Alfrid King of Northumberland, fell in such a liking of the Rites he saw there used, as at his return he became an earnest perswader of his Countrymen to receive them, and prevailed with many. Yet the Monks of Jona, whose Governour he had sometimes been, did strongly oppose; others that loved not to be contentious retired themselves, among whom Disyodius and Livinus are said to have been two. Disyodius going into Germany lived a Monk in the Abbey of Fulden many years.

Adamannus a
Bishop.

Adamannus, whom even now I named, is much commended for the care he took to keep the Picts and Scots in peace; which albeit he did not effect according to his desire, (for they were ever making IncurSIONS one against another) yet so far he prevailed, as during his life no publick War arose amongst them. To bind the two people in friendship, he was a means to make Eugenius the seventh take to wife Spondana daughter to Granard King of Picts; but she not long after being killed as she lay in bed by two Atholmen, that had conspired to kill the King, and were mistaken in the execution, the friendship contracted had almost turned into deadly enmity, because of a rumour that went that she was made away by the King's knowledge. The Picts complaining of the injury done to their blood, and many of

of the subjects apprehending it to be the King's own fact, he was forced, with some indignity to his person, to plead his innocency in a Parliament called to that purpose. It happened that in the mean time the murderers were discovered and taken, and by the punishment they suffered the King's innocency was sufficiently cleared; wherewith he not contented, would needs be avenged of his subjects that had called his name in question. This raised a great stir, and had doubtless burst forth in a civil War, if Adamannus by his wisdom had not mitigated the King, and wrought the subjects reconciliation. Beda speaking of this Adamannus saith, that he was *Vir unitatis & pacis studiosissimus*, a man most careful to preserve unity and peace. And indeed he shewed as much; for having the favour of the King, although he stood divided in opinion from his brethren, he never moved him to use his Authority in these matters, as easily he might have done, judging as he did rightly, Uniformity to be a work of time, and that constraint and violence are not the means to bring it to pass.

Chilianus, or Kilianus, a man of great learning, taking a contrary course, fell into the dislike of many for his too great forwardness in advancing the Romish Ceremonies; and out of indignation conceived against those that maligned him left his place, betaking himself to travel with Colomatus, or Columbanus, a Presbyter, and Theotrianus a Deacon. After a view taken of England and France, he took journey into Germany, and coming to Herbipolis, now called Wirtzburg, where one Gosbertus governed as Deputy to Theodorick King of France, he was informed that the Governor had lately taken Geilana his brother's widow to wife; which he esteeming a great wickedness, and not to be endured where Christianity was professed, he went to Rome, and meant the matter to Pope Conon; who, liking well the zeal of the man, did consecrate him Bishop of Wirtzburg, and sent him back thither. At his return shewing the Governour what an unlawful match he had made, he laboured earnestly to have him dimit Geilana, and was in likelihood to prevail: whereupon the malicious woman having conducted some murderers to make him away, both he and his two companions were strangled in their Chambers; and, lest the fact should be disclosed, their bodies, books and vestments, were all hidden under the ground. But God, who never suffereth murder to be long concealed, brought the same shortly after to light by the means of one of her maids. Whereupon Burcardus his successor made the corpses to be raised, and laid in the great Church of the City, with these verses appended nigh unto their Sepulcher.

Chilianus.

Bayon. in anno
689.

*Hi sunt, Herbipolis, qui te docuere Magistri,
Qua verum coleres religione Deum.
Impia quos tandem iussit Geilana necari,
Celavitque sub hunc corpora cessa locum.
Ne turpi, sine laude, situ defossa jacerent
Corpora, Burcardus sub monumenta locat.*

But to proceed; as it falleth out commonly at such times, there were not a few that, upon hope to raise their fortunes and gain preferment, were after this still gadding to Rome. Baronius telleth us in his Annals of two of our Countrymen, Wiros and Plechelmus, that came to Rome to visit, as he speaketh, *Limina Apostolorum.* Wiros, he saith, had been earnestly intreated to accept the charge of a Bishop; but it being a custom in the Scottish first Church to elect their Bishops, then to send them to Rome for seeking confirmation, he took this occasion to visit the holy City. But, by the Cardinals leave, our Church had no such custom before that time; nor will it be shewed that before these two any did go to Rome, either to be consecrated, or confirmed. They indeed obtained what they sought, and were consecrated by Pope Honorius, who used them with much respect; that upon the report they should make, others should be allured to keep the same course. Wiros returning, made an ample discourse of their entertainment, and incited many to try the same way, yet made no long stay at home; for we find him shortly after turn Confessor to King Pipin, with whom he found such favour as he did build a Monastery

Bayon. in ann.
632.

Wiros and Ple-
chelmus con-
secrated Bi-
shops by Pope
Honorius.

An. 697.
A Synod at
Utrecht.

An. 697.
Bonifacius an
Italian came
into Scotland.

Monastery in *Franconia*, to the memory of *St. Peter*, and, retiring thither in his age, did there end his days. What became of *Pelchelmus* I read not; only I find both him and *Wiro* present at a Synod in *Utrecht*, called by Pope *Sergius* in the year 697. and in the Records *Pelchelmus* styled *Episcopus Candidæ casæ*.

There came about the same time into *Scotland* an *Italian* named *Bonifacius*, a grave and venerable person, as he is described, and was judged by the vulgar sort to be the Pope. Some have written that he was elected successor to *Gregory* the Great, but declined the charge out of a desire to promote Religion in these Northern parts. I rather think he came hither to confirm our acquaintance with the *Roman Church*. Asever that was, for the pains he took in preaching the Gospel, and the Churches he erected in this Kingdom, he deserveth of us an honourable remembrance. For landing in the River of *Tay*, at the mouth of a little Water that divided the Countries of *Angus* and *Mernis*, he there built a Church to the memory of *St. Peter* the Apostle; another not far from thence he built at *Telin*, and a third at *Restennoth*: and having finished these works, he did visit the Countries of *Marre*, *Bughan*, *Murray* and *Bogieland*, preaching the Gospel whithersoever he came; neither did he rest till he came to the Country of *Ross*, and chusing *Rosmarkie* for the place of his residence erected there a Church, where after his death he was buried. *Molochus*, a learned Bishop of his Countrey, taking delight in his company, followed him in all these ways; and that he should not be separate from him in death, gave order that he should be interred in the same Church, and near unto *Boniface*; for he outlived him many years, and died in the 94 of his age. His bones were afterwards translated to *Lismore* in *Argile*, because of his labours employed in reforming that Church.

Bonifacius
made Arch-
bishop of
Mentz.

Whether or not I should mention among these that *Boniface* who was by *Gregory* the second preferred to be Bishop of *Mentz*, I know not, so many Writers affirming him to have born in *England*: but of what Country soever he was, none did ever adventure more for the Pope than he did; for he is said to have brought the *Bavarians*, *Thuringians*, *Hessians*, and a great part of *Germany* more, to submit themselves in all matters Ecclesiastick to the See of *Rome*; yet was he therein greatly opposed (besides some *German*s) by two of the *Scottish* Nation, *Clemens* and *Sampson*, who at the time remained in those parts. These did openly in their Sermons inveigh against him as a Corrupter of Christian doctrine, charging him, 1. For that he studied to win men to the subjection of the Pope, and not to the obedience of Christ; 2. That he laboured to establish a sovereign authority in the Pope his person, as if he were only the Successor of the Apostles, whereas all Bishops are their Successors as well as he; 3. That he went about the abolishing of Priests Marriage, and extolling a Single life beyond measure; and, 4. That he caused Masses to be said for the dead, erected Images in Churches, and introduced divers Rites unknown to the ancient Church. For this *Clemens* in a Council holden at *Rome* was excommunicated and condemned for an Heretick. The sentence is to be seen in the third Tome of the Councils wherein none of these particulars is mentioned, but other false aspersions are cast upon his fame, as hath been the Custom of handling those that oppose the Corruption of the *Roman Church*. *Bonifacius*, always going on in his course, and seeking to make the like Reformation amongst the *Frizons*, was with 54 of his followers killed in the 60 year of his age, and hath therefore a chief place in the *Roman Martyrology*.

But this did so little terrify others, as about the same time certain *Scottish* Monks did adventure upon the *Saxons*, to bring them under the Pope's obedience. *Palto*, *Tanco*, *Korvila* and *Haruchus*, (so they name them) being consecrated Bishops of *Verden* in *Saxony* one after another, did all of them lay down their lives in that quarrel; *Quasexoptantes coronam Martyrii*, says *Balaus*, longing for the Crown of Martyrdom, and counting it their glory to suffer in the Bishop of *Rome* his cause. Nor were they Monks only that were so given, but even of the Bishops *Sedulus* and *Pergustus* were vehemently set that way, and having assisted in a Synod called at *Rome* by *Gregory* the second in the year 721, (as their Subscriptions extant in the Books of Councils do testify) after their return made great disturbance in the Church

Church for the erecting of Images, and put divers Preachers from their Livings for resisting that course.

In all this time, which is not a little to be admired, the Eremitical life was in such esteem, not with Clergy-men alone, but with the greatest Nobles and Princes, that they, forsaking their Honors and Dignities, betook themselves thereto, as the most contented and desirable sort of life. Of these last our Stories do name *Drostanus*, the Uncle, or, as others say, the Nephew of King *Aidanus*, Prince *Fiacre*, the second son of *Eugenius* the fourth, and *Florentius*, a Gentleman of honorable birth and estate, who did all, nigh at one time, sequester themselves from the world, not out of any grief or discontent, whereof they had no cause, but upon a mere apprehension of the vanity of worldly greatness. The story of *Fiacre*, as *Boeth.* rehearseth it, is especially memorable. This Prince being committed to the education of *Conanus* Bishop of *Man*, after he came to some years, did steal away privately to *France*, and his intention being discovered to *Pharo* Bishop of *Meaux*, he had by his gift a little Cell in a solitary place appointed for him. There separating himself from all company, he spent his time wholly in Prayer and divine Contemplation. It happened after a little time, his elder brother King *Ferghard* to be deposed for his Tyrannical government; whereupon Commissioners were sent to recal him, as being the next Heir of the Kingdom. He getting intelligence of their coming, did besake him to his prayers, and with many tears besought God to confirm his mind in the resolution he had taken, and divert them by some means from disturbing his rest: so as when they came unto him he appeared unto them leprous, looked to be deformed as they were amazed to behold him: but they (notwithstanding this, did not judge him unfit for government) resolved to deliver their Commission, intreating him to return to his Country, where he would find the air more healthful, and in a short time by the help of Physicians recover his health. *Fiacre* at first excusing himself by his infirmity, when he perceived them insist for his return, and relinquishing that sort of life, did cut them off with this answer: *I have, said he, made choice of this condition of life which you see, & am contented with this little Cell for my dwelling: these Garments (pointing to his apparel) serve me for clothing, and my food is a simple Pottage of herbs, which I dress to my self; more I desire not, nor would I change this state of life with the most fortunate King in the world. I seem to you deformed, yet is my body sound, and my blood uncorrupted; but it is the will of God I should look so, that I may be kept humble, and learn to amend my life. Go you therefore home, and shew my Brother and the Noblemen that sent you hither, that I live content in this private manner, and will not change it with any state whatsoever; and from me desire them to serve God purely, to live justly, and entertain peace among themselves: which if they do, they shall be always victorious over their enemies.* This said, he withdrew himself into his Cell; and they, finding that there was no means to prevail with him, departed.

The Commissioners at their return making report of that they had seen, and his resolution, his only sister *Syra* was so much moved with it, as, taking with her some Virgins in company, she went to visit him, and after some conference rendered her self and those that came with her Religious in the City of *Meaux*. This *Fiacre* is the same to whose memory divers Churches in *France* are dedicated, and is said to have died in the year 665.

Florentius (whom I named) taking the like resolution went into *Germany*, and in the Country of *Alsatia*, upon the River *Hasel*, built a little Chappel for his private use, where he lived retired from all company, and purchased to himself great reputation. It happened *Rathildis* the daughter of *Dagobert* King of *France* to fall sick in the time of a disease that deprived her both of sight & speech, and being recommended to *Florentius* prayers, she within a little while recovered. Whereupon King *Dagobert* did build a magnifick Abbey, called yet *The Abbey of Haselab*, and committed the Government thereof to *Florentius*. There was difficulty enough to win him from his solitary life; yet so earnest were the solicitations used unto him, that in end he yielded, and was after that made Bishop of *Strasburg*, upon the death of *Rotharius*. Twelve years he governed that See most wisely, giving proof of his vertue and worth as well in the active as contemplative life. Before his death

The Story of
Fiacre.

Bal. cent. 14.

An. 697.

The Universi-

ties of Paris

and Pavia

founded by

Scottish-men.

Scotus.

Alcuin.

Rabanus

Maurus.

Maidulphus

Scotus.

Camden's

Antiquities.

death he founded a Monastery for *Scottish-men* at the river *Bruscius* in *Alsatia*, and placed therein *Argobastus*, *Theodotus* and *Hidolphus*, who had accompanied him from *Scotland*. His Body, according as he directed, was there interred after his death.

Never did this Country abound more in Learned men than at this time. Our Writers speak of *Mocharius*, *Glacianus* and *Gervadius*, Bishops of great reputation: they name likewise *Divinicus*, *Conganus*, *Dunstanus*, *Medanus*, and *Modanus*, as famous men all for their Piety and Learning. But they that King *Achais* sent to *Charles* the Great, upon his earnest intreaty, did excel all the rest; *Joannes Scotus*, *Claudius Clemens*, *Rabanus Maurus* and *Flaccus Albinus*, otherwise called *Alcuinus*, these four he sent with Prince *Gulielme* his brother into *France*, at the time of the league made with that people, which to this day remaineth inviolate: and by them it was that the University of *Paris* was first founded. *Scotus* after he had stayed some years at *Paris* was employed by the same *Charles*, for founding an University at *Pavia*, and was in great respect with all, the *Roman* Church excepted, who could not away with the liberty he used in his reproofs of the Errors then springing up. His Treatise of the Eucharist, a pious and learned Work, was by Pope *Leo* the ninth condemned in *Synodo Vercellensi* in the year 1030, long after his death. *Claudius Clemens* was afterwards preferred to the Bishoprick of *Auxene*, where he lived to his death in great esteem.

Alcuin, commonly held to be *Charles* the Great his Master, was made his Eleemosynar, and lived in special credit with him. The Book that came forth under *Charles* his name against Images was thought to be penned by him; for he was a man of great Learning, as the many Books left by him to posterity do shew. *Ubique pius, ubique doctus*, says *Balaeus*, *succinctus, gravis, & ante multos alios precipue dignus qui in manibus hominum habeatur*. The *English* Writers will have him born in their Country, not far from the City of *York*. To which I only say, that the *English* at that time being adversaries to the *French* and *Scots*, speaking of them as common enemies to both people, it is not probable, if he had been of the *English* Nation, that he would be so inward with *Charles* the Great.

Rabanus Maurus was his Auditor many years, and under his hand grew to such perfection of learning, that it is said, *quod nec Italia similem, nec Germania equalem peperit*; that neither did *Italy* breed his like, nor *Germany* his equal. *Tantum viri eruditionem, says Bruscius, omnes Bibliothecæ nobis commendant; & quantum ingenio valuerit, edita ab eo volumina demonstrant. Bibliothecam enim Fuldensis tanta librorum multitudine locupletavit, ut dinumerari vix queant*. All Bibliothèques do witness the rare erudition of that man, and what a fertile ingenie he had, the Volumes published by him do shew. The Library of *Fulden* he enriched with such multitudes of Books as can scarce be numbred. And certainly who shall but read the Catalogue of his Works, will wonder how any one man should in his life have penned so much, and upon so divers subjects; for besides that he did illustrate the whole Books of Scripture with his Expositions, he left a number of profitable Treatises in every Science to posterity. After *Clemens* was gone from *Paris* he continued in the University some years; and being made Abbot of *Fulden*, upon a displeasure he conceived against the Monks he went to the Court of *Ludovicus* the Emperor, where he had not long attended, when, upon the death of *Otgarius* Archbishop of *Mentz*, he was elected to the Government of that See. Ten years he sat Bishop, having no opposition made to him nor to his Doctrine, though he taught no other than what is with us in these times taught and professed; as in his Works yet extant may be seen.

In this reckoning we must not forget our country-men *Maidulphus Scotus*, who was of great fame in these days for his skill in training up the youth in Letters, and kept a publick School at *Caerbladon* in *Wiltshire*, there being as yet no University in *England*: he also is said to have been a strong defender of the Bishop of *Rome* his Authority, and placed in that part by *Eleutherius* Bishop of the *West-Saxons*, for withstanding the *British* Doctors that opposed the *Roman* Rites. After some time bestowed that way, embracing the Monastical life, he erected an Abbey at *Malsbury*, which *Aldelin* his disciple and successor did much increase: and from him

him it is thought that *Malsbury* took the name, being at first called *Maidulphs-bury*, or *Maidulphs City*.

We are now at the 800. year, or thereabout, when as the Wars were renewed betwixt the *Scots* and the *Picts*, which brought in end the utter subversion of that people, I mean the *Picts*. Their kingdom had continued near 1200 years under the Reign of 65 Kings, and was fortunate enough till the daies of King *Feredeth*; who, I know not by what ill counsel, bare an heavy hand upon the Church, and made spoil of her Rents, especially of the Ornaments bestowed by his Predecessor King *Hungus* upon the Church of *S. Andrews*. The occasion of these Troubles I shall briefly set down, after I have remembered the Magnificence of Prince *Gulielme*, which ought never to be forgotten. After the League contracted with *France*, which he was sent to ratify, he followed *Charles* the Great in all his wars, performing notable services, especially in *Italy*, where he was made Lieutenant for the King. Upon the end of the Wars, being grown in age, he went to *Germany* resolving to bestow his means (which were very great) in founding Religious Houses, which he did at *Coleu*, *Francford*, *Vienna*, *Hersford*, *Luneburg*, *Wirtsburg*, *Mulereu*, and *Rutibone*: fifteen Abbeyes and Hospitals they reckon founded by him, some in *Italy*, but the most part in *Germany*; all which he endowed with a reasonable proportion of lands and rents, but with this proviso, that none should be admitted therein but *Scottish-men* born. This for many years according to his appointment was observed; and even at this time, notwithstanding the manifold alterations that have happened, there be some of these foundations that are no ways changed from their first Institution. They also may possibly decay, yet the magnificence of that Noble Prince shall ever be recorded to his everlasting honour.

And now to the occasion of these Troubles I mentioned. There reigned in the time of King *Achais* amongst the *Picts* *Hungus*, a Prince well inclined, and a great lover of Religion and Justice. *Athelstane* King of the *West-Saxons*, having usurped upon divers of his neighbours, and enlarged his kingdom by subduing the *Northumbrians*, did like wise invade the *Picts*, intending the conquest of that part of their Kingdom which lay next unto his. *Hungus* hereupon did move King *Achais*, who had married *Fergusiana* his Sister, for some supply; and he, no less offended with *Athelstane's* oppressions than was *Hungus* himself, sent to his aid ten thousand men, under the leading of Prince *Alpin* his Son. *Hungus* supplied with this power entered into *Northumberland*, and, having made great depredations, returned home with a rich booty. *Athelstane* following upon his heels overtook him at a little Village not far from *Hadington*; which put *Hungus* in a sore fright, for a great part of his Army was dismissed and gone home: yet not seeing a way to eschew the Fight, he gave order for the Battel against the next day, and in the mean time betook himself to prayer, spending most part of the night in that exercise. A little before day falling into a slumber, it seemed to him that the Apostle *S. Andrew* stood by him, and assured him of the victory; which Vision being related to the Army did much encourage them. The History addeth, that in the joyning of the battel there appeared in the air a Cross, in form of the Letter X, which so terrified the enemies as presently they gave back. King *Athelstane* was himself there killed, whereupon the Village took the name which at this day it enjoyeth, of *Athelstan Foord*.

Hungus, to express his thankfulness for the Victory, gave to the Church of *Regulus*, now called *S. Andrews*, divers rich gifts, as Chalice, Basons, the Image of Christ in Gold, and of his twelve Apostles in Silver. He gave likewise a Cope of beaten Gold for preserving the Reliques of *S. Andrew*, and restored to the Spirituality the Tithes of all Corns, Cattel, and Herbage within the Realm, exempting them from answering before any temporal Judge. Farther, he did appoint the Cross of *S. Andrew* to be the Badge and Cognisance of the *Picts*, both in their Wars and otherwise; which as long as that kingdom stood was observed, and is by the *Scots* as yet retained. But all this was spoiled, as we said, by *Feredeth* the third in succession from *Hungus*, after which time nothing prospered either with him or with that people.

For

An. 800.

The Scots
claim the
Kingdom of
the Picts.

For the Line masculine of their Kings failing, *Alpin* the son of *Achatus* did claim the Crown as next in blood, by virtue of an old Covenant betwixt the *Scots* and *Picts*. The *Picts* refusing to accept him being a Stranger, made choice of this *Feredeth* whom we named; and thereupon War was denounced. The first Encounter was at *Restennoth* in *Angus*; where in a cruel Fight, which continued from the morning until night, *Feredeth* was killed. His Son *Brudeus*, who succeeded, was made away by the *Picts* themselves in the first year of his reign, and *Kenneth* his Brother that succeeded to him came to the like unfortunate end. After *Kenneth*, another called *Brudeus* was elected King; and he, in a Battel fought not far from *Dundee*, took King *Alpin* and many of his Nobles prisoners: which Victory he used most foully, putting all the Nobles to death, killing the King, and causing his head to be set upon a pole in *Abernethy*, or, as others write, in the City of *Camelon*.

Kenneth utterly
overthreweth
the Picts.

The *Picts* upon this Victory supposing that they had utterly broken the courage of the *Scots*, did purpose nothing less than their extermination, which after the death of *Brudeus*, his Brother *Dusken* that succeeded went earnestly about. But *Kenneth* the second, the son of *Alpin*, a Prince of a brave and heroick spirit, pursued so hotly the revenge of his Fathers death, as having defeated the *Picts* in divers Battels, he drave them all in the end forth of the kingdom, and united that Crown to his own of *Scotland*. This *Kenneth* was a most wise and valiant King, and so circumspect in his business, that from that time forth none of the *Picts* were ever heard to resume the title of a King. The Countrys which they inhabited he divided amongst the Nobles, and others whose labour in these Wars had merited a recompence. He established good and wholesome Laws. To the Church he gave another face, and a greater outward splendour than the former Ages had seen, translating the Episcopal See (which whilest the *Pictish* Kingdom stood was settled in *Abernethy*) to the Church of *S. Reul*, and ordained it from thenceforth to be called *The Church of S. Andrews*, and the Bishop thereof *Maximus Scotorum Episcopus*, the principal Bishop of *Scotland*. Churches, Chapels and Oratories, with their Priests and all sorts of Religious men he caused to be held in great reverence; and, in a word, did so nobly perform all actions both of War and Peace, as he may rightly be placed amongst the best Kings, and reckoned the third Founder of the *Scottish* Monarchy.

Boeth. l. 10.

Lest. l. 5.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

The Second BOOK.

The Contents.

The Succession of Bishops in the several Sees of this Kingdom, especially in the See of Saint ANDREWS, with other principal things that happened in their times.

HAVING made a Collection of such things as I found dispersed in Stories, and warranted in any sort, for the first six hundred years of our Church, and being now come to the time wherein this Church by enlarging of the Kingdom received a farther extension in bounds, and therewith an addition of more wealth and state; I will, as beginning with a new account, follow the Story thereof by the Succession of Bishops, especially in the See of Saint *Andrews*, upon which the rest did depend.

1. The first Bishop who sat in this See was *Adrian*, killed by the *Danes* in the Isle of *May*, in the year 872, with *Stolbrandus* a Bishop, *Monannus* an Archdeacon, *Glodianus* a Presbyter, and a number of other Churchmen, who fled thither for their safety. Whilest this Bishop lived, *Constantine* the second the son of *Kenneth* did keep a Convention in *Scone*, for reforming the disorders which the loose and dissolute Government of his Predecessor *Donald* the first had caused. In that Convention beginning was made at the Clergy, and concerning them it was ordained, 'That they should reside upon their Charges, and have no meddling with secular business: That they should instruct the people diligently, and be good examples in their conversation: That they should not keep Hawks, Hounds, or Horses for pleasure: That they should carry no weapons, nor be pleaders of Civil causes, but live contented with their own provisions. And if they were tried to transgress in any of these points, that for the first fault they should be fined in a pecuniary mulct, and for the second deprived from their office and living. Thus was it not held in that time a diminution of Ecclesiastical authority for Princes to give Laws to the Clergy, and to punish them if they were found guilty of any offence or crime.

The Succession
of Bishops in
this Church after
the subver-
sion of the
Picts.

Adrian the
first in this ac-
count killed
by the *Danes*.
An. 872.
A convention
at *Scone* for
reformation
of the State.
An. 860.

Divers other statutes for redressing Abuses crept into the Realm were then also concluded: as, 'That Drunkenness should be punished with death; that none should eat above one meal a day, nor accustom themselves to lie softly, or use any Recreation but such as might inure them to sufferance and labour. Whereby that good King did banish all Riot and Luxury, and in a short time brought the Kingdom again to a flourishing estate. But the *Danes* (as we said) invaded the Country, and practising many cruelties, whilest he did pursue them, who had entrenched themselves not far from the Town of *Carrail*, he was unfortunately

Statutes for
redressing A-
buses.

An. 904.

with all his Army overthrown, and, being taken prisoner the day following, be-headed at the mouth of a little Cave, which in detestation of that fact is to this day called, *The Devils Cave*.

2. Unto Bishop *Adrian* succeeded *Kellach*: how long he lived, I find not.

Scot. l. 2. in
Catalogo Episc.
S. Andree.
King Gregory
his Favors to
the Church.

Booth. l. 10.

3. After him *Malifus* governed the See by the space of eight years. This Bishop had the happiness to live under *Gregory* called the Great, a King induced with all the Virtues that can be wished for or desired in a King. The Priviledges and Immunities granted by him to the Church do witness his Piety; for in a Convention held at *Forfare*, by an unanime consent of his Estates, he ordained, 'That all Priests should from thenceforth be exempted from paying Tribute, keeping Watch, and going in Warfare. That they should not be drawn before Temporal Judges for any Civil cause, but that all matters concerning them should be decided by their Bishops. The judgment of Matrimonial causes, right of Tithes, Testaments, Legislatory actions, and all things depending upon simple faith and promise, should be committed to the Bishops, with power to them to make Canons and Constitutions Ecclesiastical, to try Hereticks, Blasphemers, Perjured persons and Magicians, and censure such as they did find delinquent in that kind. And that all Kings succeeding should at the time of their Coronation take oath for maintaining the Church in their Liberties. These Favors had the Clergy in the following Ages used with that moderation and equity which they ought, we should not have seen nor felt the interruptions that have been made upon Church-Liberties, with the Incroachments which in our time have been justly complained of.

Jo. Scotus cal-
led *Erigena*.

Booth. l. 10.

Lett. l. 5.

In this time lived that famous Scholar *Joannes Scotus*, called *Erigena*, from the place of his birth, which was the town of *Aire* in the West parts of *Scotland*. This man being very young went to *Athens*, and following his studies there some years, attained to great perfection in the *Greek*, *Chaldick* and *Arabick* languages. Returning afterward to *France*, at the request of *Carolus Calvus*, he translated in *Latine* the Work of *Dionysius De celesti Hierarchia*; at which Pope *Nicolas* took exception, and wrote to King *Charles* on this manner. *Relatum est Apostolatus nostro. quod Opus Dionysii Areopagite, quod de Divinis Nominibus, vel celestibus Ordinibus, Græco descripsit eloquio, quidam vir, Johannes genere Scotus, in Latinum transtulit: quod juxta morem nobis mitti, et nostro debuit judicio approbari: præsertim cum idem Johannes, licet multa scientiæ esse prædicetur, olim non sanus in quibusdam frequenti rumore dicatur.* We have been informed that one called *John*, of the *Scottish* nation, hath translated the Work which *Dionysius the Areopagite* did write of the Names of God, or of the heavenly Orders, into the *Latine* tongue: which Book ought, according to the custom, have been sent to us, & approved by our judgment; especially since the said *John*, albeit he be esteemed of good learning, hath been of long time held to be unfound in certain Points of doctrine. Now the Point which the Pope did chiefly quarrel was his Opinion of the Sacrament; for he had published a Treatise *De Corpore & Sanguine Domini*, wherein he maintained *Bertram* his Doctrine of that Point. *Scotus* having knowledge of this, and thinking he could not be safe in those parts because of the Pope's dislike came into *Britain*, & was welcomed by *K. Alfrid*, a great favorer of Learned men, by whom he was employed to teach the Languages at *Malmesbury Abbey*, and by some Scholars, who could not endure the severity of Discipline, was stabbed to death in the year 884, and buried in the same Abbey.

An. 904.

King Constantine the Third
forsooketh the
publick life.

Paffet. l. 6. c.
27.

4. Bishop *Malifus* dying, *Kellach* the second, the son of one *Ferlegus*, succeeded in his place. He was the first Bishop of this Kingdom that went to *Rome* to seek Confirmation, and lived to a great age, for he sat Bishop 35 years. In his time *Constantine* the third King of that name, wearied with the troubles of a Publick life, renounced his temporal Dignity, and betook himself to Solitude among the *Culdees* in *S. Andrews*, with whom he spent his last five years, and there died.

After this *Kellach* these successively were Bishops.

5. *Malmore*.

6. *Malifus* the second.

7. *Alwinus*, who sat three years only.

8. *Maldwin* the Son of *Gillander*, and

9. *Tuthaldus*.

In this time the Cœlibate of the Clergy was violently urged, and Married Priests thrust from their Livings; which raised great Stirs in the Church, but the particulars are not recorded, nor the Broils which thereupon ensued. I read in the Antiquities of the *Britannick* Church, that in the year 977 a Council was gathered at *Calne* in *Wiltshire* for that business, to which *Beornellus* a Bishop of *Scotland* was called by *Alfrith* the widow of King *Edgar*, who favored the cause of married Priests. This Bishop, a man of great learning and eloquence, is said to have defended the Conjugal life of Priests by solid Reasons taken out of Scripture, and to have put all the opposites to silence. But *Dunstan* the Archbishop, who presided in that Council, when he saw that Reason could not bear out the errand, fell a threatening, and said that notwithstanding all their Arguments they should not carry away the victory: which he had no sooner spoken, than the beams of the House wherein they sat at Council burlesqued afunder, all were overturned, and fell headlong to the ground; many were bruised, and some killed with the fall; *Dunstan* himself only escaped without harm, the beam whereon he stood remaining whole and intire. Such as favoured the cause of Monks did interpret this accident to be a sentence given by God on their side: others said that *Dunstan* had wrought this mischief by Sorcery, (for many supposed him to be a Magician.) However it was, the married Priests (though repining) were forced indeed to yield and submit themselves. What became of *Beornellus*, I read not, nor whether he returned to his Country.

The names of some other Bishops we have who were in good account at that time; such as *Blaanus*, *Englatius*, *Colmocus*, and *Moveanus* Confessor to King *Kenneth* the Third, a wife and valiant King, and one who might have been reckoned amongst the best Princes, if about his latter end he had not stained his fame with the murder of *Malcolm* his Nephew, whom he made away by poison: but the ambitious desire he had to settle the succession in his own posterity set him to work this villany; which he carried in so covert a manner, as no man did once suspect him thereof, (the opinion of his integrity being universally great.) But as wicked facts can never be assured, though possible they may be concealed; his mind was never after that time quiet, the conscience of the crime vexing him day and night with continual fears. In end, (whether it was so in effect, or if his perplexed mind did form the self such an imagination) whilst he lay asleep, he heard a voice speaking to him in this sort. 'Dost thou think that the death of *Malcolm*, that innocent Prince treacherously murdered by thee, is hidden from me, or that thou shalt pass any longer unpunished? No, there is a plot laid for thy life, which thou shalt not escape: and whereas thou didst think to transmit the Crown firm and stable to thy posterity, thou shalt leave the Kingdom broken, distracted and full of trouble.

The King awaked with the voice was stricken with great terror. In the morning early calling *Moveanus*, he laid open to him the grief and vexation of his mind: who giving the King his best counsel for the pacifying of his Conscience, did advise him to bestow alms upon the poor, visit the graves of holy men, have the Clergy in greater regard than he was accustomed, and perform such other external satisfactions as were used in those times. The King following his directions did carry himself most piously, not thinking by these outward deeds of Penance to make expiation for his sin; for they were not become as yet so grossly ignorant, as to believe that by such external works the justice of God is satisfied: albeit some idle toys, such as the visiting the graves of the Saints, kissing of Reliques, hearing of Masses, and others of that kinde, which Avarice and Superstition had invented, were then crept into the Church; yet people were still taught, that Christ is the only propitiation for sin, and by his blood the guilt thereof is only washed away. This being still the Doctrine of the Church, to think that *Kenneth* was any other, is scarce charitable. Always, as he was visiting the grave of *Palladius*, being invited to lodge in the Castle of *Fettercarne*, he was there treacherously murdered. But to return to our Bishops.

10. *Fothadus* succeeded next after *Tuthaldus*, a man greatly respected for the opinion

An. 100+.
Buchan. l. 6.
Scot. l. in Catalog. Episc. S. Andrews.
opinion conceived of his Holiness. In the competition which *Grimus* had with *Malcolm* the Second for the succession of the Crown, by his wisdom and the trust they reposed in him they were brought to an agreement, and a most perillous commotion stayed. How long he late Bishop is not recorded; in his time lived *Vigimus* a Monk, an eloquent Preacher, *Coganus* an Abbot, and *Onanus* a Deacon, men of especial accompt.

Buchan. l. 6.
Booth. l. 11.
The Danes defeat at Murthlack in Angus by Malcolm.
11. After the death of *Fothadus*, *Gregorius* was elected and consecrated Bishop. He lived in a troublesome time; for soon after his election, the *Danes* did new invade the Country, and landing in *Murray*, had such success at first as they did think to make conquest of the Realm. But *Malcolm* the Second having repulsed them at a battel fought at *Pambride* in *Angus*, did pursue them unto *Bioban*, where at a Village called *Murthlack* he gave them an utter overthrow, and forced those that escaped to swear, that during the reign of *Malcolm*, and the life of *Swane* their King, they should never return into *Soiland*.

An Episcopal See at Murthlack.
An. 1004.
To memorize this victory, the King did found an Episcopal See at *Murthlack*, endowing the same with Rents forth of the adjacent lands; and calling the Clergy to an assembly in the Town of *Bertha*, (now *Perth*) he enacted by the advice of Bishop *Gregorius* divers Canons for their better government. At the same time in a Convention kept at *Scone*, to reward those that had done well in the late Wars, he gave away all the Crown lands, reserving little or nothing to himself. The Barons, to requite his liberality, did grant to him and his successors Kings of *Scotland* the Ward of all their lands, with the benefit that might accrue by the marriage of the Heir. But this, being casual and uncertain, proved insufficient for maintaining his Royal estate, so that necessity (the sure companion of immoderate largition) did force him to make unlawful shifts: whereby he came to be as much hated in end as he was loved at first; and by some villains, that thought themselves wronged by him, was murdered in the Castle of *Glammes*, after he had reigned 30 years. Before his time the titles of *Thane* and *Abthane* were the only Titles of honour and dignity in the Realm: whereas he, to give a greater splendor to the State, did introduce all those Offices which are now in use, and are commonly called *Offices of Estate*.

An. 1034.
Buchan. l. 7.
Booth. l. 12.
Duncan the first, his Nephew by *Beatrix* his daughter, succeeded to the Crown, whose weakness and simplicity made way to *Mackbeth* his Cousin-german's usurpation; for he, conspiring with *Bancho* a man of great place, deprived the King both of his Crown and life, in the seventh year of his reign. The Kings two sons, *Malcolm*, surnamed *Canmore*, and *Donald Bane*, fearing the cruelty of the Tyrant, withdrew themselves and fled, *Malcolm* into *Wales*, and *Donald* into the *West Isles*. Thus none being to oppose, *Mackbeth* did assume to himself the Crown, and for the first ten years governed the Kingdom better with justice than he got it. Afterward growing suspicious, and seeking to rid himself of those that might prove his enemies, he began his cruelty at *Bancho*, who had a hand with him in the Kings murder: and inviting him on a night to supper with his son *Fleanche*, as they were returning to their lodgings, made some lie in the way to murder them. *Bancho* doubting no harm was killed; but his son *Fleanche* through the darkness of the night escaped. The Nobles detesting this treachery, and fearing it might turn to be their own case, retired home to their dwellings. *Mackbeth* finding himself to be forsaken of his Nobles, and knowing that he was hated by the people, fell then to practise open Tyranny, and forging quarrels against the better sort, did upon light causes put divers to death.

The *Thane* of *Fife*, called *Mackduffe*, a man of great power, out of a suspicion he conceived, fled into *England*; where meeting with *Malcolm* the lawful Heir of the Crown, after he had expounded the misery whereunto the Country was brought by the Cruelties of *Mackbeth*, and the reasons of his own flight, he persuaded him to return and repeat his Fathers Kingdom. *Malcolm*, who often before had been solicited to return by such as *Mackbeth* did suborn, made answer, *That he understood all these things to be true which were related; but if, said he, ye knew how unfit I am for Government, you would not be so earnest as you seem to call me home: for,*
not

An. 1057.
A discourse between Mackduffe and Malcolm. Booth. l. 12.
Lijl. l. 5. c. 34.
Scotichron. l. 7.
not to dissemble with you whom I esteem my friend, the Vices which have overthrown many Kings, Lust and Avarice, do reign in me: whilst I live obscure in a private sort, these faults are not espied; but if I were in place of Rule, the same would soon appear and break forth. *Mackduffe* replying, 'That these were no reasons to keep him back, for that Marriage and time would quench Lust; and for Avarice, when he should have abundance, and be out of fear of want it would cease. That, said he, possible may be, but I have an imperfection greater than these; for I can trust no man, and have found such falshood in the world, as I am jealous of every one, and upon the smallest suspicions (for I measure every man by my self) I break and alter all my courses.' Away then, said *Mackduffe*, I am unfortunate, and thou 'unworthy to Reign: and with this word he made to depart. Then *Malcolm* taking him by the hand, said; I do now know thou art a man worthy of trust, and will not refuse to undergo any hazard with you; for as to these Vices we have been talking of, I thank God none of them do reign in me, only I spake this to discover your mind and disposition. Thus both agreeing upon the enterprise, they gave private notice to their friends of their coming; and obtaining a supply of ten thousand men from King *Edward*, under the leading of *Sibard* Earl of *Northumberland*, *Malcolm's* Grand-father by the Mother, they entered into *Scotland*. The rumour of this Army did cast *Mackbeth* into a great terror, and not knowing what to do (for he was deserted of all) he shut up himself at first in the Castle of *Dunfinnan* a Fort that he had lately built. The Army marching thither, how soon they came in sight, *Mackbeth* out of a new fear forsook the Fort, and made to fly by horse; but being pursued by some of *Malcolm* his friends, he was overtaken and killed.

Upon this victory *Malcolm* was declared King, and crowned in *Scone* the 25 of April, 1057. Soon after his Coronation, calling the Estates together at *Forfar*, he restored the children of those that *Mackbeth* had forfeited: and to correct the intemperances of the people, and to recal them to the ancient frugality, made divers good Statutes, repealing that beastly Act of *Eugenius* the Third, which appointed the first night of the new-married woman to appertain to the Lord of the ground, and granting the husband liberty to redeem the same by payment of an half Mark of silver, which portion they call *Marchetus mulierum*, and is as yet disposed by superiors in the Charters they give to their vassals.

In this Convention likewise the Bishops, who, as we shewed before, did indifferently administrate their Functions in all places to which they came, had limits appointed to them for the exercise of their jurisdiction. To *S. Andrews* was committed the oversight of *Fife*, *Louthian*, *Merce*, *Strivelin-shire*, *Angus* and *Mernis*. *Glasgow* had the charge given him of the West parts and Borders; *Galloway* this country which yet beareth the name; and *Murthlack* all that is now of the Diocly of *Aberdene*. Besides these, the King did erect *Murray* and *Cathnes* into two Bishopricks, appointing able men for the discharge of the service, and providing them with maintenance sufficient, he gave the Lordship of *Momemusk*, the superiority whereof belongs as yet to that See. The Church of *Dunfermling* he built from the ground, and laid the foundation of the Cathedral in *Durham*, advancing great sums to the perfection thereof. In all which he was much furthered by that blessed Lady Queen *Margaret* his wife.

That we may better know this Lady, and how she came to be married unto *Malcolm*, I must relate a few things belonging to that purpose. *Edmond* King of *England*, surnamed *Ironside*, being treacherously killed at *Oxford*, *Canutus* a *Dane*, who reigned in a part of that Kingdom, attained the absolute dominion of the whole. This *Edmond* left two sons, *Edwin* and *Edward*, whom *Canutus* in the beginning entertained very kindly, but afterwards seeking to establish the Crown in his own posterity, he sent them to *Volgarus* the Governor of *Swain*, to be murdered. The Governor pitying the estate of these innocent youths conveyed them secretly unto *Solomon* King of *Hungary*, giving out to *Canutus* that they were made away. *Edward* (surviving *Edwin* his brother) married *Agatha* sister to the Queen of *Hungary*, and daughter to the Emperor *Henry* the Second, by whom he had a son called *Edgar*, and two daughters, *Margaret* and *Christian*. After *Canutus* his death
D 3 succeeded

The History of Queen Margaret, and her Marriage with King Malcolm.

An. 1057.

succeeded *Harold* his eldest son, whose reign was cruel and short, and four years only. And after him *Hardicanutus*, who died suddenly in the second year of his reign, and was the last of the *Danes* that ruled in *England*.

Upon his death *Edward* brother to *Edmond Ironside*, living then in *Normandy*, was recalled and crowned King of *England* at *Winchester*, in the year 1042. This is he that is called *Edward the Confessor*, a most pious King; who having no issue, sent to *Hungary* for his Cousin *Edward*, and for his children. *Edward* soon after his coming died, so *Edgar* surnamed *Atheling* remained, to whom King *Edward* would willingly have resigned the Crown; but such was the modesty of that young Prince, as he did absolutely refuse to reign during the King his life. That lost him the Crown, for upon the death of the King, *Harold* son to Earl *Godwin* was preferred, Prince *Edgar* his right utterly misknown. But *Harold* his reign continued not long. *William* Duke of *Normandy*, commonly called the Conqueror, having killed him in a Battel fought in *Sussex* the next year, usurped the Kingdom to himself. *Edgar*, fearing the Conquerors cruelty, took Sea with his Mother *Agatha*, and his two sisters, *Margaret* and *Christian*, intending to return into *Hungary*, but were by Tempest driven upon the coast of *Scotland*, where King *Malcolm*, that had learned by his own sufferances to compassionate the distresses of others, did most courteously receive them, and shortly after their coming took *Margaret* the eldest sister of *Edgar* to wife; a Lady of rare Vertue, who, though she brought him little or no Portion, made both him and his Kingdom happy.

King Malcolm and the Conqueror at War.

How soon the Norman had sealed his dominion in *England*, he sent to King *Malcolm* to require *Edgar* his Competitor and Fugitive (as he termed him) to be rendered. *Malcolm* refused, holding it an unseemly deed in a King, to deliver any person that took their refuge to him, much more to betray a Prince allied to himself unto his mortal enemy. Hereupon War was proclaimed, and one *Roger* a Noble man of *Normandy* sent to invade *Northumberland*, which was then in the possession of the *Scots*. *Richard* Earl of *Gloucester* did second him with a great power; but both these were put to the worse. *Odo* the Norman's brother, who of a Bishop of *Bayeux* was made Earl of *Kent*, as likewise his own Son *Robert*, whom he employed with several Armies, did prosper no better; so as wearied of the Wars, he began to think of Peace: neither was *Malcolm* unwilling unto it. And after some Treaty it was accorded, That King *Malcolm* should retain *Cumberland* with the same right that his predecessors did enjoy it: and that the subjects of each Kingdom might know their limits, and how far they were to pass, a stone-Cross was erected in *Stannmore*, which was called the *Ree Cross*, that is, the Cross of Kings; for on the North side thereof the Arms of the King of *Scotland* were graven, and upon the South the Arms of the King of *England*.

The contrary disposition of King Malcolm and William Rufus.

This Peace held firm all the Conquerors time; but *William* called *Rufus* his Son succeeding, it quickly dissolved: neither could it be otherwise, considering the contrary disposition of the two Kings. For as *Malcolm* was religiously given, and a great Benefactor to the Church, so *Rufus* in all his carriage manifested no affection that way: for, to enlarge his Forest at *Winchester*, he demolished thirty Churches, and forced *Anselm* that good Bishop of *Canterbury* to quit the Kingdom, for the liberty he used in his reprehensions. It was also thought that the interview of the two Kings at *Gloucester* did farther their dislike (as hath been often observed to fall out in the meetings of Princes.) For *Malcolm* departed from him in displeasure, *Rufus* by some secret practice got the Castle of *Alnwick*, whereupon arose the War in which King *Malcolm* and Prince *Edward* his Son did both perish.

Bishop Gregorius dieth.

Turgot elected in his place. Buchan. l. 7.

A little before the beginning of this War, Bishop *Gregorius* died, and in his place one called *Edmundus* was elected, who deceased before his Consecration. 12. After him *Turgot* Prior of *Duresme* was chosen Bishop. He wrote the History of King *Malcolm* and Queen *Magaret*, who some few days after the death of the King her husband departed this life in the Castle of *Edinburgh*, and was buried in the Church of *Dunfermlin*; whither also the bodies of *Malcolm* and *Edward* his Son were afterwards translated, for at first they were buried in *Tinmouth* Abbey.

Never

Never was more lamentation made for the death of two Princes, than was for this Queen and her Husband *Malcolm*. To speak of his Piety, Justice and Magnanimity, he outwent in all these the Princes of his time: and for Courage, he gave a noble proof of it in the first entry of his Reign, when upon a Conspiracy detected against his life, riding one day in the fields, he called the chief Conspirator, and taking him aside from the rest of the company unto a secret place, he did challenge him as a Traitor, willing him, if he had any valour, to shew the same, and rather take his life in an honest manner than treacherously. The man confounded with the boldness of the King, fell upon his knees and entreated pardon; which the King granted, retaining him still in his service as before. The magnificence of his Court whilest he lived was great; and in the State to distinguish the degrees of Honor, he introduced the Titles of *Earl*, *Baron* and *Knight*, in the place of *Thane* and *Abthane*, which were the Titles before in use.

His Queen *Margaret* was in her place no less famous in all the Vertues that became women, devout towards God, charitable to the poor, and exceeding liberal in the advancing of publick works. The Church of *Carlisle* she built upon her own charges, and was esteemed not to be the least cause of all that the King her husband bestowed that way. By her the King had a fair issue, six Sons, and two Daughters. The first, called *Edward*, died with his Father at *Alnwick*: the second, called *Edmond*, did render himself Religious: *Etheldred*, the third, deceased young: the other three, *Edgar*, *Alexander* and *David*, reigned successively one after another, continuing all of them in the same course of goodness. The names of the two Daughters were *Maud* and *Mary*. *Maud* entering into the Cloister wherein *Agatha* her Grandmother and *Christian* her Aunt lived retired, was with much difficulty won to descend into the world, and to be joyined in marriage with *Henry* the First King of *England*; a Lady of incomparable Vertues, and of so good a disposition, as she was commonly termed *MAUD the good Queen*. Having lived 17 years with her husband in great love, she deceased at *Westminster* the first of *May*, 1118. and was buried on the right hand of *Edward the Confessor* his Tomb, with this Epitaph affixed

An. 1117. The virtues of King Malcolm the third.

The praise of Queen Margaret.

Her issue by King Malcolm.

Buchan. l. 7. Sa. Daniel in his Collection.

*Prospera non latam fecere, nec aspera tristem:
Aspera risus ei, prospera terror erant.
Non decor effecit fragilem, non sceptrum superbam:
Sola potens humilis, sola pudica decens.
Maii prima dies nostrorum nocte dierum
Raptam perpetuum fecit inire diem.*

The other sister *Mary* was married to *Enstathe* Earl of *Boloign*, who went to the recovery of the Holy Land with that noble Prince *Godfrey* his Brother. She bare to him one only Daughter, named *Maud*, who was afterward matched to *Stephen* King of *England*, and departed this life at *London* three years before her Sister, having her Corps interred at *Bermundsey* Abbey in *Southmark*, with this Inscription.

*Nobilis hic tumultata jacet Comitissa Maria:
Artibus hac nituit, larga, benigna fuit.
Regum sanguis erat, morum probitate vivebat;
Compatiens inibi, vivat in arce poli.*

Thus much we owed to the memory of those good and glorious Princes, and now return. *Turgot*, after he had governed the See of *S. Andrews* with good commendation some 25 or 26 years, died in the year of our Lord 1117. His Corps according to his appointment, was honorably conveyed to *Duresme*, and there interred.

In his timelived *Veremundus* Archdeacon of *S. Andrews*, a Spaniard by Nation, and well learned according to those times. He wrote the History of *Scotland*, from the

An. 1117. Scon. lib. in Catalog. Episc. S. Andrews.

An. 1098. the beginning of the Kingdom unto the reign of *Malcolm* the Third, and is greatly commended for his diligence and fidelity in that work; but by the injury of Time the same is lost.

In *Germany* much about the same time lived *Marianus*, *Paternus*, *Ammichadus*, *Siebertus* and *Helias*, all of them *Scotch-men*, and well respected. This last had the government of two Monasteries in *Colen*, called *S. Pantaleon* and *S. Martin*. The severity and rigor that he used toward his Monks brought him in dislike with *Piligrinus* Archbishop of the City, who upon some false informations determined to expulse him and all the *Scottish* Monks that were in the City, after his return from the Emperours Court, where he was for the time. This being reported to *Helias*, he is said to have uttered these words, *Si Christus in nobis peregrinus est, nunquam vivus Coloniam veniet Piligrinus*: which falling out according to his prediction purchased to him the reputation of a Prophet. After that he lived many years in peace, and died at *Colen* in the year 1042.

Siebertus having governed the Monastery of *Fulden* some years, was preferred to the Archbishoprick of *Mentz*, and being urged by *Gregory* the seventh called *Hildebrand*, to depose the Married Priests that would not separate from their wives, was in danger to be detrued by his Clergy, and had much ado to cause that law of Single life to be embraced by them.

Ammichadus, a man nobly born, and greatly affected to the solitary life, lived a Recluse in the Abbey of *Fulden*, spending his time in the meditations of mortality, and died in the year 1043.

Paternus was a Monk in the City of *Potelbrum*, which in the year 1058 was consumed with fire. *Ambiens Martyrium*, saith *Marianus*, in a foolish affection of Martyrdom, refusing to come forth of the Monastery, he was therein burnt alive.

Marianus.

Marianus, he was first a Monk in the Monastery of *S. Martin* at *Colen*, founded by *Ebergerus* the Archbishop of that City for a Seminary of *Scottish* Students, in the year 676; and having continued there two years, went to the Abbey of *Fulden*, where he lived ten years. After that he went to *Mentz* upon the Archbishops visitation, and stayed there some 15 years. All this time he employed in the study of Letters, especially of Story and Chronology, wherein he attained to such a perfection, as he was accounted the only Chronologist in his days: The Chronicle he wrote from the beginning of the world unto the year of *Christ* 1183, yet extant, doth testify no less. He died at *Mentz* in the year 1186, and was buried in the Church of *S. Martin* within the City. And thus much for the learned men of our Country that lived in the time of *Turgot*.

An. 1098.

13. Next after *Turgot Godricus* succeeded in the See of *Saint Andrews*. This Bishop did anoint *King Edgar* the Son of *Malcolm*, in the year 1098. after the manner of other Christian Princes; which Rite had not been formerly used in the Coronation of our Kings, and (as they write) was obtained from Pope *Urban* the second, at the request of Queen *Margaret*: for the Popes of *Rome* having as then advanced themselves above Kings, did take on them the conferring of these Ensigns of Majesty to whom and where they pleased. This *Edgar* was a good King, and greatly beloved of all his subjects. The Abbey of *Cauldingham*, which in former times had been a sanctuary of Virgins, he gave to the Church of *Duresme*; but upon the ungrate behaviour of *Ranulph* Bishop of that See, a man noted of much corruption, he recalled his gift, and erected the same into a Priory.

King Edgar erected the Abbey of *Cauldingham* into a Priory.

King Alexander the Fierce seeketh advice of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

Upon the death of *Godricus*, *King Alexander* surnamed the Fierce sent to *Radolph* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to have his advice for the promoting of some worthy person unto the place; and in his Letters directed to that effect, complained of the Archbishop of *Tork* his encroaching upon the Church of *Scotland*, through the oversight of *Lanfrank* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, that had given way to the consecration of some of the Bishops of *Saint Andrews* at *Tork*, whereas in old times they were not wont to receive Consecration but either from the Bishop himself, or from the Archbishop of *Canterbury*: therefore desired his assistance in redressing that abuse, which he said he could not any longer tolerate. Now this *Radolph* was at

at the same time in question with *Thurstan* the elect of *Tork* for his Consecration, to which by no means he would assent, unless *Thurstan* would make profession of obedience to the See of *Canterbury*. And about that was so much business made, that *Radolph* though he was then both aged and sickly, did undertake a journey to *Rome* to debate his right. At his return, which was some four years after, (so long did the See of *Saint Andrews* remain void) the King sent to him *Peter* Prior of *Dunfermlin* and one of his own Gentlemen to congratulate his safe return, and request that *Eadmerus*, a Monk of *Canterbury*, a man well reported of might be sent hither, for filling the place. *Radolph* knowing that *Eadmerus* had neither by himself, nor by any other indirect means moved the business, and so taking it to come of God, howsoever it grieved him that the Church of *Canterbury* should lack the benefit of his service, gave his consent, and having obtained *King Henry's* licence, (without whose knowledge he would not have him go into a strange Country) sent him to *Alexander* with an ample recommendation, in substance this: 'We give unto God (said he) everlasting thanks, for that it hath pleased him to open the eyes of your mind, and make you know and seek that which you should; and to your Highness self we esteem our selves greatly bound, because of your friendly and familiar usage: for albeit your desires tend to our hurt, and are not less grievous to us than if you should pull out our eyes or cut off our right hand, we cannot but commend your desire, and so far as we may in God obey the same. Therefore unwilling, and yet willing, we yield unto all your will: willing in so far as we perceive it is Gods will, which we dare not withstand, nor will we in any thing willingly displease; yet unwilling, for that we are left alone, and deprived of his fellowship, who as a Father ministered unto us consolation in time of grief, giving us sound advice in many perplexed cases, and was to us a most helpful Brother in this our infirm and old age. If any other should have required him of us, we would no more have parted with him than without our own heart; but there is nothing which in God we can deny you. Thus we send unto you the person that you desired, and so free, as you may lay on him what charge you will, so as it be to the honor of God, and to the credit of the Mother Church of *Canterbury*. Do therefore what you purpose wisely, and remit him unto us with diligence to be Consecrated, because delay in that errand may breed impediments that we desire to eschew, &c.

An. 1098. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* and *Tork* at difference.

Archbishop of *Canterbury* his Letter to King *Alexander*.

Eadmerus his l. 5. & 6.

Eadmerus bringing with him this Commendatory Letter, was the third day after his coming elected Bishop by the Kings Licence, and with consent both of the Clergy and Laity; but the next morning, whilst the King conferred with him apart touching his Consecration, he began to magnifie the Church of *Canterbury*, and the authority it had over all the Churches of *Britain*; declaring that, by his leave, he would seek the Episcopal benediction from the Bishop, and not receive it at the hands of any other. Which offended the King greatly; for by no means could he endure to hear of this Churches subjection to the *English*. Thereupon the Monks who had been trusted in the years preceeding with the intromission of therents, were charged to uplift the same, and to impede the Elect his possession. Yet within a few days the King going in an Expedition against some Rebels in the Country of *Ross*, by the intercession of Noblemen it was agreed that *Eadmerus* should receive the Ring out of the Kings hand, and the Crozier being laid upon the Altar, he should take up the same, and that way be invested into the Bishoprick. In this sort was he entered to his charge, the Clergy and people accepting him for their Bishop.

King *Alexander* offended that *Eadmerus* would not be Consecrated in *Scotland*. He is invested in the Bishoprick by the intercession of the Noblemen.

Mean while *Thurstan* the Archbishop of *Tork*, who was then beyond the Sea, ceased not to solicit *King Henry* of *England* by his Letters to impede the Consecration; for which effect 3 several messages were sent to *King Alexander*. *Eadmerus*, upon the distast the King had taken of him, was not much respected: which he perceiving and withal considering that the King being his unfriend, his service could not be very profitable to the Church and Kingdom, resolved to go unto *Canterbury*, and seek the advice of his brethren and friends in those parts. This signified to the King, he said that the Bishop had nothing to do with *Canterbury*, nor so long as he lived should

Thurstan the Archbishop of *Tork* opposes the Consecration of *Eadmerus*.

An. 1124.

Eadmerus departed into England upon the Kings dislike.

He purgeth himself to the Archbishop.
An. 1124.
Robert Prior of Scone elected Bishop of S. Andrews, and consecrated at York.
The Abbey of Scone and S. Columba founded.
Cursus Apri given to S. Andrews.
King David succeeded to Alexander, and his beneficence to the Church.

King David taxed of Profusion.

His Magnificence vindicated from these aspersions.

should any Bishop of Scotland profess subjection to that See. Which being reported to the Bishop, he replied in passion, *That not for the Bishoprick, nay not for all Scotland would he deny himself to be a Monk of Canterbury.*

Falling thus more and more in the dislike of the King, and jars daily encreasing, he employed the Bishop of Glasgow to try the King his mind towards him: who told him that he found the King greatly displeased with his courses, and if he continued in the same mind, he was not to expect his favour. Hereupon Eadmerus resolving to depart, delivered back the Ring which he had received from the King, and laid down his Crozier upon the Altar, with a protestation that he was forced thereunto, and so went away. The King did by his Letter purge himself to the Archbishop of Canterbury, declaring that it was not his fault, but wilfulness on Eadmerus his part, which made him relinquish his charge. But the Archbishop, a man of courteous nature, not willing farther to enquire of the reasons of Eadmerus his departure, passed over the business with a gentle answer to the King for that time. I find upon better advice, that Eadmerus made offer to return, and give the King satisfaction in all he required; but herein he was prevented by a new Election which the King had caused to be made.

15. For how soon it was advertised that Eadmerus had a purpose to return, the King for his own peace did think it most sure to have one of his Subjects preferred to the place; and so recommending to the Chapter Robert Prior of Scone, he with an uniform consent was chosen Bishop, and stood elect two years (for before King Alexander his death, which happened in the year of our Lord 1114, he was not consecrated:) then he received the benediction at the hands of Thurstan Bishop of York, with reservation of the privileges of both Churches; which if the King had lived, would not have been permitted; for he was a Prince that stood much upon his Royalty, and would not endure at any hand the least encroachment either upon his Kingdom, or upon the Church. The Abbeys of Scone and S. Columba were founded by this King. To the See of S. Andrews he was a great Benefactor, and gave the lands called *Cursus apri*, The Bore chace; and was resolved to do more in that kind, if he had not been taken away by death.

But what may be thought lacking in him was abundantly supplied by his brother and successor King David, whose beneficence that way exceeded all others; for besides the repairing of these Monasteries which were either by age become ruinous or were defaced by injuries of War, he erected the Bishopricks of *Kosse*, *Brichen*, *Dunkeld* & *Dumblane*, with the Abbeys of *Jedburgh*, *Kelsoe*, *Melrose*, *Newbottle*, *Halirudhouse*, *Kinloss*, *Combuskenneth*, *Dundrennan* & *Holmcultram* in *Cumberland*; he founded likewise two religious Houses at *Newcastle*, one for the *Benedictines*, another for the *white Monks*; and for professed Virgins two Monasteries, one at *Berwick*, and another at *Carlisle*: all which he provided with competent Revenues.

Some of our Writers have taxed this most worthy King for his immoderate Profusion, as they call it, on these Monasteries; and *Holinshed* saith that his unmeasurable Liberality towards the Church made his Successors oppress their Nobles at home, lay Impositions upon the people, and do many other things prejudicial to the Commonwealth, that they might have wherewith to maintain their Royal estates. But herein he erreth greatly; for let an examination be taken of the behaviour of our Kings in the Ages succeeding, it will appear that their proceedings either with their own Subjects at home or with their Enemies abroad have been more justifiable than the doings of any of their Neighbours: neither can it be shewed, that any one of them did ever take those indirect courses which he mentioneth for penury or want. But it is easie to speak ill, and deprave the actions of the best Princes.

It is true, that Profuseness in any person, especially in a King, is not to be allowed, for that it bringeth a great mischief both to the King and Subjects; but the bestowing of sixcore thousand Franks (that is the highest estimate they make of his Donations) cannot be called an immoderate Profusion. He was certainly a most wise King, and knew well his own work, and could proportion his Gifts to his Revenues. Neither was his Liberality an hindrance to his Successors in the doing

ing of the like pious works. For *Malcolm* who succeeded did erect the Abbey of *An. 1159.* *Couper* in *Angus*, *Sautrey* in *Lothian*, and a religious House at *Manwell* for professed Virgins. King *William* erected the Abbey of *Aberbrothock*, and his Queen *Emerganda* the Abbey of *Balmerinock*. The like did the following Kings in their own times, which shewed that he did not leave his Successors destitute of means to support their Royal estate. This farther will I boldly affirm, that if there be any Profusion excusable in Princes, it is this: for besides that these Foundations are the most lasting Monuments to glorify their memories, they are the readiest helps which they shall find to supply their necessities at all occasions.

Now whereas some have disapproved these Donations because of the fruits that ensued, meaning the abuses that crept in by the corruption of the persons who did afterwards enjoy them; if this reason should hold, the best of Gods Creatures, and the most pious Institutions which ever were in the world, should be all condemned: for what is it that was ever put in the hands of men to use, that hath not been corrupted? and to cast the faults of men upon the things themselves is a great iniquity.

But this superfluous enriching of Monasteries whereof they speak came not by this mean. The Foundations at first were moderate, and no way excessive; but in after times the Prelates growing sluggish, and shaking off the care of Preaching, as a work not befitting their dignity, they, to flatter the Predicants, who had then all the way among the popular, and to be recommended of them for charitable and devout Prelates, gave away almost all their own Churches, and appropriated them to Abbeys, leaving a poor Priest to do service in the Parish: and of this did spring a world of evils, which since that time could never be remedied. This I thought needful to be said vindicating the fame of that good King, who in all his actions, both private and publick, lived beyond all censure; so as it is truly said of him, 'That the most learned wits who have gone about to frame the character of a good King, could never devise nor imagine such a one as he did express himself in the whole course of his life.'

But to follow our purpose; Bishop *Robert* living under this King, and some six years after, did carry himself in all the parts of his charge commendably; he founded the Priory of *S. Andrews* and obtained to the City the liberties of a Burg Royal, placing therein one *Mainard a Fleming* to be Provost, and departing this life in the year 1159, after he had sat Bishop 35 years, was buried in the Church of *S. Romle*, the Cathedral not being as yet built.

There flourished in this time two of our Countrymen, *Richardus de Sancto Viſtore*, a Canon regular of the order of *S. Augustine*, and *David a Presbyter*. This *David* lived in *Germany*, and was chosen by the Emperour *Henry the Fifth* to accompany him in that expedition which he made to *Italy* against Pope *Paschal*; the Story whereof he wrote, as likewise a Treatise *de Regno Scotorum*, both which are perished.

Richardus was a professor of Divinity at *Paris* in the Abbey of *S. Viſtor*, a great Philosopher, and left many Books that witness his learning, the Titles whereof you may read in *Baleus*. He died in the same Abbey, and was buried with this Epitaph.

*Moribus, ingenio, doctrina clarus & arte,
Pulvere hic tegeris, doctus Richardus, situ.
Quem tellus genuit felici Scotica partu,
Te fovet in gremio Gallica terra suo.
Nil tibi Parca ferox nocuit, quæ stamina parco
Tempore tracta gravi rupit acerba manu.
Plurima namque tui superant mndnmenta laboris,
Quæ tibi perpetuum sunt paritura decus.
Segnior ut lento sceleratas mors petit ædes;
Sic propero nimis it sub pia testæ gradu.*

16. Bishop *Robert* deceasing, *Walthemius* Abbot of *Melrose* was earnestly entreated to accept the Charge, but would not forsake the Monastery, saying, *That he had*

Buch. l. 7.

The faults of persons ought not to be cast on things abused.

Whence the superfluous enriching of Abbeys proceeded.

Buch. l. 9.

An. 1159.

Bishop Robert died.

Richardus de Sancto Viſtore with David a Presbyter.

An. 1150. *bad washed his feet, and could not contaminate them again with the dust of earthly cares.* Whereupon *Arnold* Abbot of *Kelso* was elected, and in presence of King *Malcolm* the Fourth consecrated by *William* Bishop of *Murray*. This Bishop had been the year preceding directed to *Rome* with one *Nicolaus* the Kings Secretary, to complain of the Archbishop of *York* his usurpation upon the Church of *Scotland*, and being then returned, carried himself as Legate to the Pope; which power he resigned to *Arnold* after his Consecration, as he was enjoined by *Eugenius* the Third, who then held the Chair.

In a Convention of the Estates kept the same year, *Arnold* did earnestly insist with the King to make choice of a wife for assuring the Royal Succession, and to that effect made a long speech in the hearing of the Estates; but the King had taken a resolution to live single, and would not be diverted. *Edward* Bishop of *Aberdeen* was much blamed for confirming him in that course, and for that cause hated of many. The Cathedral of *S. Andrews*, a fair and stately Church whilest it stood, was founded by this *Arnold*; but before the work was raised to any height he died, having sat Bishop one year, ten months, and seventeen days only.

17. Upon *Arnold* his death the King did recommend his Chaplain *Richard* to the place; who was immediately elected by the Convent, but not consecrated for the space of two years after, because of the Archbishop of *York* his pretensions. One *Roger* held at that time the See of *York*, a man ambitious beyond all measure, who from being Archdeacon of *Canterbury* was by the means of the Archbishop *Thomas Becket* preferred to that place: no sooner was he advanced, but he procured of Pope *Anastafius* the Fourth a Bull, whereby he was designed Metropolitan of *Scotland*; but the King and the Clergy (notwithstanding the Popes authority was in those days greatly respected) refused to acknowledge him. *Anastafius* dying, by whom the Archbishop was *Roger* maintained, the Prelates of *Scotland* did convene, and by themselves performed the Consecration. *Roger* incensed here-did with sent to *Rome*, and complaining of this contempt, found the favour to be made Legate of *Scotland*: by virtue whereof he caused cite all the *Scottish* Clergy to appear before him at *Norham* in *England*, whither he came in great pomp.

Angelramus Archdeacon of *Glasgow* (accompanied with *Walter* Prior of *Kelso*, *Solomon* Dean of *Glasgow*, and some others of the Clergy) went and kept the Diet, and in the name of the Church of *Scotland* appealing to the Pope, took the journey to *Rome*. Where the business being debated before Pope *Alexander* the Third, sentence was given against *Roger* his pretended Legation, and the Church of *Scotland* declared to be exempted from all spiritual Jurisdiction, the Apostolick See only excepted. This exemption *Angelramus*, who in the mean time was promoted to the See of *Glasgow* by the death of Bishop *Herbert*, and consecrated at *Rome*, brought back and presented to the King. The Bull is yet extant, and begins thus:

Alexander P. servus servorum Dei Malcolm Regi, &c.

A few days after the Bishop's return King *Malcolm* died at *Jedburgh*, in the 25 year of his age, and 12 of his reign: a sweet and meek Prince, uncourteously used by King *Henry* the Second King of *England*, but more rudely by his own Subjects. This *Henry*, by nature ambitious, and one that could not keep himself within bounds, took many ways to wrong this good King, and make him despoiled of his own people: yet for that he had sworn to King *David* *Malcolm's* grandfather, that he should never molest him nor any of his posterity in the possession of the lands they held in *England*, and could not for shame go against his Oath; he stirred up the Bishop of *York* to place a Bishop at *Carlisle*, thinking the King of *Scots* would not endure that wrong. *John* Bishop of *Glasgow*, under whose charge the Country of *Cumberland* then was, did exceedingly offend with this; and finding that the King would not break with *Henry* for so little a cause, not seeing a way to repair himself, abandoned his charge, and went unto the Monastery of *Tours* in *France*, where he abode till he was forced by the Pope's authority to return.

King *Henry* finding this injury dissembled, went afterwards more plainly to work;

He citeth the Scottish Clergy to *Norham*.

The Clergy by some Delegates appeal to *Rome* to the Pope.

Pope *Alexander* the Third giveth sentence for *Scotland*. *Angelramus* elected Bishop of *Glasgow*.

King *Malcolm* the Fourth his death.

A Bishop placed at *Carlisle* by the Archbishop of *York*.

Buch. l. 7.

work; for having desired *Malcolm* to come to *London* to do homage for the lands he held in *England*, he compelled him to follow him into the War he made upon *France*, thinking thereby to alienate the mind of the *French* King from the *Scots*. Again, when he had returned home, inviting him of new to a Parliament kept at *York*, upon a forged quarrel, as if he had crossed King *Henry* his affairs in *France*, he was declared to have lost all his lands in *England*. And not content to have wronged him in this sort, to stir up his own Subjects against him, made the report go, that King *Malcolm* had voluntarily resigned all those lands. Which did so irritate the Nobles, as presently after his return putting themselves in Arms, they did besiege the Town of *Bertha*, where the King remained, and had not failed to use violence, but that by the intercession of some wise Prelates matters were composed. The Nobility being grieved to see the King so abused, did urge him to denounce War; but he loving rather to have matters peaceably agreed, was content to accept *Cumberland* and *Huntington*, and suffer *Northumberland* to go to King *Henry*. This displeased the Subjects, and diminished much of the regard that was formerly carried to him; which he took greatly to heart, and shortly after died, as was thought, of displeasure.

The good King being thus taken away, his brother *William* succeeded in the year 1165. The first thing he undertook, was the repetition of *Northumberland*; for which Embassadors were sent to King *Henry*. His answer was, That he should have right done him at his coming to *London*, after he had performed his homage for the Counties he held in *England*. King *William* taking journey thither with *David* his younger brother, found the King at his Easter in *Windfore*: where insisting for the restitution of *Northumberland*, he had many good words given him, and promise made, that at the meeting of the Parliament a course should be taken to his content. In this hope he followed King *Henry*, going then in expedition to *France*, and stayed there with him some moneths; but when he perceived the King was not shortly to return unto *England*, and that he was fed only with fair promises, he took his leave and came home. Presently after his return, he sent an Herald to denounce War, unless *Northumberland* were restored. King *Henry* being then engaged in the *French* Wars, and not willing to make himself more business, was content to quit that part of *Northumberland* which King *William* his great Grandfather had possessed. Yet suddenly forethinking what he had done, he stirred up underhand those that lived in the Borders to make Incursions upon the *Scots*. This being complained, and no redress made, King *William* raised an Army, and went into *England*, and at *Alnwick*, as he was taking the air, suspecting no enemy to be at hand, he was surprised by some *English*, and sent Prisoner to King *Henry* in *France*, who put him in the Castle of *Calice* in *Picardie*, where he was some months detained. A great disaster this was, and how grievous to the whole State, may appear by the Articles condescended upon, for obtaining his liberty, which were:

1. That for his redemption there should be paid one hundred thousand pounds sterling money, the one half in hand, the other half in a short time; and for assurance thereof, the Counties of *Cumberland*, *Huntington* and *Northumberland* be mortgaged to King *Henry*.

2. That the *Scots* should move no war against *England* for retention of these Counties.

3. And for the more security the Castles of *Roxburg*, *Berwick*, *Edinburgh* and *Sterling* should be delivered to the King of *England*, or unto such as he should appoint to receive the same.

Hollinshead setteth down other Conditions besides these: as, That the King of *Scots* should acknowledge the King of *England* for his Supreme Lord; That the Prelates of *Scotland* and their successors should be subject to the Church of *England*; And that the Lords and Barons of *Scotland* should swear fealty to the King of *England* and his successors: which are meer Forgeries, it being certain that the *Scots*, howsoever they loved their King, and for his Liberty would not refuse to undergo very hard conditions, yet would never have renounced their Liberties, maintained so long and

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with

An. 1165.
Buch. l. 12.

Buch. l. 7.

King *William* seeketh to have *Northumberland* restored.

King *William* surprised at *Alnwick*.
Buch. l. 13.

Hollinshead History of *Scotland*.

An. 1175.

with so much blood, and yielded themselves in any case to such a slavish subjection. Always the agreement concluded in Normandy the 8th of December 1175, by Richard Bishop of S. Andrews and divers Noblemen sent thither to treat in that business, was at August thereafter confirmed in York by both Kings, all the Bishops, Abbots, and Nobility almost of Scotland being present.

Buchan. l. 16. 7.

In January thereafter at a meeting in Norham, where King William was also in person, the King of England dealt earnestly to have the Clergy of Scotland accept the Archbishop of York for their Metropolitane; but they pretending the absence of many of their number, and the want of the inferiour Clergies consent, deferred to give any answer at that time. The next year the same matter was renewed, and followed earnestly by a Legate sent from the Pope, with Commission to reform the abuses he should find in the Churches both in England and Scotland. This Legate called Hugo, and styled Cardinal De sancto Angelo, having sent his Apparitors with a citation to the Bishops of Scotland, for their appearing before him at a certain day in Northampton, they went thither with a great number of their Clergy. The Assembly being met, and all ranked in their places, the Cardinal (who had his seat somewhat higher than the rest) made a long speech in commendation of Humility and Obedience, shewing what excellent Vertues these were, and how much to be desired of men of Spiritual profession; whereof when he talked a while, he came in end to perswade the Clergy of Scotland to submit themselves to the Primate of York: which he said was a thing very convenient for them, and would turn greatly to their ease and commodity; for having no Superior amongst themselves, nor Metropolitane to decide Controversies that possibly might happen, there could none be fitter than their neighbour the Archbishop of York, a Prelate of great respect, and one whose credit in the Court of Rome might serve them to good use; therefore besought them to lay aside all grudges and emulations, and dispose themselves to live in all times after as members of one and the same Church.

Gilbertus Canonici his Reply to the Legate.

The Bishops who feared to offend the Legate made no answer, and after a long silence, a young Canon named Gilbert rose up, and spake to this effect. 'The Church of Scotland, ever since the Faith of Christ was embraced in that Kingdom, hath been a free and independent Church, subject to none but the Bishop of Rome, whose authority we refuse not to acknowledge. To admit any other for our Metropolitane, especially the Archbishop of York, we neither can nor will: for notwithstanding the present Peace, which we wish may long continue, Wars may break up betwixt the two Kingdoms; and if it shall fall out so, neither shall he be able to discharge any duty amongst us, nor can we safely and without suspicion resort to him. For the Controversies which you, my Lord Cardinal, say may arise amongst our selves, we have learned and wise Prelates who can determine the same; and if they should be deficient in their duties, we have a good and religious King, who is able to keep all things in frame and order, so as we have no necessity of any stranger to be set over us. And I cannot think that either his Holiness hath forgotten, or you, my Lord, that are his Legate, can be ignorant of the late Exemption granted unto Malcolm our last King; since the grant whereof, we have done nothing which may make us seem unworthy of that favour. Wherefore in the name of all the Scottish Church we do humbly intreat the preservation of our ancient Liberties, and that we be not brought under subjection to our enemies. These speeches he delivered with an extraordinary grace, and in so passionate a manner, that all the hearers were exceedingly moved, the English themselves commending his courage and the affection he shewed to his Country. But the Archbishop of York, who looked not for such opposition, called the young Canon to come unto him, and laying his hand upon his head, said, *Ex tua pharetra nunquam venit ista sagitta*, meaning that he was set on to speak by some others of greater note. So the Legate perceiving that the business would not work, and that the opposition was like to grow greater, he brake up the Assembly. After which the Prelates returning home, were universally welcomed; but above the rest the Canon Gilbert was in the mouths of all men, and judged worthy of a good Preferment; and soon

Boeth. l. 13.

soon after was promoted to the Bishoprick of Cathnes, and made Chancellor of the Kingdom. An. 1178.

The year following one Vibianus a Cardinal (*titulo sancti Stephani in monte Celio*) came into Scotland, in shew to reform abuses, and do some good to the Church, but in effect to extort monys from Church-men. For at this time it was grown to be an ordinary trick of the Popes, when they stood in need of monys, to send forth their Legates unto all Countrys, sometimes under a colour of reforming abuses, sometimes for the recovering of the Holy land, and sometimes upon other pretexts. This Cardinal, having stayed a while in Scotland, took his journey into Ireland, and in his return would needs make a new visit of this Church; for which effect, he convened the Clergy at Edinburgh in the month of August, and established divers Canons; which the Clergy esteeming prejudicial to their liberties, did incontinent after he was gone revoke and disannul: but what these Canons were, our Writers do not remember. Scot. l. 8.

It was a fatal year this to many of our Church-men, both Bishops and Abbots; amongst others Richard Bishop of S. Andrews deceasing, King William recommended Hugo, one of his Chaplains, (whom he much favoured) to the Convent. But they taking another course made choice of the Archdeacon John Scot, who was an English born. The King displeased therewith, did swear by the Arm of S. James (this was his ordinary oath) that so long as he lived Scot should never enjoy that place. So he sent a Command unto the Canons to make a new Election, appointed Joceline Bishop of Glasgow their Assistant; and thus was Hugo his Chaplain elected. An. 1178.

The Archdeacon appealed to Rome, and going thither complained of the wrong done to the Church, intreating the Pope for redress. Hereupon Alexius Sub-Dean of the Roman See was dispatched to try and examine the cause. At first the King made difficulty to admit him, but afterwards yielding, the two Elections being tried by the Legate, sentence was given for the first; and Jocelin Bishop of Glasgow, with the rest of the Clergy that assisted the second, excommunicated. This done the Legate called an assembly of the Bishops, Abbots and whole Clergy at Halirudhouse, and made Matthew Bishop of Aberdeen publicly to consecrate the Archdeacon upon Trinity-Sunday 1178. The Archdeacon appealeth to Rome.

He not the less fearing the Kings displeasure, left the Realm and went to Rome, where he was honourably entertained by Pope Lucius the Third, who sent Letters to the King, and admonished him not to usurp upon the Church, and to remit the Bishop, who was lawfully elected and consecrated, to enjoy his place with quietness. This Letter the Story saith was conceived in milde terms, for the Pope feared to incense the King, lest he should follow the ensample of his Cousin Henry King of England, that some 8 years before had made away Thomas Becket Bishop of Canterbury for his obstinate and wilful opposition in some matters not unlike: yet the King nothing moved with the Letter, to make his displeasure the better known, did confiscate all the Revenues pertaining to the See of S. Andrews; and banished those whom he understood to favour the Bishops cause. His journey thither.

The Pope advertised hereof, resolved to put the Realm under Interdiction. But the Bishop prostrating himself at his feet, besought him not to use any such rigor, saying, *That he would much rather renounce his dignity, than have so many Christian Souls for ought that concerned him, defrauded of spiritual benefits*. The Pope highly commending the goodness and patience of the Bishop, held him from that time forth in more regard, and at his request forbore the Interdiction. Mean while it happened that Walter Bishop of Dunkeld departed this life; whereupon the King taking occasion, sent to recal the Bishop with offers of great kindness, protesting that if it had not been for the oath he rashly made, he would willingly have consented to his enjoying of the See of S. Andrews: But seeing it did touch him in Honor and Conscience (as he esteemed) to be yielding thereto, he requested the Bishop to accept the Benefice of Dunkeld, which was then fallen void, and was in value not much inferior to the other. Pope Lucius his Letter to the King.

This the Bishop communicated to the Pope, who desired to have the matter quietted, E 2

An. 1178. The Archdeacon of S. Andrews elected Bishop. The King displeased made his Chaplain to be chosen of new.

The Archdeacon appealeth to Rome.

His journey thither. Pope Lucius his Letter to the King.

The Pope purposed to interdict the Realm, is stayed by the intercession of the Archdeacon.

The Bishop of Dunkeld dieth; and the Bishoprick offered by the King to the Archdeacon.

An. 1188.
The Arch-
bishop accepted
Dunkeld.

Bishop Hugo
dieth.

An. 1188.

The Kings of
England and
France pre-
pare to reco-
ver the Holy
land.

Sa. Daniel.

Buchan. l. 7.

Sa. Daniel.

L. ft. l. 6.
King of Scots
his kindness
to the King
of England.

Boeth. l. 13.

The Abbey
of Lundors
founded.

King William
goeth to En-
land to con-
gratulate King
Richard his
return.

The Bishop of
Cathnes cruelly
used by the
Earl of the
Country.
The King pu-
nished it se-
verely.

eted, advised him to return, and accept the offer. Thus was the Archdeacon by the Popes consent preferred to *Dunkeld*, having the Rents of the Archdeaconry reserved to him during his life, in recompence of his losses. *Hugo* this way coming to be possessed of *S. Andrews*, took journey to *Rome* that he might be reconciled to the Pope, and being absolved for his intrusion, in his return died some six miles from the City of *Rome*, the 6 of *August*, 1188, ten years and ten months after his Election.

At this time news was brought from the East, of the prevailing of Sultan *Saladin* of *Egypt* against the Christians in the Holy Land, which moved *Philip* the second of *France* and *Henry* King of *England* to undertake the recovery of the Holy land, and to employ all their credit and means, as well in their own countreys, as with other Christian Princes their neighbours, for the furtherance of that enterprise. To defray the charges of the voyage, both Kings by consent of their Clergy and Nobles ordained, that all their subjects both Clergy and Laity, (such excepted as went in the voyage) should pay the tenth of all their movables either in gold or silver. King *Henry* having laid this imposition upon his subjects at home, sent *Hugh Pufar* then Bishop of *Duresme* with other Commissioners to collect the tenths of the Clergy and Laity in this kingdom: which the King and States interpreting to be an encroachment upon their Liberties would not permit; yet for advancing that holy action, they did offer a supply of 5000 Marks sterling, which King *Henry* refused. But the enterprise, upon a quarrel that arose betwixt the Kings of *France* and *Engl.* was at that time dashed, & so the Collection was no farther urged.

King *Henry* a little after this ended his life, and *Richard* his son, who succeeded, resolving to pursue the action of the Holy War, to assure the King of *Scotland*, who he feared would take some advantage in his absence, restored all the Castles which were delivered to King *Henry* his father, and released him and his posterity of all Covenants made and confirmed by Charter unto King *Henry*, as extorted from him being then his Prisoner; reserving only such Rights to himself as had been and were to be performed by *Malcolm* his brother to his Ancestors Kings of *England*. King *William*, to requite his kindness, gave unto *Richard* ten thousand Marks sterling, and caused his brother *David* (to whom he resigned the Earldom of *Huntington*) go in company with him. There went under his charge 500 Gentlemen, who were all in their return cast away by a tempest at sea; only the Earl himself, having his ship driven upon the coast of *Egypt*, was taken prisoner, and led to *Alexandria*; where being redeemed by some *Venetians*, he was brought to *Constantinople*, and freed by an *English* Merchant in the City, that had known him in former times. From thence he returned safe unto his country, the fourth year after his setting forth, to the great joy and contentment of the King his brother, who took him to be lost. The part where he arrived being, as *Boethius* writeth, before that time called *Aledum*, had the name changed, and upon that occasion was called *Dei donum*: But the opinion of *Buchanan* is more probable, that the Town now called *Dundee* is a compound word of *Down* and *Tay*. As ever this was, the Town there situated received many privileges of King *William* at that time for his brothers happy arrival, which to this day they enjoy. Likewise in memory thereof was the Abbey of *Lundors* founded for the *Benedictine* Monks, and divers lands gifted thereto by the King and the Earl his brother.

The King of *England* after many distresses being returned home, King *William* to congratulate his safety went into *England*, where he contracted a great sickness; the rumor whereof being dispersed, and his death much suspected, gave occasion of divers Insolencies at home. Amongst others *Herald* Earl of *Orkney* and *Cathnes*, upon a malice conceived against the Bishop of that country, (who, as he alleged, had impeded the grant of some thing he demanded of the King) took him prisoner, put out his eyes, and cut forth his tongue. This inhumanity the King at his return punished most severely; for the Earl being apprehended and brought to his trial, had his eyes in like sort pulled out; and was thereafter publicly strangled by the hands of the hangman; all his male children being gelded, to extinguish his succession. His kinsmen and others, accounted accessors to the fact for not rescuing the

the Bishop, were fined in great sums of money. This exemplary justice reported to Pope *Innocent* the Third, he sent unto the King by his Legate *Joannes Cardinalis de monte Celio* a sword richly set with precious stones, a purple Hat in form of a diadem, and a large Bull of Priviledges, whereby the Church of *Scotland* was exempted from all Ecclesiastical Censures, the Pope himself and his Legate à latere only excepted. It was also declared, 'That it should not be lawful to any to excommunicate the King and his successors, or yet to interdict the Kingdom, but the Pope or his Legate: and that no stranger should exercise any Legation within the Realm, except a Cardinal, or such a one as the Conclave did appoint. This Bull is yet extant, and beginneth thus; *Innocentius Episcopus, servus servorum Dei, charissimo filio Gulielmo illustri Scotorum Regi ejusque successoribus*.

This Cardinal before his departing forth of the Realm kept a Convocation of the Clergy at *Perth*, in which all the Priests were deposed who were found to have taken orders upon Sunday. The Abbot of *Dunfermlin*, called *Robert*, was removed from his place (the cause whereof is not mentioned) and one *Patrick* Superior of *Duresme* appointed Abbot in his stead. In this Convention also it was decreed, 'That every Saturday from twelve of the clock should be kept as holy-day, and that all people at the sound of the Bell should address themselves to hear Service, and abstain from all handy-work untill Munday morning. After this meeting he took journey into *Ireland*, taking with him *Radolph* Abbot of *Melrose*, a man of good respect, whom he preferred to the Bishoprick of *Down*, which at his coming thither happened to fall void.

16. Bishop *Hugo* dying, *Roger* son to the Earl of *Leicester* succeeded. He had been Chancellor to the King, and at his election to the Bishoprick resigned the office to one of the King his Chaplains. For in those days the office of a Chancellor was not in that reputation to which afterwards it grew. In some old records I find at one time two Officers in that kind, the one called *Cancellarius Regis*; the other *Cancellarius Regni*; but which of the two was in greatest dignity I know not, nor in what their charge did differ; only my conjecture is, that he who is now the writer of the Great Seal, and is called, *The Director to the Chancellor*, was then styled *Cancellarius Regis*.

But remitting this to others of greater skill, ten years this *Roger* stood elect, and was not consecrated before the year of God 1198. at which time *Richard* Bishop of *Murray* performed the ceremony: the reason of the delay is not mentioned by Writers. Four years only he lived after his consecration, and died at *Comberkenneth* the ninth of *July*, 1202. His corps with great solemnity conveyed to *S. Andrews*, was interred in the old Church of *S. Remle*.

20. *William Malvoisin* Bishop of *Glasgow*, a French-man born, was after the death of *Roger*, by the Kings recommendation, translated to *St. Andrews*, a man of singular wisdom and courage. He lived a long time, (for he sat Bishop after his translation 35 years) and governed the Church most happily. The Rents alienated by his predecessors, or lost by their negligence, he recovered to his See, advanced the fabric of the Church (which was then a building) more than any that went before him, and suffered no man, of what quality soever he was, to usurp upon the Church or possessions of it.

Some years after his translation, King *William* died at *Striveling*, to the great regret of all men, especially those of the Clergy, to whom he had been very beneficial. For besides the Abbey of *Aberbrothock*, which he founded to the memory of *Thomas Becket*, then generally held to be a Martyr and Saint, he gave divers lands to the See of *Argile*, which had been in his time erected; and to the Monasteries of *Newbattle*, *Halvudhouse* and *Dunfermlin*, many rich gifts; as likewise for the *Trinity* Monks of *Aberdene*, an Order lately invented, and then confirmed by *Innocentius* the Third, he made a competent provision. Never were the Funerals of any of our Kings performed with greater solemnity. All the Prelates and Nobles of the Kingdom attending the Corps from *Striveling* to *Aberbrothock*, where he had appointed his body to be buried. There they continued 14 days, spending that time in the devotions accustomed; and before their parting, by a common consent

An. 1189.

Buchan. l. 7.

Pope Innocent the Third his thanks to the King for the justice of execution.

A Convocation of the Clergy at Perth. Boeth. l. 13. L. ft. li. 8.

Saturday from 12 of the clock to be kept as holy.

An. 1189.

Bishop Roger succeeded to Hugo after his death.

Roger consecrated in the year 1198. dieth in July 1202.

William Malvoisin translated from Glasgow to S. Andrews. Scot. l. 8.

Psalm. l. 6. c. 17. King William dieth. His pious devotion. Boeth. l. 13. Buchan. l. 7.

An. 1214.

King Alexander the Second crowned at Scone.

Boeth. li. 7.
Buchan. l. 13.

The Kingdom interdicted by the Popes Legate.

Scot. l. c. 33.
The privilege of the white Monks suspended.Peace concluded betwixt the King and Henry the Third of England.
The Kingdom of Scotland absolved from the Interdiction.Boeth. l. 13.
Buchan. l. 7.

The course taken with the inferior Church-men.

Scot. l. 9. c. 35.

The Scots Clergy complain of the Legates extortions.

ordained, that for a year thereafter no publick plays nor feasts should be made in any part of the Kingdom: such a sorrow they shewed, notwithstanding he had reigned long, and died being of a great age, for it was the 74 of his age, and the 49 of his reign, when he departed this life.

The Funerals ended, his son *Alexander* the Second, accompanied with all the Prelates and Nobles of the Kingdom, went to *Scone*, and received the Crown by the hands of the Bishop of *S. Andrews*. This King did no waies degenerate from the Vertues of his Predecessors, and was a great protector of the Church against the fines and extortions of *Rome*. *Guallo*, others call him *Waldo*, a Cardinal, sent Legate into *England* by Pope *Innocentius* the Third to assist King *John*, who was then become his vassal, did put the Kingdom of *Scotland* under interdiction, because the King had supplied the *French* in his invasion of *England*, and, as he pretended, robbed some Churches and Religious places in his return from that War. The Church-men ceasing by this occasion from their ordinary services, no religious exercise was performed by any through the whole Realm, but the *white Monks*, whose privilege did warrant them to celebrate at such times; which the Legate hearing, did suspend, inhibiting them by one *Westbeck* Archdeacon of *York* to do any service, under pain of the highest spiritual Censures, till the rest of the Clergy were absolved.

But King *John* dying, and *Henry* his son Crowned, by mediation of certain Prelates Peace was made betwixt King *Alexander* and him upon the conditions following. That *Joan* the sister of *Henry* should be given in marriage to *Alexander* King of *Scots*, and *Margaret* his sister to *Hubert de Burgh* Justiciar of *England* (the man who then ruled all affairs.) That *Berwick* should be rendred to the *Scots*, and *Carlisle* to the *English*; The King of *Scots* absolved from the Legates Censures, and his Kingdom released from the Interdiction. For performing the last Article, the Bishops of *York* and *Salisbury* (by whose means especially the Peace was concluded) had Commission given them by the Legate, which presently they discharged. But *Guallo* being displeased that the Interdict had passed so easily (for he was a man extremely avaritious, and one who made his profit of every business) since he could not retreat what was done, took him to the Clergy, saying, That the absolution granted did not comprehend them; and thereupon did summon them to appear before him at *Alnwick*. The Diet was kept, and thither went all the Bishops, Abbots, Priors, and beneficed men in great numbers; Absolution was offered, but not without the payment of large sums; which were at first denied, but after some menacings, that he should make them answer it at *Rome*, the most out of fear did transact. A few Prelates only standing out, went afterwards to *Rome* to justify their Cause.

With the inferior Church-men he took a course, in shew beneficial, and for their ease; that some one or two should go with Commission and absolve them in their own Provinces at home: but it turned to their great molestation; for the Prior of *Duresme* and *Westbeck* the Archdeacon, who were employed in that business, beginning at *Berwick*, went through all the Realm, and making the Priests and Canons convene at the principal City of the bounds, caused them to take oath, that they should confess themselves, and answer truly unto every particular inquired of them; which done, and their several depositions taken, what by terrifying some with deprivation from their places for faults confessed by themselves, what by wearying others with the protraction they made from day to day, great sums were extorted from them, and the poor Priests forced, notwithstanding all this oppression, to go barefooted to the door of the principal Church, where they were convened, and asked their Absolution in a most base and abject form.

The Clergy, offended herewith, sent *Walter* Bishop of *Glasgow*, *Brice* Bishop of *Murray*, and *Adam* Bishop of *Cathnes* to complain at *Rome*; where finding Pope *Innocent* dead, and *Honorius* the Third preferred in his room, they exhibited in name of the Church of *Scotland* a grievous complaint against *Guallo*, charging him to have been the especial cause of these miserable combustions which both the Kingdoms had endured, to have abused his Legation unto his private commodity, and to have extorted

extorted moneys from Churchmen and others under colour of Absolution. *Guallo* brought to his answer, because he did not clear himself sufficiently in divers points, was declared not to have carried himself as became his Holiness Legate, and fined in a pecuniary mulct: so as he escaped by dividing the spoil (which he had made in those parts) betwixt his Master and himself. The Bishops who preferred the complaint were, upon confession of their fault, absolved, one of the Cardinals who stood by scornfully commending their humility, and saying, *Quod piarum mentium esset crimen agnoscere, ubi nec culpa reperitur*, That it was the part of devout men to acknowledge an offence, even where no fault was committed: and for some recompence of their pains, a confirmation was given them of the old privileges granted to the Church of *Scotland* by four Popes. This Privilege is dated at *Rome* in the year of Christ 1218, and in the second of Pope *Honorius* his Pontificate.

Yet the next year *Egidius* a Spaniard by nation, and by place a Cardinal, was sent to gather contribution for the holy War; wherein both the Clergy and Laity shewed themselves so forward, as in a short space great sums were collected: all which he spent most prodigally in his return to *Rome*, giving out for an excuse that he was robbed by certain Brigants in the way. And no sooner was this Cardinal gone, than another followed, having the like Commission. But the King considering how prejudicial these contributions might prove to the Kingdom, and that through the easie yieldings of the State, the See of *Rome* was grown impudent in their Exactions, would not permit him to enter into the Realm, till he had propounded the matter in Council: at which time one of the Bishops (his name is not expressed in the story) made a long speech against the rapine of these Legates; where, in recounting the insolent oppressions of *Guallo* and the riotous profusion of *Egidius*, he dissuaded by many good reasons his admission, or the receiving of any other who should afterwards happen to come about the like business. This Speech seconded with the applause of all that were present, an Act was made prohibiting the reception of the Legate, or any others without licence from the King.

The Bishop of *S. Andrews* being all this while in *France*, did now return bringing with him some of the order of *S. Dominick*, some *Franciscans*, *Jacobins*, and of the Monks called *Vallis umbrose*. These Orders not being known before in this Church, by their crafty insinuations with people, and the profession they made in leading an austere life, did supplant the credit of the Priests, drawing to themselves all the force and credit of the spiritual Ministry, and were upheld by the Popes, whose designs they studied especially to advance. The King, who looked no farther than the devout profession they made, gave them all a kind reception, and to the Monks *Vallis umbrose* he erected a Monastery in *Pluscardy* within the country of *Murray*. In the country of *Rosse*, the Lord *Bisset* founded *Beavly* for Monks of the same Order; and one *Maccolloch*, a man of great wealth, did found the Priory of *Archatton* in *Lorne*. About the same time did *Ada* or *Adhama*, Grandmother to the King, found the Abbey of *Haddington* for consecrated Virgins. The like was erected at *Northberwick* by *Malcolm* Earl of *Fife*, who also founded the Abbey of *Culroffe* for the *Cistercian* Monks. *Dornagilla*, the daughter of *Allan* Lord of *Galloway*, erected for the same order a Monastery at *New-Abbe*; and by a rare example, *Gilbert* Earl of *Strathern*, having divided his inheritance in three parts, gave one third thereof to the See of *Dumblane*, and another to the Abbey of *Inchaffray*, reserving to himself and his heirs a third only of the whole. Shortly after in the year 1237 died *William Malvoisin* at *Inchmurtach*, and, as he himself had directed, was buried in the new Church of *S. Andrews*.

21. *Galfrid* Bishop of *Dunkeld* being earnestly desired both of the Clergy and Laity, the King would not permit his Translation: so *David Benham*, Chamberlain to the King, was elected, and on *S. Vincent's* day in the year 1238 consecrated by *William* Bishop of *Glasgow*, *Gilbert* Bishop of *Cathnes*, and *Clement* Bishop of *Dumblane*. This Bishop kept a severe hand over the Clergy, especially the Monks and others that lived in religious Orders; and calling an Assembly by the Kings consent at *Perth* in the year 1242, (where the King himself with divers of the Nobility did assist)

An. 1219.
Buchan. l. 7.

Scot. ibidem.

An. 1219.

The King offended with the Contributions of Rome.

The Popes Legate discharged from entering into Scotland.

Orders of St. Dominick, and Francis brought into Scotland.

Scot. l. 13. c. 2.
Foundation of Religious houses.Gilbert Earl of Strathern his Donations to the Church.
Scot. l. 8. c. 73.An. 1238.
David the Kings Chamberlain elected Bishop upon Malvoisin his death.

A. 1238. afflift) made many good constitutions as well for reformation of abuses, as for securing of Clergy-men in their possessions and rights. In his time fell out great Troubles betwixt the Emperour *Frederick* the Second and Pope *Gregory* the Ninth; for which a general Council was called by the said *Gregory* at *Rome*, and thither were summoned all the Bishops of Christendom. The pretext was, the relief of the Holy-land, which at that time was in great distress; but *Frederick* apprehending the intention to be against himself, resolved to hinder the meeting of the Council, and having belayed the ways, made the Bishops of *S. Andrews* and *Glasgow* prisoners, as they travelled through *Germany*. Upon their promise to return home, they were afterwards set at liberty: not the less they sent their Procurations thither by some Religious persons, who took another way. But the Council held not, because of the Popes death that intervened.

Some few years after this King *Alexander* deceased at *Carnie* in the West Isles; and, as he had appointed, was interred in the Abbey-Church of *Melrose*, with an Inscription according to the rudeness of the time, yet such as shewed how greatly he was beloved of his Subjects.

His Epitaph.

*Ecclesie clypeus, pax plebis; dux miserorum,
Rex rectus, rigidus, sapiens, consultus, honestus,
Rex pius, Rex fortis, Rex optimus, Rex opulentus,
Nominis istius ipse secundus erat.
Annis ter denis & quinis Rex fuit ipse.
Insula quæ Carnie dicitur hunc rapuit.
Spiritus alta petit Celestibus associatus,
Sed Melrossensis ossa sepulta tenet.*

King *Alexander* the Third crowned.

S. David in the life of *Henry* the Third.
Scot. l. 10. c. 8.

Abel Archdeacon of *S. Andrews* elected Bishop after *David*.

Abel his rigor exercised upon the Canons.

His son *Alexander* the third by *Maria* the daughter of Sir *Ingram de Consey* (for his first wife died without children) succeeded, and was Crowned of eight years old; at the age of ten years he was married to *Margaret* the daughter of *Henry* the Third of *England*. The marriage being solemnized at *Tork*, and the Bishop of *S. Andrews* sent thither with others of the Nobility to see all things duly performed, he fell there in a Fever, and departed this life on the first of *May* 1251. His Corps brought from thence was buried in the Abbey-Church of *Kelsoe*, some thirteen years and three months after his consecration.

22. The Prior and Canons convening to elect a new Bishop, did all give their voices to *Robert Suteville* Dean of *Dunkeld*, a man of great virtue and learning: But this Election took no effect; *Abel* Archdeacon of *S. Andrews*, by the favour of some that ruled the Court, having procured an inhibition to the Bishop to proceed in the Consecration, with a Mandate to the Canons to make a new Election. The Chapter refusing made their appeal to *Rome*; and *Abel* positing thither, by the bribes he bestowed in that Court, got himself preferred, and was consecrated by Pope *Innocentius* the Fourth.

At his return, to be revenged of the Prior and Canons, he behaved himself well insolently, calling them in question for every light occasion, and censuring them with great rigor; whereupon he became extremely hated. They write of him that, in a vain-glorious humour, as he was walking in his Church one day, he did with a little Chalk draw this line upon the gate of the Church,

Hec mihi sunt tria, Lex, Canon, Philosophia;

bragging of his knowledge and skill in those Professions: and that going to Church the next day, he found another line drawn beneath the former, which said,

Te levant absque tria, Fraus, Favor, Vanasophia.

This did so gall him as taking bed he died within a few days, having sat Bishop ten months and two days only.

23. After

23. After *Abels* death *Gamelinus* was elected to govern the See, and by a warrant from *Rome* was consecrated on *S. Stephens* day, in the year 1255. Two years he stood elect, his Consecration being stayed by the Rulers of the Court, who had sent also to *Rome* for calling his Election. A time this was (such as usually falleth out in the minority of Princes) full of choppings and changes. Under the last King the *Cummings* had ruled all publick business, for they were of great power, the Earls of *Monteth*, *Bughan*, *Athol* and *Marre* being all of that name, besides thirty two Barons and Knights. *Robert* Abbot of *Dunfermlin*, Chancellor of the Kingdom for the time, inclining to their course, had legitimated a base sister of the Kings, who was married to one *Allan Doorward*, and for the same was put from his place, *Gamelinus* being preferred thereto; but he enjoyed the same a short space, for upon some discontents he was likewise thrust out, and *Richard* Bishop of *Dunkeld* made Chancellor. This made the Court to oppose *Gamelinus* his Election; not the less he prevailed by his gifts at *Rome*, and procured a Warrant to *William* Bishop of *Glasgow* to proceed to his consecration.

The Court highly displeased at this, there fell out another occasion which did greatly incense them against him. A Knight called Sir *John Dinnure* for some oppressions committed upon the Prior of *S. Andrews* was excommunicated: he complaining to the King obtained by *Moyen* a command to *Gamelinus* to absolve him; who simply refused, unless satisfaction was made for the offence: and because no redress was offered, a new intimation was made of his cursing through the whole Province. This the King and the Court took so ill, as forthwith a messenger was sent to charge the Bishop to depart forth of the Realm; which as he was preparing to obey, the news of a Legate sent from *Rome* into *England* made the Court take a more moderate course, fearing the consequence of so rigorous a proceeding.

This Legate called *Ottobon* being employed for pacifying the Troubles raised betwixt the King of *England* and his Barons, did summon the Clergy of *Scotland* to appear before him by their Commissioners, and to bring with them a Collection of four Marks for every Parish within the Realm, and six Marks for every Cathedral Church. The Clergy meaning themselves to the King, he did prohibit any such Contribution, and sent his Chancellor to the Bishop of *Dunkeld*, and *Robert* Bishop of *Dumblane*, partly to declare the reasons of his prohibition, and partly to observe the proceedings of the Legate with these of *England*. At their return some Acts were shewed which the Legate had set down to be observed by the Clergy: all which they rejected, saying, *That they would acknowledge no Statutes but such as proceeded either from the Pope, or from a General Council.*

Ottobon was not well gone, when another Legate named *Rustanens* was sent to demand a Tenth of all the Church-rents within the Kingdom, for advancing the journey of King *Henry's* Son, who had undertaken the Holy War at the solicitation of *Ottobon*. But this seeming to cross the Liberties granted by former Popes unto the Church, and it being notorious that the Pope was to employ the monys to other ends, (for he was then warring against *Manfred* King of *Naples* and *Sicily*) therefore the same was denied, and *Rustane* prohibited to enter into the Realm. The King not the less in token of his affection sent to the Pope 1000 Marks sterling; and for the furtherance of the holy War did levy 100 men, which he sent to *Lewes* the French King, who had determined to adventure himself of new against the Infidels, under the charge of the Earls of *Athol* and *Carrick*. All these died in that War, partly of the Plague, as did *Lewes* himself, and partly by the Sword of the Enemy.

In this Bishops time the Carmelite Friars came into *Scotland*, and had a dwelling assigned them at *Perth* by *Richard* Bishop of *Dunkeld*. The Cross-Church at *Peblis* was at that same time built, and endowed by the King with large Revenues. The reason why this Church was erected was a cross, as they write, found in that place inclosed in a little Shrine, on which the name of *Nicolas* a Bishop was written. The Church was dedicated with many pompous Ceremonies, divers Prelates being present, amongst whom was *Gamelinus*, who at his return home was taken with a Palfie, and died in *Inchmurtach*, having sat Bishop 16 years. His Corps

An. 1255.
Gamelinus elected Bishop upon *Abels* death.

Psalm. l. 6.

Boeth. l. 13.

Buch. l. 7.

The Court displeased with the Bishop.

A Legate sent from *Rome*.

Scot. l. 2. c. 24.

Boeth. l. 13.

Buch. l. 7.

Boeth. l. 13.

The Carmelite Friars received in *Scotland*. Cross-Church at *Peblis* erected.

Boeth. l. 13.
Scot. l. 10.

An. 1274.
William Wis-
hart elected
Bishop upon
Gamelinus his
death.
Scot. l. 10. c. 30.
Paff. l. 6.
Bishops atten-
ding at Rome
for Consecra-
tion.

Corps was laid in the new Church of S. Andrews nigh to the high Altar.
24. William Wishart elect of Glasgow was upon the death of Gamelinus preferred to S. Andrews. Pope Urban the Fourth had not long before ordained, *That every Bishop and Abbot elect should travel to Rome for Consecration*: but the Papacy then vacant by reason of a Schism, that continued two years and nine months after the death of Clement the Fourth, he was unwilling to go thither; four other Prelates being kept there depending at the same time, William elect of Brichen, Matthew elect of Rosse, Nicol elect of Cathnes, and Hugh Benham elect of Aberdene.

The elect of Brichen died at Rome; Aberdene and Rosse were consecrated by Gregory the Tenth upon the ending of the Schism at Viterbium; Nicol was rejected, and the Chapter of Cathnes appointed to make a new Election. The Agents that Wishart sent for licence to be consecrated were detained a long time, and had returned without effectuating their errand, if Edward the First of England, who coming from the Holy land was then at Rome, had not by his intercession prevailed with the Pope, and obtained licence for the Consecration; which was performed at Scone in the year 1274, in the presence of the King and divers of his Nobles. At the same time William Frazer Dean of Glasgow was preferred to be Chancellor.

A Council at
Lions.

Scot. l. 10. c. 34.

The Pope shortly after this having convoked a Council at Lions, caused cite all the Prelates thereto. To this effect a meeting of the Clergy was kept at Perth, where it was concluded, that the Bishops (Dunkeld and Murray only excepted) should address themselves to the Journey, and be at Lions before the first of May. Hopes were given of great reformation to be made in that Council, especially of the Orders of Mendicants, who were mightily increased and grown to the highest of depravation. The Council was frequent, there being present (as my Author saith) two Patriarchs, fifteen Cardinals, five hundred Bishops, and a thousand other mitred Prelates, besides the King of France and the Emperor of Greece, and many other Princes.

A supply for
the Holy War.

The first proposition was for the Holy War; and concerning it the Council decreed, *That a Tenth of all the Benefices in Christendom (the privileged Churches not excepted) should be paid for six years; That all Penitentiaries and Confessors should urge offenders to assist that holy business with their wealth and riches; and That every Christian, without exception of sex or quality, should pay a yearly penny during that space, under pain of excommunication.*

The Acts of
the Council.

For remedying abuses in the Church, the Council ordained, 1. *That no Procurations should be paid to Bishops or Archdeacons, unless they did visit the Churches in their own persons.* 2. *That no Churchman should possess more Benefices than one, and should make his residence at the Church he retained.* 3. *That without the Popes licence no Clergy should answer the Impositions which might happen to be laid upon them by Princes or States.* 4. *That the Mendicants should be reduced to four Orders, the Minorites, the Predicants, Carmelites and Heremites of S. Austine, who should continue in their present state, untill the Pope should otherwise think good.* And, 5. *A general prohibition was made to advise or admit any new Orders, besides those which the Council had allowed.*

All the Acts
overturned by
Dispensations.

Scot. l. 10. c. 35.

Some other Acts of less moment were passed, whereof the extract under the hands of the publick Notaries of the Council was sent to this Church: but all these Statutes turned in a short time to smoke, Pluralities being of new dispensed with, with the clause of *Non obstante*, which then first came in use. The Orders of the Friars and Monks restored one by one: as first the Cistercian Monks, who redeemed their Order by the payment of 500000 Marks; then the Bernardines with the sum of 600000 Crowns: the other Orders made in little sort their Compositions. Whereby it appeared, that the Statutes there enacted were only devised to raise sums of money, and not out of any purpose those Fathers had to redress abuses. The same year was one Bagimund a Legate directed hither, who calling before him all the Beneficed persons within the Kingdom, caused them upon their oath give up the worth and value of their Benefices; according to which they were taxed. The Table (commonly called *Bagiments Rolls*) served for the present collection, and was a rule in after-times for the prices taken of those that came to sue for Benefices in the Court of Rome.

Wishart

Wishart, not long after his return from this Council, being employed by the King and State in a Commission of the Borders, sickned at Marbotle in Teviotdale, and there died. He is commended to have been a man careful in his Charge, and a great lover of Peace, than which there is no virtue more required in a Churchman. He continued Bishop 5 years and 8 moneths only. His Corps was honourably conveyed from Marbotle, and interred in his own Church nigh to the high Altar in the year 1279.

There lived in the Kingdom at this time Michael Scot and Thomas Lermont, men greatly admired, the first for his rarest skill in the Secrets of Nature, the other for his Predictions and foretelling of things to come. Picus Mirandula and Cornelius Agrippa do make honourable mention of Michael Scot in their Writings, and accompt him to have been a subtle Philosopher, and most expert in the Mathematick sciences. The Prophecies yet extant in the *Scotish Rymes* of the other, whereupon he was commonly called *Thomas the Rymer*, may justly be admired, having foretold so many Ages before the Union of the Kingdoms of England and Scotland in the ninth degree of the Bruces blood, with the Succession of Bruce himself to the Crown being yet a child, and other divers particulars, which the event hath ratified and made good. Boeth. in his Story relateth his Prediction of King Alexander's death, and that he did foretell the same to the Earl of March the day before it fell out, saying, *That before the next day at noon such a tempest should blow as Scotland had not felt many years before.* The next morning the day being clear, and no change appearing in the air, the Nobleman did challenge Thomas of his saying, calling him an Impostor. He replied, *that noon was not yet passed.* About which time a Post came to advertise the Earl of the King his sudden death. Then said Thomas, *This is the tempest I foretold, and so it shall prove to Scotland.* Whence or how he had this knowledge can hardly be affirmed; but sure it is that he did divine and answer truly of many things to come.

25. William Frazer Chancellor of the kingdom, was after Wishart elected Bishop, and going to Rome was consecrated by Pope Nicolaus the Third in the year 1280. The office of Chancery upon his resignation was given by the King to Mr. John Pebles Archdeacon of S. Andrews. At his return from Rome a pestilential Fever (never before known in this kingdom) brake up to the destruction of an infinite number of people. This visitation was scarce ceased, when all the Kings children were taken away one after another: First David his yongest son died; then Alexander the Prince, who had married a daughter of the Earl of Flanders; after him Margaret Queen of Norway, who left behind her one only daughter; and last the King himself, who had taken to wife (after the death of his Queen) Jolet a daughter to the Count of Dreux, in hope to restore his issue, was most unfortunately killed by the fall of his Horse a little space from the town of Kingorne.

So many deaths falling out together in the Royal Family did presage great Calamities to ensue. The only hope that remained was in the Norwegian maid, for whom Sir David Wemys and Sir Michael Scot, two Knights of Fife, were directed by the Estates. The administration of affairs was in the mean time committed to William Frazer Bishop of S. Andrews, Duncan Earl of Fife, and John Coming Earl of Eghnan, for the Countrys on the North side of Forth; and to Robert Bishop of Glasgow, John Lord Comin, and John Lord Stewart, for the South parts. But it was not long before that these Gentlemen that were sent to Norway returned, bringing word that the maid of Norway was likewise departed this life. At which news it cannot be told whether the fears or sorrows of the subjects were greater: for as their Sorrow for the loss of so worthy a King was great, so their Fear was no less, because of the uncertainty of the Succession; for so many Competitors (six they were in number) claiming the inheritance of the Crown, and all of them men of power and friendship, they could not but divide the Realm, and so beget a civil War; yet they who were trusted during the Interreign did by their mediation work them to a compromise, and to remit the decision of the controverfious to King Edward the First of England, a Prince of long experience, and much respected in that time. To this purpose the Bishop of Brichen with the Abbot of Jedburgh and Galfred

An. 1279.
Bishop Wi-
shart dieth.
Scot. l. 10. c. 31.

An. 1279.

Michael Scot
and Thomas
Lermont.
Buchan. l. 13.
Lest. l. 6.

Boeth. l. 13.

William Fra-
zer elected
Bishop after
Wishart.

Buch. l. 7.

The death of
King Alexan-
der the Third
and his chil-
dren.

Two Knights
of Fife direct-
ed to the maid
of Norway,
whom they
found dead.

Boeth. l. 14.

Buchan. l. 8.

Competitors
for the Crown.

Ann. 1179.
Scot. l. 11. c. 2.

King Edward
his speech at
the meeting
in Norham.

Robert Bishop
of Glasgow his
reply.
Scot. l. 11. c. 10.

The right of
the Crown
found to lie
betwixt Baliol
and Bruce.
Buchan. l. 8.

A meeting at
Berwick for
determina-
ting the right.
St. Daniel.
Booth. l. 14.

Bruce refuseth
the offer,
which Baliol
embraceth.

Galfred Mowbray a Gentleman were sent to King Edward, who finding him at Xantoign in France, did expose to him the inconveniences that were feared to fall out in the Kingdom, and the course they had taken to prevent the same, intreating his help for quieting the State.

King Edward glad to have an hand in the making of a King in Scotland, dimitted them with many loving words, assigning a Diet to the Competitors at Norham upon Tweed, which he promised to keep. The day come, and the Competitors all present, with the Prelates and other Nobles, the King by a long and premeditated speech declared, 'That albeit he might justly claim the Superiority of the Kingdom of Scotland, as belonging to him by right, yet as a friend and arbiter elected by themselves, he would labour to compose the present controversy in the best sort he could. For the right, said he, howsoever there be divers pretenders, belongeth to one only; and for my self, I determine to wrong no man, but to do that which is just, assuring my self you will all acquiesce and take him for King who shall be pronounced so to be.

This said, Robert Bishop of Glasgow arose, and gave the King most hearty thanks, in name of the rest, for the good affection he bare to their country, and the pains he had taken to come and remove their debates; shewing that out of a persuasion they all had of his wisdom and equity, they were well pleased to submit to him as sole Arbiter the judgment and decision of that weighty affair. But where it had pleased him to speak of a right of Superiority over the Kingdom; it was sufficiently known that Scotland from the first foundation of the State had been a free and independent Kingdom, & not subject to any other power whatsoever. That their ancestors had valiantly defended themselves and their Liberties against the Romans, Picts, Britains, Danes, Norihes, and all others who sought to usurp upon them. And howbeit, said he, the present occasion hath bred some distraction of minds, all true-hearted Scotch-men will stand for the Liberty of their Country to the death: for they esteem their Liberty more precious than their lives, and in that quarrel will neither separate nor divide. Wherefore as he had professed in way of Friendship, and as an Arbiter elected by themselves, to cognosce and decide the present controversy, they were all in most humble manner to intreat him that he would proceed to determine the question, which they and their posterities should remember with their best affection and services. King Edward, although he was not well pleased with the Bishops free speech, made no speech thereof at the time, but continuing his purpose, desired the Competitors to be called. They all being severally heard, the right was found to lie chiefly betwixt John Baliol and Robert Bruce, and the rest ordained to cease from their claim. Of Baliol and Bruce an oath was taken, that they should abide by the Sentence which King Edward should pronounce. The like oath was taken by the Prelates, Nobles, and other Commissioners of the State, who swore all to accept him for their King that would be tried to have the best right; and for the greater assurance, all their seals were appended to the Compromise. Then Edward proceeding, made twelve of either kingdom, men learned in the Law, to be elected for examination of the right, declaring that he would take the opinions also of the best Civilians in the Universities of France. In this sort was the business carried in publick; but privately, and amongst some few, the consultation was how to bring Scotland under his subjection.

Five years and some more were spent before the controversy was brought to an end. At last every one longing to have it concluded, the King returned to Berwick, and calling the 24 who had been named at the first meeting, he did enclose them within the Church, commanding them to debate the matter, and permitting none to have access unto them, he himself went in now and then to feel their minds; and perceiving the most part inclining to Bruce his right, he dealt first with him, promising to invest him in the Kingdom, so as he would hold the same of the Crown of England. Bruce answered that he was not so desirous of Rule, as he would therefore prejudice the Liberties of the Country. The like offer he made to Baliol, who, being more greedy of a kingdom than careful of his honour, did yield thereunto, and so was crowned King at Scone; all the Nobility, Bruce excepted, doing him homage. Some days after his Coronation he went to Newcastle, to do the Homage

(as

as he had promised) to King Edward as unto his Sovereign Lord. The Nobles that accompanied him thither, fearing to withstand the two Kings so far from home, did likewise swear subjection to King Edward. Which as soon as the rest of the Nobility and others of the State (who were tender of their Countries Liberty) understood, they grew highly displeased. They that were in Baliol's company were excused, as not daring oppose the fact in that place; but he himself having done it upon a secret paction, which then began first to break out, he became so universally hated, as after that time could he never purchase their love; nor was it long before he felt the smart of his own error. For being cited to answer before the Parliament of England upon a complaint exhibited against him, he appeared; and having desired to answer by Procurator, the same was denied him, and he forced to descend to the ordinary place of pleading, and stand as a subject. This affront did so vex his mind, that from thenceforth he did meditate upon nothing but revenge, whereof a good opportunity was offered him by the War which then burst forth between France and England.

The Ambassadors of both these Kings coming at one time into Scotland, (the French to seek the renewing of the ancient League, and the English to crave a supply of men to be sent unto King Edward by virtue of the late Allegiance sworn by Baliol) the desire of England was utterly rejected as unjust; Because the Allegiance sworn by their King was, as they said, forced; and granting he had done it willingly, it was not in his power, without consent of the State, to do any such act. Therefore what soever was done by him that way, both he and they did recal, renouncing Edwards friendship both for that and other wrongs committed by him. Thereupon it was concluded, that two Ambassadors should be sent, one to France for renewing the League, and confirming it by new alliance of Edward Baliol the Kings Son with the Daughter of France; another to England, for desying King Edward, and renouncing his Allegiance. Towards France, William Bishop of S. Andrews, Matthew Bishop of Dunkeld, Sir John Sowlis, and Sir Ingram Umphraville Knights, were employed. The Ambassage to England being declined by many, Henry Abbot of Aberbrothock, a man of great stomach, undertook and performed.

Upon this defection of Baliol, King Edward summoned him to appear at Newcastle; and upon his refuse entered into Scotland, with a mighty Army, took Berwick with the slaughter of 7000 Scots, and had delivered into his hands the Castles of Dunbar, Roxburgh, Edinburgh and Striveling. Baliol thus overthrown, was again by the persuasion of John Cumyn of Strathbogy brought to submit himself, and swear Fealty of new to King Edward. After which the Parliament of Scotland was called to meet at Berwick; there did all the Nobility that were present perform Homage to the King of England. William Douglas, a man nobly born, and of great courage, only refused, and was therefore cast in prison, where he died. This done, King Edward turned home, leaving John Warren Earl of Surrey and Suffex Governor of the Kingdom, Hugh Cressingham Treasurer, and Ormsley chief Justice.

The Bishop of S. Andrews, who was lately come from France, not enduring to see the Country so thrall'd, returned thither, appointing Mr. William Kingorne and Peter de Campaigne his Chaplains to supply his absence in all spiritual affairs: Robert Bishop of Glasgow and Maurice Bishop of Isles were taken and sent prisoners to London. The rest of the Churchmen, though permitted to attend their Cures, were held under miserable bondage: whereupon they secretly dispatched a message to the Pope with William Archdeacon of Lothian, Baldred Bisset and William Egisbame, willing them to lament the oppressions of the Church, and the usurpation made upon the Country, and so intreated him, as the universal Father of Christendom, to use his authority with the King of England, over whom he had power, and take the matter to his own hearing, unto whose judgment they would simply submit themselves. Pope Boniface the Eighth, who then ruled that See, moved with their prayers, sent immediately to Edward, and desired him to forbear any further proceeding against the Scots, alledging with a strange impudence the Sovereignty of Scotland to belong unto the Church. The Commissioners nothing pleased with the Popes claim, did notwithstanding forbear to take notice of it, lest they should make him also their enemy.

Ann. 1279.
Baliol hated for swearing subjection to the King of England.
Buchan. l. 8.

Baliol breaketh with England.

Ambassadors from France and England.

Booth. l. 14.
Scot. l. 11. c. 18.

Baliol cited to Newcastle.
Scotland invaded by King Edward.

Buchan. l. 8.
Booth. l. 14.

The Bishops of Glasgow and Isles sent prisoners to London.

A message sent to the Pope from the Clergy.

Scot. l. 11. c. 35.
The Popes Letters to King Edward and the Archbishop of Canterbury.

An. 1300.

King Edward
his answer.

enemy. To the same purpose did the Pope write Letters to Robert Winchelsey, then Archbishop of Canterbury, willing him to deal with the King for settling the Bishops of Glasgow and Isles at liberty, and the submitting of all controversies between him and the Scots to the judgement of the Apostolick See.

King Edwards answer to the Popes Letter was, *That from all antiquity the direct and superiour dominion of Scotland did appertain to the Kingdom of England, even from Brutus unto his own time. That it was never yet heard that the Kingdom of Scotland belonged to the Church, nor did he think the Scots would confess so much. And if he should yield to his desire, he would inquiet his own Kingdom, and draw upon himself the hatred of his subjects; which he knew his Holiness would not wish. Therefore prayed him to hold him excused, and to be perswaded of his affection to the See Apostolick.* He moved likewise his Nobility, who were then met in Parliament at Lincoln, to write to the Pope to the same effect. Albeit somewhat more roundly they told him, *That the King their Lord ought not to undergo his judgment in matters of that kind, neither send his Procurators about that business as he had been required, seeing that was to call in doubt their Kings Title, to the prejudice of his Crown, the Royal Dignity, the Liberties, Customs and Laws of England, which by their Oath they were bound to observe, & would defend with their lives. Nor would they permit the King, although he would, in any way to attempt the same. Wherefore they besought his Holiness to meddle no more in that matter.* The Pope, having his hands full otherwise at the time, did upon this dimitt the Scottish Commissioners, who had made a long stay at Rome, with great promises of favour when he should see it to be convenient. The Supplication directed to the Pope is by some of our Writers said to be sent after King Edwards second Expedition into Scotland; but I rather think it was at the first.

An. 1300.
William Wallace.

S. Daniel.

Boeth. l. 14.
Buch. l. 8.A Parliament
at S. Andrews.King Edward
his course for
extirpating the
Scots.Scot. Catal.
Episc. S. An-
dree.
Paf. l. 6.

Whilest these things were a-doing, William Wallace a Gentleman well descended, but of no great estate, began to shew himself, and gathering out of a desire to free his Country from the subjection of England a company of such as would adventure with him, effected things beyond all expectation; for he slew Sir Hugh Cressingham, who was left Governor of the Realm, recovered most of the strengths and Castles, won again the Town of Barwick, expelled the English Clergy that had planted themselves in the Kingdom, and, if he had not been hindered by his own Country-men, had made his victory absolute. King Edward being all that time in Flanders, and informed at his return to England of the distractions among the Scots themselves, fell of new upon them; and after a fore defeat given them at Falkirk, called a Parliament at S. Andrews, where all the Earls and Barons did again swear obedience unto him, not one of any note (Wallace excepted) standing out in the whole Kingdom.

And now did the State seem to be wholly ruined, for Edward intending to make sure his Conquest, led away captive all that had the least ability to stir; and to extinguish (if it had been possible) the very memory of the Nation, he abolished all the ancient Laws of Scotland, traduced the Ecclesiastical Rites to the form of England, destroyed the antique Monuments erected either by the Romans or by their own progenitors, burnt all the Registers, with that famous Library of Rutenoth (wherein, besides many other volumes, were reserved the Books which King Fergus the Second brought with him from Rome) removed the Marble Chair in which (as the vulgar believed) the Fate of the Kingdom did consist; and to be short, left nothing which might incite generous spirits to remember their former fortunes, or encourage them in any sort to vertue and worthiness.

The Bishop of S. Andrews (who then remained at Ardevile in France) upon the report of this pitiful vastation, did contract such a Melancholy, as within a few days he died. His body was interred at the Predicants Church at Paris, and his heart brought into Scotland, and entombed by Lamberton his successor in the wall of the Church of S. Andrews, nigh to the Sepulcher of Gamelinus. He was a man careful of the Church, and sought by all means to better the estate thereof. At his first admission to the See he purchased the Priory of May from the Abbot of Reading in England, which he gave afterwards to the Prior and Canons; and had he fallen in peaceable times, would have performed many good works.

26. William

26. William Lamberton, Parson of Champsey, and Chancelour of the Church of Glasgow was then preferred to the place. This man, after the Bishop of Glasgow was sent prisoner to London, made his own peace with King Edward, and swore fealty unto him, which was the thing that wrought his advancement; yet the Culdees, who claimed a chief voice in the election of the Bishop, withstood him mightily at the first. Before the Abbey was founded, the Culdees were the only Electors of the Bishop: afterwards being excluded by a Bull of Pope Innocent the Second, the election was committed to the Prior and Canons; whereupon arose a great controversy amongst them, which by the authority of good King David was agreed in these terms, that so many of the Culdees as would become Canons, and enter in the Monastery, should have voices with them. But to elude this appointment, a Mandate was procured from the Pope to admit none in the Convent without the advice of the Prior and most part of the Canons: by which means the Culdees were kept out, and deprived quite of all voices in the Election. William Comin their Provost, supposing to get some advantage of the Prior in these troublesome times, did strongly oppose Lamberton's Election, and the matter by an appeal drawn to the Consistory of Rome, they both went thither to debate their rights: in end Lamberton prevailed, and was consecrated by Pope Boniface in June 1298. This turned so to the disgrace of the Culdees, as after this time we hear no more of them, the name and Order being by little and little quite extinguished.

About the same time were the Templars, otherwise called the Red Friars, made away; an Order instituted by Baldwin King of Jerusalem some 200 years before, for the defence of that City, and the safe conveying of all such as travelled thither, by the pious liberality of Princes and others well affected: they were in a short time greatly enriched, and for their wealth sore envied. Some report, that degenerating from their first institution they became execrably vicious. But Bocatius, Villanus, Antonius, Naclerus, Aventinus, and other Authors do all purge them of the crimes laid to their charge. The rumour in that time went, that Philip King of France, to get one of his Sons made King of Jerusalem, and possessed with their Revenues, did labour to have them and the Order condemned. But others say, that the Pope (this was Clement the Fifth) was mightily offended with them for inveighing against the corruptions of his Court and sinfulness of the Clergy; which they maintained to be the only cause of all the miseries of Christendom, especially of the Holy Land. But howsoever their destruction was wrought, all Authors testify that notwithstanding the cruel torments which divers of that profession were put unto, none of the crimes laid to their charge could ever be made out against them.

Paulus Æmilius in his History writeth, that James Burgond the Principal of that Order being brought forth to die, and, whilest the fire was kindled before him, having his life offered, if he would quickly declare that what he had deposed in the time of his imprisonment, both of himself and of his whole Order, was true, did utter these words, *In these my last actions it being unpardonable impiety to lie, I freely & frankly confess, that I committed a great offence both against myself and my Order, and that therein I have deserved a most tormenting punishment, because in favour of them for whom I should not, & allured with the sweetness of life, I have in my tortures slanderously imposed many impieties & detractions upon the Order, which hath ever deserved well of the Christian world. I have no need of life obtained by intreaty, much less retained by lying and defamation.* This said, and he being set to the pile, and fire kindled about the nether parts of his feet to wring out from him a confession, even when the flames began to waste and fire his entrails, he never swayed from the constancy of his former speech, or shewed the least change and alteration of minde: with him two other of the same Order did suffer, (one of them being of a great family, and brother to the Dauphin of Vienna) who shewed the like constancy. There be other Authors of no small esteem, saith Plessis, who report, *That two Cardinals being present at their execution, the great Master did summon Pope Clement before the Tribunal of God, to answer for the wrongous judgement and sentence given against them; and that the Pope died the same day to which he was cited, being the*

F 2

40 day

An. 1307.

40 day after their execution. Partly by these testimonies, and partly by the clause insert in the condemnatory Bull of Pope Clement, in which it was said, *Quamquam de jure non possumus, tamen pro plenitudine potestatis dictum Ordinem reprobamus*, Albeit by way of right we cannot, yet out of the fulness of our power we reprobate and condemn the said Order, by this, I say, it would appear that they were rigorously used. But howsoever all the Kings of Christendom, as combining together, caused them at one instant to be apprehended within their dominions, and put from their estates, which afterwards were given to the Hospitalers and Knights of S. John.

B. Lamberton
Joseph K. Ed-
wards favour
Buchan. l. 8.

Leff. l. 7.
Boeth. l. 14.

The Bishop
committed to
prison.

Robert Bruce
crowned King.

Boeth. l. 14.
Buchan. l. 8.

The Popes Le-
gate sent to
dissuade the
King from
troubling Eng-
land.

Boeth. l. 14.
The King his
answer to the
Legate.

The Kingdom
interdicted.

But to return to *Lamberton*; he stood not long in King *Edward's* favour, being suspected for the entertainment he gave to *James Douglas* the Son of *William Douglas*, who died in Prison at *Berwick*. This Gentleman at the time of his Fathers death was in *Paris* following his studies, and being advertised that his Father was dead, and his estate given away to strangers, returned home; where finding no means to maintain himself, he took his recourse to the Bishop, who pitying the Gentlemans estate, did accept him amongst his followers, and in the next Expedition which King *Edward* made into *Scotland*, taking the Gentleman with him to *Strive-ling*, did present him to the King, intreating that he might have his lands restored, and be admitted into his service. King *Edward* answered, *That he could not look for good service of him whose Father had proved such an enemy; and that the lands were disposed to others that had merited better*. So the Gentleman despairing to find any favour with the King, did wait still upon the Bishop.

Afterwards hearing that *Robert Bruce* had taken the field, he stole away secretly, taking with him the Bishops Horses and Monies, and went to assist *Bruce*. King *Edward* apprehending this to be done with the Bishops knowledge, did commit him to prison, where he remained till the death of King *Edward*, which happened in the year 1307.

King *Robert Bruce* was in this time crowned King, and by the Troubles which *Edward* the Second found in the beginning of his Reign, got leisure to settle himself in the Kingdom: so as when King *Edward* returned (which was not till seven years after his Fathers death) to take possession of the Country, and came with a world of people (they are reckoned to be no fewer than two hundred thousand) they were encountred by King *Robert* at the River of *Bannockburn*, and wholly defeated. This victory did so much discourage the *English*, as after a long surcease of war, when some eight years after they attempted to repair themselves, they were forced with much dishonour to return, and become suiters to the Pope to intercede for peace.

To this effect a Legate was sent into *Scotland*, who had audience given him at *Aberbrothock*. His Proposition was, 'That the *Scots* should desist from troubling *England*, till the Pope should hear the questions that were amongst them, and be informed of the right which King *Edward* had to the Crown of *Scotland*. King *Robert* answered, 'That the Pope could not be ignorant of the estate of that business, the same having been often expounded by the Commissioners of *Scotland* to divers of his predecessors, in the hearing of many Cardinals then alive, who could relate, if they pleased, the insolent answers which Pope *Boniface* received, when he desired the *English* to forbear their cruel oppression of the *Scots*. And now, faith he, when it hath pleased God to give us the better by some Victories, and that we have not only recovered our own, but are in a possibility to make them live as good neighbours, they have recourse to such Treaties, seeking only to gain time, that when they have settled their affairs, they may fall again upon us with the greater force: but in this his Holiness must excuse me, for I will not be so unwise as to let the advantage I have slip out of my hands.

The Legate not satisfied with this Answer, and interpreting it as a disobedience to the Apostolick See, did put the Kingdom under Interdiction, and so departed. But the King, to shew how little he esteemed these proceedings, followed the Legate at the heels, and entering into *England*, wasted all the adjacent Coun-
tries

tries with fire and sword. At his return from that Expedition an Ambassage was sent to *Rome* for reconciling the Kingdom, and a Letter subscribed by the Nobility and Barons to the Pope, the Copy whereof I have thought good to insert.

Sanctissimo in Christo Patri & domino Joanni, &c. filii sui humiles & devoti, Duncanus Comes de Fife, Thomas Rannulphus Comes Moravia, dominus Manvia, & dominus Wallis Annandie, Patricius Dunbar Comes Marchie, Malisus Comes Strathern, Malcolmus Comes de Lennox, Gulielmus Comes de Rosse, Magnus Comes Cathannon & Orchaden, & Gulielmus Comes Sutherlandie, Walterus Senescallus Scotie, Gulielmus de Souls Buttelarius Scotie, Jacobus de Douglas, David de Brichen, David Grabame, Ingelramus Umphravile, Johannes Montieus Custos Comitatus ejusdem, Alexander Fraser, Gilbertus de Haya Constabularius Scotie, Robertus Marescallus Scotie, Henricus de Santo Claro Panitarius Scotie, Johannes Grabame, David Lindsay, Patricius Grabame, Johannes de Fenton, Gulielmus de Abernethy, David de Weymis, Gulielmus de Montefixo, Fergusus de Androssen, Eustathius Maxwell, Gulielmus Ramsay, Alanus de Moravia, Donaldus Campbell, Johannes Cameron, Reginaldus Loquhoir, Alexander Seaton, Andreas Leslie, & Alexander de Straton, caterique Barones & libere tenentes & tota communitas Regni Scotie, &c.

Thereafter they said, 'That *Scotland* being an ancient Kingdom governed by a continued succession of 97 Kings, and amongst the first that embraced the Faith of *Christ*, living under the patronage of S. Andrew the brother of S. Peter, and graced with many privileges by the Popes his predecessors, had always been free from usurpation of any stranger, before that *Edward* the father of him that now reigneth in *England*, did in the time of the interreign, when the question was of a successor, labour by violence to establish the Kingdom to himself: since which time they have endured many injuries, having their Churches spoiled, their Monasteries burnt, and their Country intolerably oppressed, till of late it hath pleased God to stir up King *Robert Bruce*, who as another *Joshua* or *Judas Maccabeus* had redeemed them by his valour; with whom they relieved in defence of their Country to spend their lives. And if he should forsake them (which they knew he would not do) so long as they were any of them in life, *England* should never bring them in subjection. Wherefore they besought His Holiness to make the *English* content themselves with the spacious bounds they possessed, in which there reigned sometimes seven Kings, and suffer the *Scots* quietly to enjoy that little piece of ground which their progenitors had long defended, and left free unto them. In end they entreated, 'To be received again into his grace and favour, promising all dutiful obedience to him and to the See Apostolick. This was the tenor of the Letter which the Pope favorably accepted, and thereupon gave order that the *English* and *Scots* should both be warned to a certain Diet for debating their rights. The Diet come, and the *English* not appearing, the Pope, after he had examined the case, and perused the Rescripts of divers his predecessors, released the Interdiction which his Legate had published, and declared the *Scots* to be reconciled to the Church.

The great discontents which were then amongst the *English* for the government of affairs under *Edward* the Third (who was then made King upon his Fathers Resignation) brought them to sue for peace: which after a short Treaty was concluded, and the Peace confirmed by a Match betwixt *David* Prince of *Scotland*, and *Jane* sister to King *Edward*. The Conditions of the Peace were these: 'That King *Edward* should surrender by Charter his title of Sovereignty of the Kingdom of *Scotland*; Restore whatsoever Acts, Deeds, and Instruments he had of Homage and Fealty done by the Kings of *Scotland* or their Nobility to any of his antecessors, especially those which *Edward* the First his Grandfather had by force extorted; and leave the Kingdom of *Scotland* as free as it was at the death of King *Alexander* the Third: That the *Scots* should quit and renounce all the lands they held in *England*, and *Stanmore* be taken for the March both in *Cumberland* and in *Northumberland*: That no *Englishman* should enjoy lands in *Scotland*, unless he dwelt in the Country; and that in satisfaction of the lands possessed by some of them who would not remain in *Scotland*, the King of *Scots* should

An. 1307.

Barth. l. 8.

A Letter sent
by the Nobles
and Barons of
Scotland to the
Pope.

Scot. l. 13. c. 1.

The Interdicti-
on released.

The *English*
sue for peace.

The Condi-
tions of the
Peace.

An. 1308.
King Robert
Bruce dieth.

B. Lamberton,
his death and
virtues.

Scot. in Ca-
talogo Episc.
S. Andrews.

Jo. Duns.
Bibl. cant. 14.
L. fol. 14.

Cand. Brit.

‘ should pay 30000 Marks. Peace thus made, and the Marriage with great solemnity performed (though the Prince was then but seven years old) King Robert waxing sickly lived private (in a sort) until his death, which happened some two years after. He was a King of incomparable wisdom and valour, whole worth and virtue no pen can express.

Whilest this Peace was treating, Lamberton departed this life, having continued Bishop thirty years: a Prelate wise, active and a great Benefactor to the Abbey, wherein for the most part he kept his residence. The Buildings, whereof now we only behold the ruines, were erected upon his charges. It is reported, that being asked by one of his servants on a night, *Why he did lay out so great sums for the Monastery, and forget to build for himself*; he answered, *That ere he died he hoped to build more than his successors should well maintain.* Which he indeed performed; for besides the repairing of his Palace in S. Andrews he built at Monymail, Torrey, Dersey, Inchmourtach, Muschart, Ketins, Lincon, Monymusk, and Stom in Twaddale, Houses of good receipt for himself and his successors. He finished the Cathedral Church which had been many years a building, and dedicated the same with great solemnity in the year 1318. He adorned the Chapter-house with curious Seats and Cieling, furnished the Canons with precious Vestments for the daily service, stored their Library with Books, and at the Dedication of the Church procured of the King (who honoured the same with his presence) a yearly rent of 100 Marks to be paid to the Abbey forth of the Exchequer; which annuity was afterward redeemed by the donation of the Church of *Forden* in *Mer-nis*. He himself the same very day gave unto the Prior and Convent the Churches of *Dersey* and *Abercromby*, as the donations yet extant do testify; and dying at the last in the Priors Chamber within the Monastery, was buried in the new Church on the North-side of the high Altar in the year 1328.

The famous Doctor *Joannes Duns*, alias *Scotus*, lived in his time. He was born in the Town of *Duns* in the Country of *Mert*, and being yet a child, after some taste he had got of the *Latine* Tongue, by the perswasion of two *Minorite* Friars, went to *Oxford*, studying *Logick* in *Marton* College: then applying himself to Scholastick Divinity, grew to such a perfection therein, as he was called, *The subtle Doctor*; and was followed of a number, who after his name are called to this day *Scotists*. After he had professed a while at *Oxford*, he was called to read Divinity in the University of *Paris*, and from thence went to *Colen*, where he died of the Apoplexy. They write that after he was laid in grave, his spirits did return, and that striving to get forth, he was there smothered; whereupon an *Italian* did write this Epigram:

*Quæcunque humani fuerant jurisque sacrati,
In dubium veniunt cuncta vocante Scoto.
Quid est quod & dubium illius sit vita vocata,
Morte illum simili ludificante strophæ;
Quum non ante virum vita jugularit adempta,
Quam vivus tumultu conditus ille foret.*

Duns proved
to be a Scot-
lish man born.

The English Writers contend that this *Scotus* was born in England, in *Dunstan* Village within the Parish of *Emilden*, in the County of *Northumberland*; and confirm it by the Manuscripts reserved in the Library of *Marton* College, in one whereof are written these words, *Explicit Lectura subtilis Doctoris Joannis Duns, nati in Villa de Emilden vocata Dunstan, contraſta Duns, in Comitatu Northumbriæ, pertinens ad domum scholasticorum de Marton Hall in Oxonia, & quondam dictæ domus socii.* Thus ends the Lecture of the subtle Doctor in the University of *Oxford* (upon the Book of Sentences) Doctor *John Duns*, born in a Village of *Emilden* called *Dunstan*, or by abbreviation *Duns*, in the County of *Northumberland*, pertaining to the house of Scholars of *Marton Hall* in *Oxford*, and sometime one of the Fellows of the said House. But this is no sufficient proof; for it may be probably supposed that

that he living at *Oxford* in England when the Wars were so hot betwixt the two Kingdoms, did dissemble his Country, and pretend himself to be an English born, to eschew the hatred of the Students. In *Colen*, where he might without danger shew of what Country he was, he did profess himself a *Scot*, and the Minorites (of which Order he was) did therefore upon his Tomb erected in their Church, at the end of the Quire nigh unto the high Altar, set this Inscription, which is there yet to be seen:

*Scotia me genuit, Anglia suscepit,
Gallia edocuit, Germania tenet.*

What a fine subtle wit he had, the Monuments left by him to posterity do witness. He died young in the year 1308.

27. The Chapter after Lamberton's death meeting for the election of a new Bishop, went into factions, the one half giving their voices to Sir *James Bane* Archdeacon of S. Andrews, the other half to Sir *Alexander Kinnimouth* Archdeacon of *Lothian*: But *Eane* being then in the Court of *Rome*, and advertised of the Bishop's death, obtained the Bishoprick of the Pope, who in those times disposed all Church-livings as he thought good, having no regard to Canonical Elections.

This Bishop lived four years only after his Consecration, and died at *Bruges* in *Flanders*: for upon breach of the Peace with England, and the Coronation of *Edward Baliol*, when *David* with his Queen went into France, he withdrew himself to the *Low Countries*. He was buried in the Monastery of the Regular Canons within *Bruges*.

28. How soon *Eane* his death was made known, the Convent meeting, elected *William Bell* Dean of *Dunkeld*. The Pope refusing to confirm the Election, the See remained void for the space of nine years and more. At last *William Landells*, Provost of *Kirkcaldy*, upon the recommendation of the Kings of France and Scotland, was preferred and consecrated by Pope *Benedict* the Tenth at *Avignon* in the year 1341.

This Prelate was nobly born, and the heir of great possessions in Scotland, of a generous mind, and given to all goodness: he lived Bishop 44 years, and in that time saw many Alterations: King *David Bruce* peaceably repossessed in the Kingdom; taken captive in the Battel of *Durresme*, (where he himself was made Prisoner;) set again at liberty for the payment of one hundred thousand Marks sterling, to the help whereof he procured from the Church-men, with the consent of Pope *Innocent* the Sixth, the Tenth of all Ecclesiastical Livings within the Kingdom for the space of three years; and after King *David* his death, his son *Robert Stewart*, called *Robert* the Second, crowned King; to the fifteenth year of whose reign he attained, and then died in the Abbey of S. Andrews. His body was buried in the Cathedral Church at the Chancery door.

It was a custome before these times, that when any Bishop deceased, all his moveable goods were seized on by the Kings Officers, as belonging to the King: this he got discharged, and liberty granted to all the Prelates to dispose of their goods by Testament to whom they pleased; or if they should happen to die intestate, it was made lawful to their nearest kinmen to call and pursue for the same. The benefit of this privilege he himself first enjoyed.

29. In his place the Prior of S. Andrews, called *Stephen*, a man of great experience, and wisdom, was chosen Bishop; who going towards *Rome* for Confirmation, was taken prisoner at Sea by the English, and died at *Alnmick* of sickness in the year 1385.

30. *Walter Traill* was then attending Pope *Clement* at *Avignon*, a man singularly learned, and well expert both in the Civil and Canon Law. So great an opinion the Pope had of his worth, as at his preferment he did say to those that stood by him, *This man deserveth better to be Pope than Bishop; the place is better provided than the person.* Which proved true in effect; for when he came to govern the See, he administered all affairs most wisely. Nor had he the charge only of the Church, but the whole affairs of the Kingdom being cast upon him, he governed

An. 1341.

Sir James Bane
elected in Lam-
bertons place.
Scot. l. in Ca-
tal. Episc. S.
Andr.

The Bishop
dieth at Bruges
in Flanders.

The See of S.
Andrews void
nine years.
William Lan-
dells chosen
Bishop.

The Bishops
obtained li-
berty to dis-
pose of their
goods by Te-
stament.

Stephen chosen
Bishop of
S. Andrews:
he dieth at
Alnmick.

Walter Traill
elected in his
stead.

Scot. l. in Ca-
tal. Episc. S.
Andr.

An. 1401.
His Virtues
and Qualities

An. 1401.

verned the same in such sort as the Realm was never remembred to have been better and more peaceably ruled. Writers describe him to have been a man of courteous behaviour, affable, pitiful and compassionate of those that were in any sort distressed, a hater of vice, and of most sincere conversation. He lived unto a great age, in much esteem, and died in the Castle of *S. Andrews* (built by himself) in the year 1401. His body was interred with great solemnity amongst his predecessors, with this Inscription engraven upon his monument :

*Hic fuit Ecclesie Columna, Feneſtra lucida,
Thuribulum aureum, Campana ſonora.*

Thomas Stewart
Son to Robert
the second e-
lected Bishop.
Scot. l. 1. a Cata-
logo Episc.

13. After him was *Thomas Stewart* Son to King *Robert* the Second (being then Archdeacon of *S. Andrews*) elected Bishop; but he affecting the retired life, refused to accept the place, which thereupon remained void the space of three years (for the Chapter would not in his life-time proceed to a new Election:) the Rents were in the mean time assigned by King *Robert* the Third (with the Convents permission) to *Walter Danzelsſon* in recompence of the Castle of *Dumbrison*, which he enjoyed by an hereditary title, and did at that time resign unto the King.

S. Andrie.
Henry Wardlaw
provided by
Pope Benedict
the 13 to the
Bishoprick.
A Schism in
the Church.
Martin the 5
chosen Pope by
the Council of
Constance.

32. *Thomas Stewart* deceaſing, *Gilbert Grinlaw* Bishop of *Aberdene*, and Chancellor of the Kingdom, was postulated Bishop; but *Henry Wardlaw* presenter of *Glasgow*, being then at *Avignon*, was provided thereto by Pope *Benedict* the Thirteenth. There was at this time a fearful Schism in the Church, of all that we do read the most scandalous, and of longest continuance; two, and sometimes three Popes warring one against another and condemning each others Ordinances; which did so divide the Christian world, and made such partakings as were pitiful. This Schism lasting 29 years and more, was at last quenched in the Council of *Constance*, and *Martin* the First chosen Pope.

The Abbot of
Pontinnie di-
rected to in-
citate the Ele-
ction.

Harding a Mi-
norite perſua-
deth the Scots
to continue in
the obedience
of Benedict.
John Fogo a
Monk of Mel-
roſs, refuſeth
Hardings Ora-
tion.

Scotland at that time lived in the obedience of *Benedict*, the Abbot of *Pontinnie* was directed to intimate the Election of the Council, and had audience given him in a Convocation of the Clergy at *Perth*. Thither came also one *Harding* a Minorite Frier, sent by *Benedict* to solicit the Churches adherence to him against the Decree of the Council, who taking for his Theme these words, *My ſon, do nothing without adweiſement, ſo ſhall it not repent thee after the deed*, held a long discourse of the proceedings of the Council, and the informality thereof, affirming that none was bound to obey and acknowledge the same. Master *John Fogo*, a Monk of the Abbey of *Melroſſe*, replying to his Oration, began his speech with that precept of the Apostle, *Withdraw your ſelves from every brother that walketh inordinately*, and refusing all the Minorites reasons brought against the Council, concluded that whoſoever did procure for *Peter de Luna* (this was *Benedict*'s name before he was elected Pope) was a very disturber of the Churches peace, and not to be countenanced in any ſort. The Clergy in end, disclaiming *Benedict*, promised obedience to Pope *Martin*, whom the Council had elected.

The Schism
made way to
the Reformation.

John Wickliſſe,
Huſ, & Jerome
of Prague.
James Riſſy
Martyr.

By occasion of this Schism the mouths of many were opened against the corrupt doctrine and manners of *Rome*. *John Wickliſſe* in *England*, *John Huſ* and *Jerome* of *Prague* in *Bohemia*, did openly preach against the Tyranny of the Pope, and the abuses introduced in the Church; and in this Country one called *Johannes Riſſy* an English man, & de ſhola Wickliſſi, as the Story ſpeaketh, was brought in question for ſome points of Doctrine which he taught, and condemned to the fire. He was charged by Master *Laurence Lendors* with forty Heretical opinions; whereof we have two only mentioned; One, that the Pope was not *Chriſts Vicar*; the other, that he was not to be esteemed Pope, if he was a man of wicked life. For maintaining these two points, he suffered in the year 1407. Some 24 years after *Paul Craw* a Bohemian came into *Scotland*, and for venting certain opinions touching the Sacrament of the Supper, the Adoration of Saints, and auricular Confession, he was also condemned, and burnt at *S. Andrews* in the year 1432.

Paul Craw
Martyr.

The Bishop his
qualities.

The death of these two Martyrs lieth heavy upon the memory of this Bishop, who otherwife deserved well of the Country and Church; for in his time he laboured

red much to have the riotous forms crept in among all sorts of men repressed, and was a man most hospitable. They report of him, that the Masters of his house complaining of the great numbers that resorted unto him for entertainment, and desiring that for the ease of the servants he would condescend to make a Bill of Household, that they might know who were to be served, he condescended; and when his Secretary was called to set down the names of the Household, being asked whom he would first name, he answered, *Fife* and *Angus* (these are two large Countries, containing millions of people:) his servants hearing this, gave over their purpose of retrenching his Family, for they saw he would have no man refused that came to his house. The bridge at the mouth of *Eden* was his work. And besides, he was the first that opened the publick Schools at *S. Andrews*, making Divinity, Laws, Logick, and all other parts of Philosophy to be there taught.

In the founding of this University he took his example from that of *Paris*, and obtained the Popes confirmation thereof, which in the year 1412 being brought from *Rome* by *Alexander Ogilvy* Master of Arts, was received with solemn processions, fires of joy, founding of Bells, and all the tokens of gladness that could be expressed. Master *John Sheves* Official, Master *William Stephen*, afterwards Bishop of *Dumblane*, and Sir *John Liſter*, a Canon of the Abby, were appointed to read Divinity; Master *Laurence Lendors* was ordained to read the Canon law, and Master *Richard Cornwall* the Civil; Master *John Gaw*, Master *William Fowls*, and Master *William Croſer* were chosen for Philosophy men, worthy to be remembred for being the first instruments that were employed in that service, and the attendance they gave upon it, having no allowance at all for their labours.

King *James* the first, at his return from *England*, 12 years after did greatly advance this work by the encouragement he gave to studies: for not only did he countenance Professors with his presence at their Lectures, but also took order that none should be preferred to any Benefice, unless it was testified by them that the person recommended had made a reasonable progress in Learning: and for that effect kept a Roll of the most qualified persons by him, for the filling of places that happened to fall void. This that good King esteemed to be the most sure and easiest way for banishing Ignorance forth of the Church, and ceased not to admonish the Church-men that were in places to live as they professed, and not to shame the bountifulness of Princes by abusing their Donations unto Riot and Luxury. Farther, to allure them by good example, he brought home the *Carthusian* Monks, who were at that time greatly respected for their preciseness of living, and erected for them a beautiful Monastery at *Perth*, bestowing large Revenues upon the same. The Bishop surviving the King some seven years (for the King was treacherously murdered at *Perth* in the year 1437.) departed this life in the Castle of *S. Andrews* the sixth day of *April* 1444, having governed that See 35 years, and was buried in the wall betwixt the Chöre and the Chappel called *Our Ladies Chappel*.

33. *James Kennedy*, Bishop of *Dunkeld*, and Nephew to King *James* the First by his Sister the Countess of *Angus*, was after *Wardlaw* his death elected Bishop by the Prior and Canons: he himself was then at *Florence* with Pope *Eugenius* the Fourth, and had gone thither out of a desire to have the Disorders crept in among Church-men redressed, hoping to be strengthened with greater authority from thence. But finding all things troubled in these parts, *Eugenius* keeping a Council at *Florence*, whilst another was held at *Baſile*, and each of them condemning another as unlawful, he returned with a resolution to do the best he could at home by his own credit. Upon his Translation to *S. Andrews*, he did put all things in such order, as no man then living did remember to have seen the Church in so good an estate; for partly by his own ensample, partly by the strict observance of Discipline, he induced them all to live as became men of their profession. And as he was to the Clergy a pattern of Vertue, so was he a great supporter of the King and Kingdom by his wise and prudent counsel: For in that Infurrection of the Earls of *Douglas* and *Crawford* against King *James* the Second, when the King had determined to leave the Country and fly into *France*, he found the means to disunite the Rebels, and break their Forces, restoring the King to his Estate, and the King-

An. 1412.

The University
of S. Andrews
founded in the
year 1412.

Booth. l. 16.

King James the
first a great fa-
vourer of the
University.

Buchan. l. 10.

The King his
Admonition to
the Church-
men.

Buchan. l. 10.

Booth. l. 17.
Bishop Ward-
law dieth.
Anno 1444.

Bishop James
Kennedy trans-
lated from
Dunkeld to
S. Andrews.

Buchan. l. 12.
Kennedy his
just praises.

An. 1466.

Bishop Kennedy his death; the year 1466.

Patrick Graham chosen to succeed.

The See of S. Andrews erected in an Archbishoprick.

The Bulls of Legation and Primacy published.

Buchan. l. 12.

The King inhibited the exercise of his Legation.

dom to Peace. And in the beginning of King James the Third his Reign, when matters were very troubled, he did so carry all things by his prudence, as whilest he lived the publick estate received no harm. Of what and how great worth he was, appeared soon after his death, all things turning to Confusion both in the Church and State. A monument of his Piety and magnificent mind towards the advancement of Letters is the College he erected in S. Andrews, (now called *Saint Salvator's College*) which he built from the ground, provided with large Revenues, and furnished with most costly Ornaments. Thus having lived a great Benefactor to the publick and in much glory, he died at S. Andrews, in the year 1466. 22 years he sat Bishop in this See, and was interred after his death in a sepulchre prepared by himself within the Chappel of the same College.

34. Patrick Graham his Nephew, Buchanan calleth him his Brother, (saying that they were born of one and the same Mother) being Bishop of Breichen for the time, a man of singular Vertues, was chosen to succeed. The Boyds, who then ruled the Court, envying his preferment because of the variance betwixt the Kennedies and them, withstood his journey to Rome, where he was to get his Confirmation: but he not staying upon the Kings Licence, which he saw without their favour could not be obtained, took his way thither, and at his coming was well accepted of Pope Paul the Second.

Whilest he abode there (for he stayed a long time, fearing to return so long as the Boyds were in credit) the old controversy of the Archbishop of York his Superiority over the Church of Scotland was renewed by George Nevill Archbishop of that See for the time. The matter drawn in dispute before Pope Sixtus the Fourth (for Paul the Second was then dead) sentence was given for the Church of Scotland, whereby it was declared, 'A thing unfitting, that an English Prelate should be Primate of Scotland, by reason of the Wars that might break forth betwixt the two Kingdoms. And to the effect a Primate should not be lacking from thenceforth in Scotland, the See of S. Andrews by the Bull of Sixtus was erected in an Archbishoprick, and the rest of the Bishops of Scotland, twelve in number, ordained all to be subject unto that See. Farther, the Pope, for the Bishops more gracing, did appoint him his Legate for the space of three years, with commission to reform all abuses in the Church, and to correct the dissoluteness of the Clergy.

How soon the Bishop was advertised of the alteration of Court, and that the King was begun to govern of himself, he made haste to return, sending before him the Bulls of Primacy and Legation to be published, thinking the same should have purchased to him a great respect. But he found himself deceived; for upon the publication (made at Edinburgh in September 1472.) the Bishops out of spite and emulation because of the Primacy, the inferiour Clergy fearing his rigor in executing the Legation, and the Courtiers, who made sale of all the Church-livings, apprehending that the same would be reformed, combined all against him, and went to the King, informing that he had accepted a Legation from the Pope without his licence, which was prohibited by the Laws of the Kingdom, and might prove hurtful to the King, and that in contempt of his Majesty he had gone to Rome without once asking him Licence.

The King possessed with these informations did inhibit the Bishop how soon he landed to exerce any part of his Legation, till the King should try the complaints preferred against him, assigning the first of November for his compeirance. At the day he exhibited his Bulls, and shewed the power he had to reform abuses in the Ecclesiastical state, intreating the King not to impede him in execution of his Charge; but his adversaries having corrupted some of the Kings Officers, and given (as it was said) the sum of eleven thousand Marks in hand, his Petition was not regarded. His accusers, to colour their proceedings the better, made an appeal to the Pope, offering to qualifie before him the invalidity of the Bulls which he had purchased. So he was dimitted with expresse charge not to use the title and dignity of an Archbishop, nor to attempt any thing but that which the Bishops his predecessors had been accustomed to do by virtue of their places, until the decision of the controversie.

A

A while after a fresh and bitter enemy was raised against him. William Shevez, a young man of a quick and active spirit, having studied some years at Louvain under John spernick (who was famous in those days for his knowledge in the studies of Physick and Astrology) did insinuate himself in the favour of the Court, which then was madly given to all sorts of divination; and the Archdeaconry of S. Andrews falling void in the middle time, procured the Kings recommendation to the Bishop for the same.

The Bishop took exception at his studies, and in end gave him an absolute denial, as being insufficient for the charge, and otherwise not trained up in the knowledge of Divinity. Shevez taking to heart this disgrace (for so he did accompt it) combined with one Locky, Rector at that time in the University, and a professed enemy to the Bishop: these two conspired against him, and Locky, who pretended he was the Bishops equal in jurisdiction, forging a quarrel, denounced him excommunicate: but the Bishop contemning the sentence of his inferiour, carried himself both at home and abroad as he was wont; whereupon his enemies (as the custom is, when Church-Censures are despised) did implore the Kings assistance. Who being made to their effect, discharged the Bishop from coming into any sacred place, declared his goods confiscate, and Sequestering all his Servants, did appoint to him other attendants.

The rest of the Bishops, to witness their gratitude, did present the King with a sum of mony, which they had collected (with grudge enough) amongst the inferior Priests. Not the less, shortly after, by the intercession of friends, and the advancing of monys to the Rulers of the Court, the Bishop was taken in favour, who then thinking all his Troubles to be overpast, withdrew himself to his house of Monimail; where he was scarce well settled, when the Bankers of Rome, stirred up by his adversaries, charged him with payment of the moneys, wherein he stood obliged for his Bull of Privileges. He not able to give satisfaction (for the most of his Rents had been taken up yearly by the Kings Factors; and what he could purchase from his friends was all bestowed at his late reconciliation amongst Courtiers) was of new accursed, his person arrested, his Rents lifted by the Kings Officers, and a guard appointed to attend him in his own Castle at S. Andrews.

In this miserable condition not knowing what to do, he fell in some trouble of mind, and was thereupon committed to the custody of Shevez his mortal enemy, who was declared his Coadjutor, by reason of his distraction: yet the Malice of his adversaries not satisfied herewith, at Rome they accused him of Heresie, Schism, Simony, and a number of other scandalous Crimes; the trial whereof was committed to one Husman the Popes Inquisitor, and to Shevez.

Divers light and ridiculous Accusations were brought against him, and amongst other points, he was charged to have said three Masses in one day; whereas in those times it was difficile to find a Bishop that in three moneths did say one Mass: yet the Process going on, Witneses were brought, who verified the Accusations; and his enemy sitting Judge, he was sentenced as guilty of Schism, Simony, Heresie, and other crimes, and thereupon decerned to have lost his Dignity, and condemned to perpetual prison.

35. The sentence pronounced, Shevez posted to Rome, got the Sentence approved, and was himself provided to the Archbishoprick. All these Crosses this innocent Bishop sustained most patiently: which his adversaries perceiving, they procured him to be put in close prison within the Isle of Incholme, where he had four keepers watching him that he should not escape. War afterwards breaking up with England, out of a fear that the English Navy (which was then at Sea) might fall upon the Isle, he was transported to Dunfermlin, and from thence to the Castle of Lochleven, where at last he died. This end had that worthy man, in Vertue and Learning inferiour to none of his time, oppressed by the malice and calumnies of his enemies, chiefly for that they feared reformation of their wicked abuses by his means. The title rather than the Prelacy it self he enjoyed 13 years, and was buried in S. Servanus Isle, within the Chappel of Lochleven.

All things went now in the Church daily from ill to worse; for those who did affect

An. 1472.

William Shevez recommended to the Archdeaconry of S. Andrews.

The Bishop rejected him as insufficient. Shevez conspired with the Rector.

The Bishop contemning the Censure, hath his goods confiscated.

The Bishop taken in favor.

Buchan. l. 12.

The Bishop of new troubled by the bankers of Rome.

The Bishop falling in some distraction is committed to Shevez.

Buchan. l. 12.

The Bishop condemned to lose his Dignity.

Shevez provided to the Archbishoprick.

Patrick Graham died at Lochleven.

Ann. 1478. affect a Reformation, and lived in some hope thereof, beholding the course of things, betook themselves to a private life. At Court, Benefices were sold or then bestowed as rewards upon flatterers and the Ministers of unlawful pleasures; and in the Church Canonical Elections, especially in the Monasteries, were quite abrogated. The King presenting Abbots and Priors unto the Pope, none were refused that came with his recommendation. Thus was *Alexander Thomison* Abbot of *Dunfermlin* (canonically elected by the Monks some years before) extruded from his place, and *Henry Chrichton*, then Abbot of *Paisley*, surrogated in his stead by the Pope at the Kings intercession. Likewise *Robert Shaw* of *Minto* was in the same manner preferred into *Paisley*, the consent of the Convent not once required. So as the Monasteries, which were founded for pious and charitable uses, came by little and little in the hands of secular men, who having had their education in the Court, brought with them from thence the manners thereof, shaking off all care of Discipline, and neglecting the duties of Hospitality. This begat great offences, and made the Foundations themselves abhorred; partly through the dissoluteness of those that lived in the places, and partly because men saw them inverted to other and contrary uses than the first Founders had appointed. Neither were the Monasteries only corrupted, but the whole Ecclesiastick state became also infected, Ignorance and Impiety every where prevailing; till in end the Laity putting their hands to the work, made that violent and disordered Reformation whereof in the next Book we shall hear.

Shevez receiveth the Pall, and is invested *Ann. 1478.*

Leff. l. 8.

But to return to *Shevez*; he receiving the Pall from the Pope in sign of Archiepiscopal dignity, was publicly invested therewith in the Church of *Halirud-house*, in the year 1478. the King and divers of the Nobility being there present. How he governed the See, I find not, but his entry being such as we have seen did not promise much good. I read in some Writers, that he was induced by the King and the Duke of *Albany*, to dimit his place in the favour of Master *Andrew Stewart* Provost of *Lincolnden* (the Kings Uncle) and to content himself with the Bishoprick of *Murray*, whereunto the said Master *Andrew* was provided: but it seemeth this charge took not effect, for both the one and the other possessed their own Benefices until their deaths.

Archbishop of *S. Andrews* and *Glasgow* at dissension.

Some years before *Shevez* his death there arose a controversie betwixt him and *Robert Blacater* Archbishop of *Glasgow*, concerning their Jurisdictions. For *Blacater* had obtained of Pope *Alexander* the Sixth the erection of the See of *Glasgow* into an Archbishoprick, and thereunto were the Bishops of *Galloway*, *Argile*, and *Isles*, ordained to be subject. *Shevez* refusing to acknowledge him for an Archbishop, both the Clergy and Noblemen went into Factions, some taking part with the one, and some with the other. But this dissension was soon appeased, howbeit with the grudge of both parties, and *Glasgow* declared to be a Metropolitan Church, the honour of Precedency reserved always to *S. Andrews*.

The History of the Church of Scotland.

Now whilst the Prelates were contending for preheminance, certain Articles were dispersed in the Countries of *Kile* and *Cunningham* against the Doctrine taught in the Church, which stirred up divers to examine the truth of Religion then professed.

The Articles were these.

1. The Images ought not to be made, nor worshipped.
2. That the Reliques of Saints ought not to be adored.
3. That it is not lawful to fight for the Faith.
4. That Christ gave the power of binding and loosing to *Peter* only, and not to his Successors.
5. That Christ ordained no Priests to consecrate.
6. That after the Consecration in the Mass there remained Bread, and that the natural Body of Christ is not there.
7. That Tithes ought not to be paid to Ecclesiastical persons.
8. That Christ at his coming did abrogate the power of secular Princes.
9. That every faithful man and woman is a Priest.
10. That the Unction of Kings ceased at the coming of Christ.

11. That

11. That the Pope is not the successor of *Peter*, except in that which our Saviour spake to him, when he said, *Go behind me, Satan.*
12. That the Pope deceiveth the people with his Bulls and Indulgences.
13. That the Mass profiteth not the Souls that are in Purgatory.
14. That the Bishop's Blessing is of no value.
15. That Indulgences should not be granted to fight against the *Saracens*.
16. That the Pope exalts himself above God, and against God.
17. That the Pope cannot remit the pains of Purgatory.
18. That the Excommunication of the Church is not to be feared.
19. That in no case it is lawful to swear.
20. That Priests may have Wives according to the Ordinance of the old Law, and that true Christians receive the Body of Christ every day.

The maintainers of these Articles were by an opprobrious title called *Lollards*: but whether or not they did hold all these Opinions may well be doubted, seeing we have them only from the report of adversaries, whose chief study was to make them and their Doctrine odious: and granting that they held the same, we are not to wonder that in the first breaking up of the Light men saw not the Truth in every point, considering the darkness and gross ignorance of preceding times.

For dispersing these Articles some thirty persons were cited before the Council, of whom the principals were, *George Campbell* of *Sesnock*, *Adam Read* of *Barshing*, *John Campbell* of *Newmilus*, and *Andrew Shaw* of *Polkennet*. The Archbishop of *Glasgow* laying these things to their charge, they answered all with such confidence, as it was thought safest to dimit them, with admonition to take heed of new Doctrines, and content themselves with the Faith of the Church. Of *Shevez* I find nothing said all this time, only that he departed this life at *S. Andrews* in the year 1496, and was buried in the Cathedral Church before the high Altar.

The dispersers of these Articles cited before the Council.

36. *James Stewart*, Brother to King *James* the Fourth, was provided after *Shevez* to the See, being yet very young, and lived but a short space; for he died at *S. Andrews* in the year 1503. His body was interred in the Cathedral Church amongst the Bishops his predecessors. In an old Charter produced by one of the vassals, I have seen him thus styled, *Jacobus Sancti Andree Archiepiscopus, Dux Rossie, Marchio de Ormond, Comes de Ardmannach, Dominus de Brichen & Never, Commendatorius perpetuus Monasterii de Dunfermline, ac Regni Scotie Cancellarius*. The Charter is dated in this manner, *Apud Ecclesiam nostram Metropolitanam Sancti Andree, 7^o die Mensis Feb. An. Dom. 1502, & nostrarum administrationum quinto*.

James Stewart Brother to King *James* the Fourth elected Bishop *Anno 1503.*

37. To him succeeded *Alexander Stewart* base Son to King *James* the Fourth, a youth of great hopes. He died with his Father in the unfortunate Battel of *Floddon*, *Anno 1513*. and was much lamented by *Erasmus Roterodamus*, under whom he had studied some years. I find him styled Chancellor of the Kingdom in one of the vassals Characters, which is dated in the year 1512.

Alexander Stewart succeeded.

38. Three strong competitors fell then at strife for the place, *Gawane Dowglas* Bishop of *Dunkeld*, *John Hepburn* Prior of *S. Andrews*, and *Andrew Forman* Bishop of *Murray*. *Gawane Dowglas* was nobly born, (for he was Brother to the Earl of *Angus*) and greatly esteemed for his vertue and learning. He, upon the Queens presentation, (who at that time governed all publick affairs) possessed himself with the Castle of *S. Andrews*. *Hepburn*, a factious man and of great power, procured the Canons to elect him, and under this colour expelled *Dowglas* his servants, fortifying the house with a Garrison of Souldiers. *Forman* was provided by the gift of Pope *Julius* the Second, and made *Legatus à latere*, (for by his many employments in France and at the Court of *Rome* he had gained to himself much credit.) But the power of *Hepburn* was such as for a while no man could be found to publish *Forman's* Bulls. *Alexander* Lord *Home* (who some write was *Forman's* Uncle) was at last moved by the dimission of *Coldingham* in favor of his Brother *David* to take his part, and coming to *Edenburgh* proclaimed the Pope's Gift and *Forman's* Legation with great solemnity.

A competition for the Archbishoprick.

Buchan. l. 3.

Leff. l. 3.

This Act divided the *Homes* and the *Hepburns*, who after that time were never in found friendship. *Dowglas*, not willing to be seen more in that contention, did quit

The Bishop of *Dunkeld* quitted his interest.

An. 1522.

The Duke of Albany pacified the Competitors.

Lisl. c. 9.

James Beaton translated from Glasgow to S. Andrews.

An. 1522.

Lisl. l. 9.

Buchan. l. 14.

Mr. Patrick Hamilton Abbot of Fern Martyr.

Buchan. l. 14.

History of the Church p. 21.

his interests, leaving the quarrel to the other two, who did pursue it both. *Hepburn* posting to *Rome* laboured to have his Election confirmed, but prevailed not. *Forman* because of his Legation was followed of the Churchmen for the most part, and acknowledged by all the vassals of the See; yet the jarring still continued until the Duke of *Albany* his coming into the Country, who at his acceptance of the Regency, brought them to a submission, and pacified all these strifes, distributing the Benefices in this manner. To *Forman* he left the Archbishoprick of *S. Andrews* and Abbacy of *Dunfermlin*, which was given him by the Pope in Commendam. The Abbacy of *Aberbrothock*, which *Forman* likewise possessed, he gave to *James Beaton* Archbishop of *Glasgow*, and Chancellor for the time. The Prior *John Hepburn* was contented with a pension of three thousand Crowns, which *Forman* was ordained to pay him during life; and upon his brother Master *James Hepburn* was the Bishoprick of *Murray* bestowed. *Alexander Gordon*, Cousen to the Earl of *Huntley*, was made Bishop of *Aberdene*; *James Ogilvy*, a brother of the house of *Huntley*, Abbot of *Dryburgh*; and *George Dundas*, of the house of *Dundas*, Comendator of the Preceptory of *Torphichen*. This partition did satisfy them all, and so they were fully reconciled. Some few years after *Forman* died at *Dunfermlin*, where he was also buried. A plain and open man, but said to be profuse. Besides the Benefices he possessed in *Scotland*, he was Archbishop of *Bourges* in *France*, by the gift of King *Lewis* the Twelfth; which did greatly increase his means.

39. Upon the death of *Forman* *James Beaton* Archbishop of *Glasgow*, and Chancellor of the Kingdom, was translated to *S. Andrews*. Master *Gawane Dumber*, to whose instruction the young King was committed, was preferred to his place. The troubles of the time were great, because of the Minority of the King; and therein this Bishop had not the least part, being chased from the Court, and from his own dwellings, glad to lurk, and shift himself a long time from place to place amongst friends, to eschew the violence of the *Dowglasses*, who had settled themselves about the King, and swayed all affairs at their pleasures. But it was not long ere he made even with them; the Queen Mother, who had taken the Earl of *Angus* to her Husband, falling into dislike of him, and pursuing a divorce in the Bishop's Court, which he easily obtained: thereupon the young King his escape from the *Dowglasses*, and their exile in *England*, at which time the Bishop was reposed to his office and place. Seventeen years he lived Bishop of this See, and was herein most unfortunate, that under the shadow of his authority many good men were put to death for the cause of Religion, though he himself was neither violently set, nor much solicitous (as it was thought) how matters went in the Church.

The first that was called in question was Master *Patrick Hamilton*, Abbot of *Fern*, a man nobly descended, (for he was Nephew to the Earl of *Arrane* by his Father, and to the Duke of *Albany* by the Mother) and not much past twenty three years of age. This young Gentleman had travelled in *Germany*, and falling in familiarity with *Martin Luther*, *Philip Melancthon*, *Francis Lamberd*, and other learned men, was by them instructed in the knowledge of true Religion; in the profession whereof he was so zealous, as he was resolved to come back into his Country, and communicate the light he had received unto others. At his return, wheresoever he came, he spared not to lay open the Corruptions of the *Roman* Church, and to shew the Errors crept into Christian Religion: whereunto many gave ear, and a great following he had both for his learning and courteous behaviour to all sorts of people. The Clergy grudging at this, under colour of conference, enticed him to the city of *S. Andrews*; and when he came thither appointed Frier *Alexander Campbell* to keep company with him, and to use the best persuasions he could to divert him from his Opinions. Sundry conferences they had, wherein the Frier acknowledging that many things in the Church did need to be reformed, and applauding his judgment in most of the Points, his mind was rather confirmed, than in any sort weakened. Thus having staid some few days in the City, whilst he suspected no violence to be used, under night he was apprehended being in bed, and carried prisoner to the Castle; the next day he was presented before the Bishop, accused for maintaining the Articles following.

1. That

1. That the corruption of Sin remains in Children after their Baptism.
2. That no man by the power of his Free will can do any good.
3. That no man is without sin so long as he liveth.
4. That every true Christian may know himself to be in the state of Grace.
5. That a man is not justified by Works, but by Faith only.
6. That good Works make not a good man, but that a good man doeth good Works; and that an ill man doth ill Works, yet the same ill Works truly repented make not an ill man.
7. That Faith, Hope and Charity are so linked together, that he who hath one of them hath all, and he that lacketh one lacketh all.
8. That God is the cause of sin in this sense, that he withdraweth his Grace from man, and Grace withdrawn he cannot but sin.
9. That it is a devilish Doctrine to teach, that by any actual Penance Remission of sin is purchased.
10. That auricular Confession is not necessary to Salvation.
11. That there is no Purgatory.
12. That the holy Patriarchs were in Heaven before Christs Passion.
13. That the Pope is Antichrist, and that every Priest hath as much power as the Pope.

Being desired to express his mind touching these Articles, he said, *That he held the first seven to be undoubtedly true, whereunto he offered to set his hand: the rest (he said) were disputable Points, but such as he could not condemn, unless he saw better reasons than yet he had heard.* After some conference kept with him on each Article, the whole were remitted to the judgment of the Theologues. There met to this effect Master *Hugh Spence*, Provost of *S. Salvators* College, Master *James Waddall*, Person of *Fisk*, and Rector of the University, Master *James Simson*, Official of *S. Andrews*, Master *Thomas Ramsey*, Professor of the holy Scriptures, Master *John Grison*, Theologue, and Provincial of the Black Friars, *John Tillidass*, Warden of the gray Friars, Master *Martine Balfoure* and Master *John Spence*, Lawyers, Sir *Alexander Young*, Batchelour of Divinity, Sir *John Annand* Canon of *S. Andrews*, Frier *Alexander Campbell*, Prior of the Black Friars, and Master *Robert Bannerman*, Regent of the Pedagogy. These men within a day or two presented their Censure of the Articles, judging them all Heretical, and contrary to the Faith of the Church. This subscribed with all their hands, and delivered to the Bishop in a solemn meeting, kept in the Cathedral Church the first of *March*, 1527. Sentence was pronounced against the young Gentleman, declaring him an Heretick, and giving him over in the hands of the Secular power to suffer punishment due to Heresie.

There assisted the Bishop in that meeting, *Gawane* Archbishop of *Glasgow*, *George* Bishop of *Dunkeld*, *John* Bishop of *Brichen*, and *William* Bishop of *Dumblane*. *Patrick* Prior of *S. Andrews*, *David* Abbot of *Aberbrothock*, *George* Abbot of *Dunfermling*, *Alexander* Abbot of *Cambuskenneth*, *Henry* Abbot of *Lundors*, and *John* Prior of *Pettenweem*, the Dean, Subdean and Thesaurer of the Church of *Glasgow*, with the Rectors of *Stobo*, *Areskin*, *Carstairs*, *Goven* and *Glasgow*; all which set their hands to the Sentence; and to give it the greater authority, whosoever were of any estimation in the University were made to subscribe the same, amongst whom was the Earl of *Cassels*, a child of thirteen years old.

The same day (for the Execution was hastened, lest the King, who was gone at that time in Pilgrimage to *S. Duthak* in *Rosse*, should impede the proceeding) he was condemned by the secular Judge, and in the afternoon led to the place of his Suffering, which was appointed to be at the gate of *S. Salvators* College. Being come to the place, he put off his Gown, and gave it with his Bonnet, Coat and other apparel to his servant, saying, *This stuffe will not help in the fire, yet will do thee some good; I have no more to leave thee, but the ensample of my death, which I pray thee keep in mind. For albeit the same be bitter and painful in mans judgment, yet is it the entrance to everlasting life, which none can inherit that denieth Christ before this Congregation.* Then was he tied to the stake; about it a great quantity of coal,

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wood,

An. 1527.

Articles where- with the Abbot was charged.

Manuscript Process, which is extant under the hands of the Theologues.

An. 1527.

The subscribers of the Sentence.

The manner of his Execution, and speech at his dying.

An. 1527.

History of the Church.

His appealing of Frier Campbell.

Frier Campbell, dieth of a Phrensie. History of the Church.

P. 23. Numbers brought to the knowledge of the Truth by his suffering.

Buchan. l. 14.

Frier Seaton suspected of Heresie.

History of the Church.

Frier Seaton called before the Bishop.

wood, and other combustible matter was heaped, whereof he seemed to have no fear, but seriously commending his Soul into the hands of God, held his eyes fixed towards the Heavens. The Executioner firing the Powder that was laid to kindle the wood, his left hand and the side of his face was a little scorched therewith, yet the fire did not kindle. Whereupon some were sent to the Castle to bring more Powder; whilest this was bringing he uttered divers comfortable speeches to them that stood by: the Friars all that time molesting him with their cries, bidding him convert, pray to our Lady, and say, *Salve Regina*. Amongst them none was more troublesome than Frier Alexander Campbell, who, as we said, kept company with him at his first coming to the City: often he besought him to depart, and not to vex him: but when he would not cease his crying, he said, *Wicked man thou knowest I am not an Heretick, and that it is the Truth of God for which I now suffer; so much thou diddest confess unto me in private, and thereupon I appeal thee to answer before the Judgment-seat of Christ.*

The Powder by this time was brought, and the fire kindled; after which with a loud voice he was heard to say, *How long, O Lord, shall darkness oppress this Realm? how long wilt thou suffer this tyranny of men?* and then closed his speeches with these words, *Lord Jesus, receive my spirit.* His body was quickly consumed (for the fire was vehement) but the patience and constancy he shewed in his dying stirred up such compassion in the beholders, as many of them doubted not to say that he suffered an innocent, and was indeed a true Martyr of Christ. This opinion was farther confirmed by the death of Frier Campbell, and the manner of it; for within a year and less he fell into a Phrensie, and died as one desperate.

The rumor of this Execution stirred up some in all the quarters of the Kingdom to enquire of the reasons of his suffering, and what the Articles were for which he was condemned; by the inquisition whereof many were brought to understand and apprehend otherwise of the truth of things than formerly they did. In the University it self was left so deep an impression of his Doctrine, as could not afterwards be extinguished; yea divers of the Friars fell after this time openly in their Sermons to condemn the Errours and Abuses of the Clergy. Frier Alexander Seaton, one of the Dominican Order, a man reasonably learned, and for the time Confessor to King James the First, preached ordinarily at S. Andrews all the Lent following; where taking for his subject the Commandments of the Law, he did insist much on these points: 'That the Law of God is the only rule of Righteousness: That if Gods Law be not violated, no sin is committed: That it is not in mans power to satisfy for sin: and that the forgiveness of sin is no otherwise purchased than by unfeigned Repentance, and true Faith, apprehending the mercy of God in Christ. Of Purgatory, Pilgrimage, Prayer to Saints, Merits and Miracles, which was the usual matter of Friars Sermons, not a word he spoke; whereupon he grew to be suspected as one inclining to Heresie. About the end of Lent, upon some occasion he went to Dundee, and being there was advertised that another of his Order was set up to refute the points of Doctrine he had taught; which moved him to return to S. Andrews, and confirm the same Points which he had formerly delivered, adding somewhat beside of the Vertues required by the Apostle in a good and faithful Bishop.

Thereupon he was called before the Bishop, and charged to have affirmed in his Sermon, that a Bishop should be a Preacher, and that the Bishop who preached not was a dumb Dog, and one that fed not the flock, but his own belly. The Frier answering, 'That he had said, indeed, that S. Paul required a Bishop to be a Teacher, and that Esay called them dumb Dogs who did not preach, but that he himself had affirmed nothing. I declared, said he, what the Spirit of God said, with whom if men offend not, they cannot justly offend with me: and those that have reported my speeches, seem to be unlearned Asses, who cannot put a difference betwixt that which Esay and S. Paul speaks, and that which of my self I speak. I never said that you my Lord and the other Bishops who preach not are dumb Dogs, I only told what the Prophet and the Apostle said in that case.

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This answer galled the Archbishop exceedingly; yet knowing the man to be one of an audacious and bold spirit, he dissembled his anger, minding to bring him in discredit with the King; which was easily wrought, because of the liberty the Fryer used in reproving the King's Licentiousness. So perceiving the King's countenance altered towards him, and fearing some danger if he should stay any more at Court, he fled to Berwick, and from thence wrote unto the King, shewing the cause of his sudden departing to be the fear he conceived of the authority of the Bishops, who had behaved themselves as Kings, and would not admit any man, of what state or degree soever he was, if once they did account him an Heretick, to speak in his own defence. Not the less for himself, he offered to return, and justifie his cause so as he might have audience. Withal he advertised the King, that it concerned him in duty to see that every one who is accused of his Life be permitted to use his lawful defences: for howsoever the Prelates held that such matters belong not to the cognition of the Prince, he would make the contrary manifest by their own Laws, if he should be once heard. Wherefore he besought his Highness not to be led any more by their informations, but to use the authority committed unto him by God, and not to suffer these Tyrants to proceed against him till he was brought to his answer, which he would not refuse to give, so as he might be assured to do it with the safety of his life.

This Letter receiving no answer, after he had stayed a while at Berwick he went to London, and became Chaplain to Charles Duke of Suffolk, in whose service he died. In the Book of Martyrs I read that Gardiner Bishop of Winchester, by his crafty and subtle persuasions, induced him to make a Recantation of sundry Points at Paul's Cross: but what his belief was of most of the Articles of Christian Faith, it appeareth by the Treatises he left behind him. His Examination by Gardiner and Bonner (which he likewise published, discovering the policies they used to circumvene him) doth testify his constancy in the Truth, and that he never denied any Point which formerly he had taught.

Soon after his flight, one Henry Forrest was delated for saying that Master Patrick Hamilton died a Martyr, and thereupon was brought to S. Andrews: but because the probation was not clear enough, Frier Walter Lainge was appointed to confess him. The simple man, that feared no harm, being asked by the Frier what was his judgment of Master Patrick, answered, *That he esteemed him to be a good man, and that the Articles for which he was condemned might well be defended.* This confession revealed by the Frier was taken for a sufficient evidence, and the poor man condemned to be burnt as an Heretick. As he was leading out to be degraded, he complained grievously of the Frier who had betrayed him, crying out, *Fie on falsehood, fie on false Friars, revealers of Confession. Never let any man trust them after me. They are despisers of God and deceivers of men.* And when they were taking from him his Orders, (for he was of the Order of the Bennet and Collet (as they used then to speak) he cried aloud, *Take not only from me your Orders, but your baptism also.* So being carried to a place of execution, (which was appointed to be at the North stile of the Abbey, to the end the Hereticks of Angus might see the fire) he suffered death most constantly. Whilest they were consulting upon the manner of his execution, one John Lindsay, a plain and simple man who attended the Bishop, gave advice to burn him in some hollow Cellar: for the smoke, saith he, of Master Patrick Hamilton hath infected all those on whom it blew.

Yet the persecution still proceeding, divers were cited to appear at Halirudhouse by James Hay Bishop of Ross, who sat as Commissioner for the Archbishop of S. Andrews; amongst others James Hamilton of Levingston, brother-german to Master Patrick, with Katherine Hamilton his sister. The Gentleman was advised by the King secretly (for he loved the man) not to appear, and was for his contumacy condemned. His sister appearing, and questioned upon the point of Justification by Works, answered simply, that she believed no person could be saved by their Works. Master John Spence the Lawyer (whom we named before) held a long discourse with her about that purpose, telling her that there were divers sorts of works, Works of Congruity, and Works of Congnity; in the application whereof he

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An. 1527.

The Frier fled to Berwick, and from thence writeth to the King.

He becometh Chaplain to the Duke of Suffolk. Acts of Martyrs.

Henry Forrest Martyr.

Divers cited to appear at Halirudhouse.

An. 1534. consumed a long time. The woman growing thereupon into a chafe, cried out, *Work here, work there, what kind of working is all this? I know perfectly that no Works can save me, but the works of Christ my Saviour.* The King was present all the time, and laughed heartily at the answer; yet taking the Gentlewoman aside, he moved her to recant her Opinions; and by her ensample divers others at the same time abjured their Profession: of which number were Sir William Kirk, Priest, Adam Daes, Henry Cairnes, Master William Johnston, Advocate, Master Henry Henryson, Schoolmaster in Edinburgh, and John Stewart, In-dweller in Leith.

Normand Gourlay and David Straiton Martyrs, Acts of Martyrs.

These persons scarce dismissed, Master Normand Gourlay and David Straiton were brought to trial. Master Normand was charged for denying Purgatory, and saying that *the Pope had no jurisdiction within Scotland.* David Straiton was charged with the same Points, and farther was accused for maintaining that *Tithes were not due to Church-men:* which Point he denied, confessing that the Tithes of some Fishes which his servants had taken at Sea being too rigorously exacted, he said that if they would have the Tithes of the Fishes, they should go and receive them where the stock was taken; and that he gave order to his servants to cast every tenth Fish they took into the Sea, because he saw nothing but rigor would content the Church.

History of the Church.

This Gentleman had been in former times very quarrellous and turbulent, but was then become another man, through frequenting the company of John Areskyn of Dun, by whom it pleased God to enlighten his mind with the knowledge of his Truth, and to kindle in his heart such a love to the same, as usually he was heard to pray for strength and spiritual courage, that if he should be brought to suffer for Christ, no fear of death nor corporal pain might cause him shrink. And it clearly appeared, when he was brought to his answer, that his prayers were heard. For notwithstanding of the offers made him to recant and burn his Bill, (as they spoke at that time) he stood most constantly to the defence of the Truth, and gave great encouragement to Master Normand Gourlay, who suffered with him. These two were burnt at one stake the 27 of August, 1534.

An. 1534. Alexander Aleffe and others fly to England.

At the same time was Sentence pronounced against Alexander Aleffe, Master John Fife, John Macbee, and one Macdongal, who were summoned to the said Diet, and compeared not. These persons fled afterwards into England, where they remained a while well entertained. Alexander Aleffe by the commendation of the Lord Cromwel came in favour with King Henry the Eighth, and was called commonly the Kings Scholar; as he was indeed a man of good learning, and gave thereof a notable proof in his dispute with Stokesley, Bishop of London, before the Convocation in the year 1537. After Cromwel's death, taking with him Master John Fife, he went into Saxony, where they lived Professours together a long time in the University of Lipsia. Macdongal went also in their company, and came to good credit, being elected Burgomaster of one of their Towns. John Macbee, commonly called Doctor Macbabeus, during his abode in England was liberally entertained by Nicolas Shaxton, Bishop of Salisbury, who made much account of him, but afterwards going to Denmark became Chaplain to King Christian, in whose service he died in the year 1550. Thus it pleased God to provide for these men after their exile.

Divers accused of Heresie in a meeting at Edinburgh.

An. 1538. The Vicar of Dolour his conference with the Bishop of Dunkeld.

Some four years after the Bishops kept a meeting at Edinburgh in the month of February, 1538. where divers were accused of Heresie, and condemned to die. Frier Killore, Frier Beverage, Sir Duncane Simpson, Priest, Robert Forrester, a Gentleman, and Dean Thomas Forrest a Canon of S. Colinsinch, called commonly The Vicar of Dolour. This poor man not long before had been called before the Bishop of Dunkeld, his Ordinary, for preaching every Sunday to his Parishioners upon the Epistles and Gospels of the day, and desired to forbear, seeing his diligence that way brought him in suspicion of Heresie. If he could find a good Gospel, or a good Epistle that made for the liberty of the holy Church, the Bishop willed him to preach that to his people, and let the rest be. The honest man replying, that he had read both the New Testament and the Old, and that he had never found an ill Epistle or an ill Gospel in any of them; the Bishop said, *I thank God I have lived well these many years,*

years, and never knew either the Old or New. I content me with my Portuise and Pontifical; and if you, Dean Thomas, leave not these fantasies, you will repent when you cannot mend it. Dean Thomas answered, that he believed it was his duty to do what he did, and that he had laid his account with any danger that might follow. So at this time being brought in question with the persons above named, they were all together condemned, and burnt in the fire upon the Castle-hill of Edinburgh.

An. 1538. History of the Church. Ultimo Feb. 1538.

This year in Glasgow Hieronymus Russel, of the Order of the Gray Friars, and one Kennedy, a young man of Aire, not past 18 years of age, were accused likewise of Heresie: but because the Archbishop Mr. Gawine Dumbar, was esteemed somewhat cold in those businesses, Master John Lawder, Master Andrew Oliphant and Frier Maltman were sent from Edinburgh to assist at their trial. Kennedy at his first appearing in judgment discovered some weakness, and would gladly have saved his life by denying the Points laid to his charge; but encouraged by Hieronymus, and by the answers he made to the Judges, he gathered his spirits, and falling down upon his knees, brake forth in these words, *Wonderful, O God, is thy love and mercy towards me a miserable wretch; for even now when I would have denied thee and thy Son the Lord Jesus Christ, my only Saviour, and so have thrown my self into everlasting condemnation, thou by thine own hand hast pulled me back from the bottom of Hell, and given me to feel most heavenly comfort, which hath removed the ungodly fear that before oppressed my mind. Now I desire death; do what you please, I praise God, I am ready.*

Frier Russel and one Kennedy martyred at Glasgow.

History of the Church.

The Frier reasoned long and learnedly against his accusers, and being answered only with railings and bitter speeches, said, *This is your hour, and power of darkness; now you sit as Judges, and we stand wrongfully condemned: but the day cometh which will shew our innocence, and you shall see your own blindness, to your everlasting confusion. Go on, and fulfil the measure of your iniquity.* At which words the Archbishop was greatly moved, affirming that these rigorous Executions did hurt the cause of the Church more than could well be thought of, and therefore declared, that in his opinion it should be best to save the lives of the men, and take some other course with them. But these others who were sent to assist told him expressly, that if he followed any milder course than that which had been kept at Edinburgh, they could not esteem him the Church's friend: whereupon he was compelled to give way to their Cruelty, and thus these Innocents were condemned to be burnt alive.

The Archbishop disavowed the Execution.

All the time they were preparing the fire, Hieronymus comforted mightily the young man, using these speeches unto him, *Fear not, brother, for he is more mighty that is in us than he who is in the world. The pain which we shall suffer is short and light, but our joy and consolation shall never have an end; death cannot destroy us, for it is destroyed already by him for whose sake we suffer. Therefore let us strive to enter in by the same strait way which our Saviour hath taken before us.* Many other comfortable speeches he uttered, which moved the hearers wonderfully. When they were brought to the place of their suffering, they used not many words, but commending their Souls to God, after they were tied to the stake, endured the fire constantly, without expressing any token of fear or amazement.

The courage of Russel at his dying.

It was about the same time that Master George Buchanan (who for his rare Erudition was afterwards in great fame) for some biting verses against the Franciscans was committed to prison: but he escaping by a window of the chamber, wherein he was detained prisoner, whilst the Keepers were fast asleep, fled into France. Thus there passed few days wherein some one or other was not called in question for Religion. But the more hot the Persecution was, the favourers of the Truth did every day the more increase. And now had the Archbishop James Beaton committed the charge of all Church affairs to his Nephew the Cardinal, (who succeeded in his place) for he was aged and sickly himself, and not seen often abroad. In his last days he began to erect the new Colledge in S. Andrews, and set men a-work to build the same: but neither lived he to finish the work, nor were the moneys he left in store to that use rightly bestowed. Some contestings a few years before he and the Clergy had with the King, because of the Impositions laid upon

Mr. George Buchanan escaped out of prison. Buchan. l. 14. The History of the Church.

The Archbishop committed the charge of all affairs to his Nephew the Cardinal.

An. 1539.

A Contest for the Imposition laid upon the Clergy for the Lords of Session.

Buchan. l. 14.
Lest. l. 9.Bishop Beaton
diech.The learned
man that lived
in this time,
M. John Major.

Bal. cent. 14.

Lest. l. 9.

Hector Boeth.

Bal. cent. 14.

Gilbert Crab.

Bal. cent. 15.

William Gregory.
Bal. ibidem.

upon the Prelates, for the entertainment of the Senators of the College of Justice. So as the matter was drawn by an appeal to Rome, and Gawine Dumber Bishop of *Aberdene* appointed to prosecute the same. But this ceased upon an accord made, which was, that the Senate should consist of fourteen Ordinaries with a President, seven of the Spirituality and as many of the Temporality; the President always being of the Spiritual estate, and a Prelate constitute in dignity. According to this appointment a ratification passed in Parliament Anno 1537, and the Abbot of *Cambuskenneth* was elected President of the new Senate in the year 1539. The Bishop a little after he had assisted as witness at the Christening of the King's first son, who was born at *S. Andrews*, departed this life, having designed his successors in all the Benefices he enjoyed, which were not a few; for besides the Archbishopric of *S. Andrews*, he possessed the Abbacies of *Aberbrothock*, *Dunfermlin*, and *Kilwinning*. To his Nephew the Cardinal he left *S. Andrews* and *Aberbrothock*; to *George Dury* his kinsman the Abbacy of *Dunfermlin*; and to *Hamilton*, of the house of *Roplock*, the Abbacy of *Kilwinning*. All which the King, for the esteem wherein he held this Bishop whilest he lived, confirmed to them according to his Will. He was buried in the Abbey-Church before the high Altar.

In his time lived Master *John Major*, *Hector Boeth*, *Gilbert Crab*, and *William Gregory*, men of good learning, and worthy to be remembred. Master *John Major* was born at *Hadington*, within the Province of *Lothian*, and trained up from his youth in the study of Letters. A while at *Cambridge* he heard Philosophy taught; but finding the place not so convenient, he went to *Paris*, and past his course in the College of *Montacute*. After that he gave himself to Theology, commencing Doctor amongst the *Sorbonists*, and in Scholastick Divinity was not much behind any of his time; which his *Decisiones Sententiarum*, *Sophisticalia Parisiensia*, and that other Work intituled *Placita Theologica*, do sufficiently witness. Returning afterwards unto his Country, he professed Theology in *S. Salvator's* College at *S. Andrews*, whereof he was made Provost, and died there being of a good age: a man well inclined, ingenious, and according to these times not unlearned. He wrote the Story of his Country, howbeit in a *Sorbonick* and barbarous style, yet very truly, and with a great liberty of spirit, not sparing the Usurpation of *Rome*, and taxing in divers places the Laziness and Superfluity of the Clergy: which could hardly be done in those times without danger.

Hector Boethius was Principal of the College of *Aberdene*, a great Philosopher, and much commended by *Erasmus* for his eloquence and felicity of ingenie. *Buchanan*, who could well discern of learned men, speaking in a certain place of him saith, *Quod non solum artium liberalium cognitione supra quam illa ferebant tempora insignis erat, sed etiam humanitate & comitate singulari præditus*. That he was not only notably learned in the liberal Sciences above the condition of those times, but also of an exceeding courteous and humane inclination. Yet is he traduced by some of the *English* Writers for a fabulous and partial Historian. But they who like to peruse his History will perceive that this is spoken out of passion and malice, and not upon any just cause.

Gilbert Crab lived in the Country of *France*, much esteemed for his dexterity and diligence in the education of youth. He was sent to *Paris* by his friends being yet very young, and having studied his course there, was preferred to be Sub-dean of a Church near unto *Bordeaux*, yet ceased not to advance the knowledge of Letters at his uttermost; and was so respected, as the children of all the Noblemen in those parts were committed to his instruction. He died young at *Bordeaux*, not having attained to the fortieth year of his age, much lamented of those that knew him.

William Gregory lived in *Tholouse*, and was made General of the *Carmelites* in the Diocese of *Meaulx* and *Tholouse*, which Order he is said to have greatly reformed. *Baleus* writeth that he received much kindness of this *Gregory* at *Tholouse* in the year 1527, and saith that he died in that City, having left divers monuments of his ingenie to posterity, the Catalogue whereof you may see in the place.

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With this I shall joyn another, not for any commendation of his Learning, for he had none, nor for his good qualities, which were as few, but for strange and extraordinary things seen in him, which in the time ministred occasion of great talk and wondring to many. This man named *John Scot* having succumbed in a plea at Law, and knowing himself unable to pay that wherein he was adjudged, took sanctuary in the Abbey of *Halirudhouse*, where out of a deep displeasure he abstained from all meat and drink the space of 30 or 40 days together. Publick rumour bringing this abroad, the King would have it put to trial, and to that effect shut him up in a private room within the Castle of *Edinburgh*, whereunto no man had access: he caused a little bread and water to be set by him, which he was found not to have tasted in the space of 32 days. This proof given of his Abstinence, he was dimitted, and coming forth into the street half naked, made a speech to the people that flocked about him, wherein he professed to do all this by the help of the Blessed Virgin, and that he could fast as long as he pleased. Many did take it for a Miracle, esteeming him a person of wonderful Holiness; others thought him to be phrenetick and mad; so as in a short time he came to be neglected, and thereupon leaving the Country went to *Rome*, where he gave the like proof of his fasting to Pope *Clement* the Seventh.

From *Rome* he came to *Venice* apparelled with holy Vestures, such as the Priests use when they say Mass, and carrying in his hand a Testimonial of his Abstinence under the Popes Seal, he gave there the like proof, and was allowed some five Ducates to make his expence towards the holy Sepulchre, which he pretended to visit. This voyage he performed, and then returned home, bringing with him some palm-tree leaves and a scrip-ful of stones, which he said were a part of the Pillar to which our Saviour was tied when he was scourged; and coming by *London*, went up into the Pulpit in *Pauls* Church-yard, where he cast forth many speeches against the divorce of King *Henry* from *Katherine* his Queen, inveighing bitterly against him for his defection from the *Roman* See, and thereupon was thrust in prison, where he continued 50 days fasting.

After that being dimitted (for they held him to be a mad man) he came directly into *Scotland*, and remained in company with one *Thomas Doughty*, who a little before was returned from *Italy*, and had built a little Chappel to the holy Virgin with the money he had begged in his travel. This man by his counterfeit Miracles made great advantage amongst the simple people; and albeit he was known to be a couzening fellow, and in life extremely vicious, yet was he suffered by the Clergy to abuse the ignorant multitude, for that the opinion of Purgatory, Pardons and Prayers to Saints, which began then every where to be despised, was by this mean nourished amongst the people.

Scot, grudging that *Doughty* did appropriate all the gain he made to himself, and not admit him a partner in the same, retired to a house in the suburbs of *Edinburgh* at the Western part of the Town, and therein erected a religious Altar, which he adorned in the best manner he could, setting up his Daughter, a young maid of reasonable beauty, upon the Altar, and placing lights and torches round about her. The simple sort for a long time believed her to be the Virgin *Mary*, and frequented the place in great numbers to do her worship, but the Knavery coming to be detected, he forsook his Altar, and forgetting all his devotion, returned to his first trade and manner of life. *Lesley* in his Story saith, that he prophesied many things concerning the decay of the *Romish* Religion, and the restitution of it in a short time. Of the decay he might speak, having seen it begun; but for other things he was a Dreamer rather than a Prophet.

40. The first act of the Cardinal after his promotion did shew what an enemy he would be to those who in that time were called Hereticks; for he was not well warmed in his seat, when to make his greatness seen, he brought to *S. Andrews* the Earls of *Huntley*, *Arran*, *Marshall*, and *Montrose*, the Lords *Fleming*, *Lindsay*, *Erskene*, and *Seaton*, with divers other Barons and men of quality. There came thither also *Gawine* Archbishop of *Glasgow*, Chancellor, *William* Bishop of *Aberdene*, *Henry* Bishop of *Galloway*, *John* Bishop of *Brichen*, and *William* Bishop of *Dumblane*, the

An. 1539.

John Scot his memorable fasting.

Buchan. l. 14.

Lest. l. 9.

He took his journey to the holy Sepulchre.

He is imprisoned in London.

Tho. Doughty suffered to abuse the people.

Scots emulation of Doughty, and his couzenage.

The History of Cardinal Beaton.

An. 1540.

Sir John Borthwick cited for Heretic.

The heads of his Accusation.

Sir John Borthwick denounced Heretic.

An. 1540.

Acts of Mart.

The King invited to meet his Uncle King Henry at York. Buchanan. l. 14. left. l. 9. Holinshed History of Scotland. The Cardinal and Clergy seek to impede the meeting.

the Abbots of *Melrofs, Dunfermlin, Lindors, and Kinloss*, with a number of Priors, Deans and Doctors of Theology. And they all having convened in the Cathedral Church, he, sitting in a Chair somewhat erected above the rest, (for that he was a Cardinal) began to expone the dangers wherein the Catholick faith stood by the increase of Hereticks, and the boldness they took to profess their Opinions openly even in the Kings Court, where he said *they found too great countenance*. In special he named Sir *John Borthwick*, commonly called *Captain Borthwick*, whom he had caused cite to that Diet for dispersing Heretical Books, and for maintaining divers Articles contrary to the Doctrine of the *Roman Church*, desiring their assistance in the procedure of Justice against him. The heads of the Accusation were read.

1. That he held the Pope to have no greater authority over Christians than any other Bishop or Prelate had.
2. That Indulgences and Pardons granted by the Pope were of no force nor effect, but devised to abuse people, and deceive poor ignorant souls.
3. That Bishops, Priests and other Clergy-men may lawfully marry.
4. That the Heresies, commonly called *the Heresies of England* and their new Liturgy was commendable, and to be embraced of all Christians.
5. That the people of *Scotland* are blinded by their Clergy, and professed not the true Faith.
6. That Church-men ought not to enjoy any Temporalities.
7. That the King ought to convert the Rents of the Church into other pious uses.
8. That the Church of *Scotland* ought to be governed after the manner of the *English*.
9. That the Canons and Decrees of the Church were of no force, as being contrary to the Law of God.
10. That the Orders of Friars and Monks should be abolished, as had been done in *England*.
11. That he did openly call the Pope *Simoniack*, for that he sold Spiritual things.
12. That he did read Heretical Books, and the new Testament in *English*. and some other Treatises written by *Melanchthon, Oecolampadius* and *Erasmus*, which he gave likewise unto others.
13. The last and greatest Point was, That he refused to acknowledge the Authority of the *Roman See*, or be subject thereunto.

These Accusations (he not appearing, nor any in his behalf) were taken as confessed, and he denounced an Heretick, yea an Heresiarch, (for so the Sentence beareth) his goods ordained to be confiscate, himself burnt in effigie, if he could not otherwise be apprehended, and all manner of persons inhibited to relieve or entertain him under the pain of cursing or forfeiture.

This Sentence was given against him the 28 of May, Anno 1540, and the same day was his picture burnt in the open Market-place of *S. Andrews*, as likewise in *Edinburgh* some two days after. Sir *John Borthwick* hearing how they had proceeded against him, fled into *England*, where he was kindly received by *Henry* the Eighth then reigning, and by him employed in a Commission to the Protestant Princes in *Germany*, for a Confederation betwixt him and them in defence of their common Profession.

King *Henry* had some years before sent into *Scotland* the Bishop of *S. Davids* to present the King his Nephew with some *English* Books, containing an Exposition of the principal Heads of Christian Religion, thinking to induce him to make the like Reformation which he had made in *England*. And at that time came Lord *William Howard*, to desire the King to meet his Uncle King *Henry* at *York*, upon some occasions tending to the common good of both Kingdoms. The King consenting a Diet was appointed, and all things prepared for the journey. But the Cardinal and Clergy, fearing the effects of that Conference, laboured with the Courtiers to divert him, and before the King himself they laid divers terrors; as, That he would be detained prisoner in *England*, as King *James* the First had been: That

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he should make himself suspected to the Emperor, and to his old Confederate the *French King*: And, which he was most to regard, incur the Pope's displeasure, by treating too familiarly with him that was lying under the highest Censure of the Church. Yet stood the King resolute for the journey, foreseeing (as also it happened) that if he should break the Diet, the same might breed the *English King's* dislike, and be an occasion of War, on which he would not hazard, unless he knew of means to entertain the same. The Clergy hereupon, besides the representation of some moneys in hand, made offer of an annuity of fifty thousand Crowns, if War should fall out; declaring withal, that by confiscating the goods of Hereticks he might gain an hundred thousand more. And with such vain hopes they brought him to send a fair excuse to King *Henry* by Sir *James Lermouth* his domestick. After this the King, being ruled wholly by the Cardinal, followed in all things the appetite of the Clergy, giving commission to Sir *James Hamilton* his Treasurer, to call and convene all persons suspected of Heresie, and inflict the punishments which after trial they should be found to merit. The King was also heard say, That none of that sort should expect any favour at his hands, nay not his own sons, if they should prove guilty; which put many in fear.

But this continued not long, for Sir *James Hamilton* becoming suspected, and accused of a practice against the King his life, was shortly after executed; and War breaking out with *England*, he found the Nobility averse from the Incursions he intended to make, which did greatly discontent him. These thoughts with some fearful Visions he had by night that much terrified him, withdrew his mind wholly from the extremities on which the Clergy had set him: For at *Linlithgow* on a night as he slept, it seemed to him that *Thomas Scot* Justice Clerk came unto him with a company of Devils, crying, *Woe worth the day that ever I knew thee or thy service! serving thee against God and against his Servants, I am adjudged to Hell torments*. Hereupon awaking, he called for lights, and causing his servants to arise, told what he had heard and seen. The next morning, by the light of day, advertisement was brought him of the Justice Clerk his death, which fell out just at the time that the King found himself so troubled, and in the same manner almost; for he died in great unquietness, iterating these words, *Iusto Dei judicio condemnatus sum*, By the righteous judgment of God I am condemned. The form of his death answering the Dream so justly, made it the more terrible.

Another Vision he had in the same place, not many nights after, which did more affright him: Whilest he lay a sleeping, he imagined that Sir *James Hamilton*, whom he caused to be executed, came unto him with a sword drawn in his hand, and therewith cut off both his Arms, threatening within a short time to return and deprive him of his life: with this he awoke, and as he lay musing what the Dream could import, news were brought him of the death of his two Sons, *James* and *Arthur*, who died at *S. Andrews* and *Striveling* at one and the very same hour. The next year, which was the year of our Lord 1542, being overwhelmed with grief and passion for the loss of his Army received at *Solway*, he departed this life at *Falkland* in the 32 year of his age. Some few days before he died, he had advertisement that his Queen was delivered of a Daughter at *Linlithgow*; at which time it is said he burst forth in passion, saying, *It came with a Lash*, (meaning the Crown) and will go with a Lash, *hie upon it*: after which he was not heard to utter many words.

The Cardinal hearing that the King was deceased, did suborn a Priest, called *Henry Balfour*, to form his last Will, whereby it declared that he had committed to the Cardinal, the Earls of *Huntley, Argile* and *Murray*, the Government of the Realm during his Daughters Minority. This Will he caused publish in *Edinburgh* on the Monday after the King's death. But the Nobles giving it no credit, and esteeming it a forgery, did choose the Earl of *Arran* Regent and Governour of the Realm. Never was a Governour received with greater love and opinion of all sorts; for besides the favour carried to himself, every one was glad to be freed of the Cardinal's Government; and by his first beginnings a strong hope was conceived, that all things should be reformed which were amiss both in Church and

An. 1541.

The King excuseth himself to King Henry.

Sir James Hamilton executed.

The King troubled with Visions.

History of the Church.

The Justice Clerk his fearful death.

The King died at Falkland, An. 1542 the eighth of December.

The Cardinal forgerh the Kings Testament.

Buchan. l. 15.

The Earl of Arran elected Governour.

An. 1542.
The King of
England seek-
eth to unite
the Kingdoms
by Marriage.

Buchan. l. 15.

A Parliament
at Edinburgh.

Leff. l. 10.
The Cardinal
committed.
Ambassadors
sent into Eng-
land for con-
cluding the
Match.

Buchan. l. 15.

The history of
the Church.

The Gover-
nor's Preach-
ers suspected
by the Clergy.

The Ambassa-
dors return
from England.

History of the
Church.

The estate of
the Gover-
nor's Court.

The Bishop of
Ross and Ab-
bot of Paisley
seek to divert
the Governor
from the Con-
tract with En-
gland.

and Kingdom. But this hope soon vanished in the manner that ye shall hear. King Henry of England hearing that his Nephew the King of Scots was dead, and that he had left one only Daughter of seven days old, began to think of uniting the two Kingdoms, and reducing the whole Isle under one Government, by the marriage of Edward his Son, a Prince of five years old, to the young Queen of Scots. Hereupon he sent for the Earls of *Cassils* and *Glencarne*, the Lords of *Fleming*, *Maxwell*, and *Gray*, (who were taken prisoners at *Solway*, and detained in England) to Hampton Court, where he then lay; and at their coming proposed the business unto them, with an offer to dimitt them freely, so as they would promise to use their best means with the Governour, and others of the Nobility of Scotland, for obtaining their consents to the Match. The Noblemen liking the motion, and esteeming it a ready means to establish a lasting Peace, gave their promise to deal faithfully in it, and so were sent home with many liberal promises if the Marriage should take effect. In their company returned the Earl of *Angus*, and his Brother Sir *George*, (who had been exiled a long time in England) with Letters to the Governour from the King for their restitution.

The matter being moved to the Governour and Council, it was liked by all, the Queen-Mother and the Cardinal only excepted: and for this a Parliament was called at *Edinburgh* the 13 of *March* following, whither came Sir *Ralph Sadler*, as Ambassador from King Henry, to attend the success. In the beginning a great stir was made by the Cardinal and Clergy that adhered to him, so as the Estates could come to no conclusion; whereupon the Cardinal was committed in the Castle of *Dalkeith*. The day following, by an uniform consent, the Match was agreed, and the Earl of *Glencarne*, Sir *George Dowglas* Brother to the Earl of *Angus*, Sir *William Hamilton* of *Forne*, and Sir *James Lermonth* of *Derfay*, employed by the Estates to transact with King Henry upon all particulars.

In this Parliament, upon a Petition presented to the Estates for restraining the power of the Prelates in pursuing those they called Hereticks, and for liberty to read the Scripture in the English language, Commission was granted to some selected persons for considering the Petition, and prescribing what was fit to be done therein. The Commissioners meeting after the Parliament was broke up, declared, *That it should be lawful for every one that could read to use the English Translation of the Bible, until the Prelates should publish one more correct.* Intimation of this liberty being sent through all the Kingdom by the Governour's direction, the Clergy did declaim against him as a favourer of Hereticks, taking exception at two Preachers he entertained in his house, the one called *Frier William*, the other *John Rough*, who did openly in their Sermons inveigh against the Pope's Authority, the adoration of Images, invocation of Saints, and other superstitious inventions of *Rome*.

In the end of *July* the Ambassadors directed towards England returned with satisfaction in all particulars concerning the Marriage; and so the Contract betwixt the two Kingdoms was signed by the Governour and those whom the States had deputed for the part of Scotland, and by Sir *Ralph Sadler* Ambassador for the part of England, and the Seals of the Kingdom interchanged, as use is. The Governour and English Ambassador, for the greater assurance, did solemnly swear to observe the Contract in all Articles thereof, dividing the holy Sacrament amongst them, as the custom then was.

And now all matters look'd fair, no man wishing them to go better; for in the Governour's Court was nothing seen that the severest eye could censure or reprove. In the publick Government such a moderation was kept, as no man was heard to complain. The Governour was reverently obeyed, and held in as great respect as any Kings of preceding times. To be short, every man did promise himself a blessed and happy time; which on sudden all was overturned, and the Realm cast in greater troubles than before.

John Hamilton Abbot of *Paisley*, base Brother to the Governour, and *David Panter*, (afterwards removed to the Bishoprick of *Ross*) who had lived a long time in France, returning about this time into the Country, and being devoted to the French, dealt privately with the Governour, who was of an easie nature, and apt to

to be taken by those he trusted, to break the Contract with England. But having small hope to prevail so long as the Preachers and Gentlemen, whose counsel he followed, remained with him, they used all means to be rid of them. *Frier Guilielm* fearing to be called in question for his Doctrine (at which the Abbot was ever excepting) withdrew himself and went into England: *John Rough* upon some colour was dimitted to preach in the parts of *Kile* and *Carrick*. The Laird of *Grainge*, Master *Henry Balnaves*, Master *Thomas Ballenden*, and Sir *David Lindsay* of the *Mont*, who had attended the Governour ever since the time of his promoting to the Regency, had such discontents given them, as they were made too weary of their attendance; and the meaner sort, such as Mr. *Michael Durham*, Mr. *David Borthwick*, *David Forbes*, and *David Bothwell*, men that had served him faithfully and of a long time, were openly menaced, and forced to quit their services.

Neither was the Cardinal in this time idle, for being by the Queens intercession removed from *Dalkeith* to the place of *Seaton*, he went from thence without warrant to *S. Andrews*, none calling him therefore in question; for the Governors Brother, who was then preferred to be the Treasurer, and ruled all things at Court, made up a secret friendship with him. Shortly after in a frequent meeting of the Clergy at *S. Andrews*, the Cardinal laying before them the dangers wherewith the Clergy was threatened by the Match with England, did earnestly incite them to oppose it, and contribute monys and employ all their friendship to the contrary, seeing it concerned them no less than their lives or estates were worth. They making no difficulty, and offering to contribute all their means to that effect, appointed a present Collection to be made, which was trusted to his disposing. The Friers were directed to inveigh in their Sermons against the Alliance, and the Priests set on to stir up the popular against the Ambassadors, who had many Indignities offered him, which he patiently digested, lest he should be thought to minister any occasion of breach.

How soon the day appointed for delivering the Pledges was come (for that was a condition in the Contract) the Ambassador went unto the Governour, and put him in mind of the Pledges that by the contract he was obliged to enter: complaining withal of the Disgraces that he and his Master the King of England received. The Governour answering first his complaint of the Insolencies committed, said, *He should take trial, and punish the committers in such sort, as all might see what affection he bore to the King and Country of England. But for the Pledges, said he, I can neither move them to enter willingly, nor force them if they be unwilling. For you see what a mutiny is raised in the country by the Cardinal, and how uncertain I am of mine own estate: Till this be quieted, I know not in that point what to answer.* The Ambassador, who understood that to be truth which he spoke, forbore to urge the delivery of the Pledges any more, saying he would advertise his Master how the case stood, and attend his directions. Soon after the Ambassador was recalled, the Scots ships and Merchants that were in England arrested, and open War denounced.

The Country hereupon drew into Factions. The Governour and some few noblemen that abode with him at *Halirudhouse* professing a willingness to keep the Contract with England, and the Queen-mother with the Cardinal and his followers directly opposing. They having the young Queen in their hands, whom they kept still at *Linlithgow*, to strengthen their party sent to recal the Earl of *Lenox*, (who lived then in France;) for the old emulation between the two Houses of *Lenox* and *Hamilton*, as also the slaughter of his Father in the field of *Linlithgow*, which he could not have forgotten, would easily (as they thought) move him to joyn with them. Besides, they considered that his presence and friendship, which was great in the Country, would aid and countenance their course not a little. Hereupon were messengers dispatched in haste with Letters to the French King, and to the Earl himself. The Letters written to himself were full of affection, and therein hopes given of his Match with the Queen-mother, and of the Regency of the Realm during her Daughters minority. And (as flatterers are never wanting to great men) there were some about him, when they understood that he was called home, put him in hope of the Crown it self, if the young Queen should happen to depart this

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life.

An. 1542.
The Governors
Preachers and
servants part
from him.

History of the
Church.

The Cardinal
set at liberty.

A Convention
of the Clergy
at S. Andrews.

Buchan. l. 15.

The Ambassa-
dor of England
complaineth of
the indignity
offered to him.

The Gover-
nors excuse.
Buchan. l. 15.

War denounc-
ed by England.

The Country
goeth into
Factions.

The Earl of Le-
nox recalled
from France.
Buchan. l. 15.

An. 1542.

The Earl of Lenox welcomed by the Queen-mother and the Cardinal.

The young Queen removed to Striveling.

The Governor forsaketh his party, and receiveth Abolution from the Cardinal.

Buchan. l. 15.

The Cardinals care to be rid of the Earl of Lenox.

Buchan. l. 15.

The Earl of Lenox, finding himself abused goeth to England.

The Persecution of the Professors in Perth.

life. For the late King was known to have intended the same; and the Governors Title, they said, would try nought, himself being illegitimate, and procreated in an unlawful marriage, upon a divorce led between his Father and Dame Elizabeth Home his wife, which made him incapable not of the Crown only, but even of his private inheritance. With such conceits they filled the young Nobleman's head; and (as men are made easily to believe what they earnestly desire) encouraged by these hopes, and the French Kings promises, he returned home.

At his coming having saluted the Governor, with whom he dissembled in the best sort he could, and visiting the Queen-mother and Cardinal at Linlithgow, who did very kindly receive him, he went to see his friends, and imparted to them the causes of his return, with the hopes that were given him, and the promise he had of aid and supply from the King of France. They, approving the course he had taken, advised him to follow his fortune, and promised their assistance to the uttermost. A few days after being advertized that the Governor was gathering Forces to take the young Queen from her Mother, he came to the Queen-mother with four thousand men, and abode with her till by a common consent her Daughter was sent to Striveling, and committed to the custody of the Lords Graham, Areskin, Levingston, and Lindsay.

Meanwhile the Governors Brother did earnestly ply him to relinquish the English Alliance, laying before him the danger wherein he thrust himself, in suffering the Popes Authority to be weakened, on which he said the security of his Title and the Succession to the Crown did stand, and giving him hopes of benefit and advancement from the French King: and so far in end prevailed, as the Governor, without imparting his mind to the Noblemen who kept Court with him at Halirudhouse, went privately to Striveling, and submitted himself to the Cardinal, receiving absolution at his hands, and renouncing the profession he made of the Truth, with the Alliance contracted with England. A deed that lost him the favor of the Country, and brought him in great contempt; for after this fact, was he never in regard, the Cardinal from thenceforth carrying all the sway, and leaving him only the shadow of Authority.

This done, the Cardinals next care was, to rid the Court and the Council of the Earl of Lenox; which was brought about in this sort. The Queen-mother by her Letters to the French King did advertise what an alteration was made, how the Governor was brought by the Cardinals means to break with England, and that for assuring the Peace of the Country there was nothing more required than the calling the Earl of Lenox back under some fair color, for that his stay at home might prove dangerous, and a suspicion there was already of his inclining to England, which might breed greater Troubles than yet had been seen; therefore intreated the King to recal him with speed.

The Noblemen suspecting no such dealing (for all that time he was used with great demonstrations of love and kindness by the Queen-mother) began to urge the performance of Promises, and had his hopes cunningly entertained, till the answer returned from France, at which time he was advertized by some friends in that Court, that the French King was hardly informed of him and some courses he had taken, and howbeit he was invited to return, he should not find the welcome he expected. This made him more instant with the Queen-mother than before, but it was not long ere he felt himself deluded; whereupon he retired home discontent, and laid many ways to repair himself, but all sorted to no effect; so as he resolved in end, having lost the French, to offer his service to the King of England, by whom he was kindly received, and afterwards honored with the alliance of King Henry his Niece, Lady Margaret Douglas.

How soon the Cardinal was freed of the Earl of Lenox, he set himself to pursue those that were called Hereticks, and leading the Governor along with him, went first to the Town of Perth, where by delation of one Frier Spence: Robert Lamb, William Anderson, James Rannald, James Hunter, James Finlason, and Hellene Stirk his wife were apprehended.

Robert Lamb being accused for interrupting the said Frier in a Sermon he made at Perth,

Perth, whilest he was teaching that a man could not be saved without praying to the Saints, confessed that he had done it, saying, It was the duty of every man that knoweth the Truth, to bear testimony unto it, and not to suffer people to be abused with false Doctrine, such as that was.

William Anderson, James Rannald and James Finlason, were indited for nailing two Rams horns on S. Francis head, the putting of a Cows rump to his tail, and for the eating of a Goose upon All-hallow evening.

James Hunter, a Fletcher by occupation, and a simple man without any learning, was charged to have kept company with the said persons.

The woman, Helen Stirk, was accused for her refusing to pray unto the Virgin Mary when she was in labor of her birth, and saying, she would only pray to God in the name of Jesus Christ.

These were the Indictments whereupon they were put to trial, and being found guilty by a Jury, were condemned to die. Great intercession was made for their lives to the Governor; but he was so subject to the Cardinal, as without his consent he would give no pardon. Thus the poor Innocents were taken to the common place of Execution, and hanged. Robert Lamb at the foot of the Ladder made a pithy Exhortation to the people, beseeching them to fear God, and forsake the Leven of Papistical Abominations. The woman desired earnestly to dy with her husband, but could not be permitted, sentence being given against her that she should be drowned; yet she followed him to the place of Execution, exhorting him by the way to patience and constancy for the cause of Christ: And as she parted from him, said, Husband, be glad, we have lived together many joyful days, and this day which we must die we ought to esteem the most joyful of all, because now we shall have joy for ever; Therefore I will not bid you good night, for we shall shortly meet in the Kingdom of Heaven. How soon the men were executed, the woman was taken to a pool of water not far off, where having commended her children to the charity of her neighbours, and giving a little babe who was sucking upon her breast unto a nurse, she died with great courage and comfort.

Sir Henry Elder, John Elder, Walter Piper and Laurence Puller, with some other Burgeses, were banished, and the Lord Ruthven Provost of the Town discharged of his Office, because he was suspected to favor the Hereticks. His place was given to John Charterhouse of Kinsawnes, and the Citizens commanded to accept him for their Provost; but they excused themselves, saying, they could make no election before the ordinary time: yet the Governor out of his authority charged them to accept of Kinsawnes, threatening to punish those that refused. And for that it was thought, after the Governor and Cardinal was gone, that the Townsmen should withstand their Provost, the Lord Gray and Normand Lesley, Son to the Earl of Rothes, were desired to give their assistance.

It falling out as was expected, Kinsawnes convened his friends, to advise how the Townsmen might be forced to obey. The Lord Gray undertaking to enter the Town by the Bridge, Normand Lesley and his followers were appointed to enter at the South-gate, and S. Magdalen's day appointed for their meeting. The Lord Gray came early in the morning, but Normand, who brought his company by water, was hindred by the Tide; yet all being quiet in the Town, and no appearance of stir, the Lord Gray resolved to enter, esteeming his own Forces sufficient: but he was not far advanced, when in the street called Fish-street, the Master of Ruthven, with his company that lay close in some houses nearby, issued forth upon him, and compelled him to turn back. The disorder in the fight was great, every one hindering another, so as many were trod to death, and some threescore persons killed.

The Cardinal wished rather the loss had fallen on the Lord Ruthvens side, yet he was not ill pleased with the affront that Gray had received; for he loved none of them: and so making no great account of the matter, he went on with his work, and in the Country of Angus calling many in question for reading the New Testament in English, which as then was accounted an hainous crime. And it is said, 'The ignorance of these times was so great, as even the Priests did think the New

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Testament

An. 1542.
The Indictment of the persons delated.

They are found guilty, and their behavior at their Suffering.

Burgeses exiled, and the Lord Ruthven put from his Provostry.

Kinsawnes elected Provost, seeketh to force the Town to obedience.

Buchan. l. 15.

The Lord Gray invading Perth is repulsed.

The Cardinals proceeding against the Professors in Angus and Mernis.

Buchan. l. 15.

An. 1544. Testament to have been composed by *Martin Luther*, and the Old to be the only Scripture that men ought to read.

Roger, a black Friar, imprisoned at *S. Andrews*.

An. 1544.

The history of *Mr. George Wisbart*.

Wisbart discharged from preaching at *Dundy*.

History of the Church.

He goeth to the West, where the Archbishop of *Glasgow* seeketh to apprehend him.

John Roger, a Black Friar, with certain others, was brought to the Castle of *S. Andrews*, and within some few days found dead at the foot of the back wall: whether he fell seeking to escape, or that he was murdered (as the report went) in prison, it is uncertain. From *Angus* the Cardinal leading the Governor with him went to *Mernis*, using the like inquisition, and stayed there till near Christmas; at which time they returned to *S. Andrews*, and having past the Holy time in fasting, took journey to *Edinburgh*, where a Convention of the Clergy was kept for censuring the lives of scandalous Priests.

Whilest they were thus busied, advertisement was made to the Cardinal that Master *George Wisbart*, for whom he had searched a long time, was in the house of *Ormeiston* in *Lothian*. This man being of all the witnesses that God raised in that time to advance his Truth the most worthy, the Reader will not dislike that I set down the Story at large. He was a Brother of the house of *Pittarrow* in *Mernis*, a man of great knowledge and pleasant utterance, indued also with many rare virtues; humble, modest, charitable, and patient even to admiration. Some time he had spent in the University of *Cambridge*, and, out of a desire to promote the Truth in his own Country, came home in the year 1544. making his chief resorts in the Towns of *Dundy* and *Montross*, where he taught publickly with great profit and applause.

The Cardinal, incensed with the following he had among the people, discharged them of *Dundy* to receive him. Whereupon *Robert Mill*, a man of great authority in the Town, either corrupted by the Cardinals gifts, or because he feared some trouble might fall upon the Town for his occasion, did one day as he had ended his Sermon, openly prohibit him to come any more amongst them, and not to trouble the Town with his Sermons. He after a little silence, turning himself to the speaker, said, *God is my witness that I mind ever your comfort, and not your trouble, which to me is more grievous than to your selves. But sure I am, to reject the Word of God, and drive away his messengers, is not the way to save you from Trouble. When I am gone, God will send you messengers, who will not be afraid either for burning or banishment. I have with the hazard of my life remained among you preaching the word of Salvation; and now, since your selves refuse me, I must leave my innocency to be declared by God. If it be long well with you, I am not led with the Spirit of Truth; and if trouble unexpected fall upon you, remember this is the cause, and turn to God by repentance, for he is merciful.* The Earl *Marshall* and some other Noblemen, who were present at the Sermon, deal earnestly with him to go with them into the North; but he excusing himself, took journey into the West parts.

He had not been long there, when the Archbishop of *Glasgow*, advertised of the great concourse of people unto his Sermons, took purpose to apprehend him, and for that effect made a journey unto the Town of *Aire*. *Alexander* Earl of *Glen-carne*, hearing what the Bishop intended, halted to the Town, offering to place Master *George Wisbart* in the Church where the Bishop was preparing to preach: but he would not consent, saying, that the Bishops Sermon would not do much hurt, and that he would teach, if they pleased at the Market-Cross: which he did, divers of the hearers, which were enemies to the Truth, being converted at the same time. The Sunday following, being desired to preach at the Church of *Machlin*, he went thither; but the Sheriff of *Aire* had in the night-time put in a Garrison of Souldiers in the Church to exclude him. *Hugh Campbell* of *Kingzeac-leugh* with others of the Parish offending thereat, would have entered the Church by force; but he would not suffer it, saying, *It is the word of Peace that I preach unto you, the blood of no man shall be shed for it this day: Christ is as mighty in the fields as in the Church; and he himself, when he lived in the flesh, preached oftener in the Desert and upon the Sea-side, than in the Temple of Jerusalem.* So walking along to the edge of the Moor on the South-side of *Machlin*, he preached to the Multitude that flocked about him three hours and above; and all the while he abode in those parts taught daily with good success.

After

After a months stay in these quarters, he was advertised of a great desolation in the Town of *Dundy* by reason of the Pestilence, which brake up in it the fourth day after he left the Town. This moved him to return; and on the next morrow after his coming he gave signification that he would preach: but because the Sicknes, which had consumed a great many people, was still raging in the Town, he chused to preach upon the head of the East-gate, the infected persons standing without the gate, and those that were free within. His Theme was the 20 verse of the 107 Psalm; *He sent his word and healed them, and delivered them from their destruction.* Thereupon taking occasion to speak of the dignity and excellency of the Word of God, and the punishments that follow the contempt of the same, as also of the mercies of God, and his readiness to pardon those that truly turn unto him, with the happy estate of such as God taketh to himself out of this misery; so he comforted the people, as they were instant to have him stay with them, judging themselves happy if they should die assisted with such a Preacher. Neither did he forsake them all the time the Plague continued, and not suffering the poor who were destitute of means to lack any necessary helps more than the rich.

It happened, whilest he stayed there, that a Priest, called Sir *John Weighton*, having a purpose to kill him as he descended from the place where he used to preach, was apprehended with a weapon in his hand: a Tumult thereupon raised, the sick without the Gate rushed in, crying to have the murtherer delivered to them. But he taking the Priest in his Arms befought them to be quiet, saying, *He hath done no harm, only he hath shewed us what we have to fear in time coming:* and so saved the wicked man by his intercession.

The Plague decreasing he prepared to go to *Edinburgh*, where he had promised to meet the Gentlemen of the West, that resolved at his parting from them to keep the Convocation, and offer dispute to the Clergy: yet because he had not seen the people of *Montross* of a long time, and was doubtful if ever he should return, he determined first to go thither. Whilest he remained there, a Letter was directed to him from the Laird of *Kinnair* of *Fife*, advertising him that he had taken a sudden sickness, and requesting him to come unto him with diligence. He presently made to the journey, accompanied with some honest Citizens that would needs convey him part of the way, and was not past a quarter of a mile, when on a sudden he made a stay, saying to the company, *I am forbidden of God to go this journey: will some of you be pleased to ride to yonder place* (pointing with his finger to a little hill) *and see what you find? for I apprehend there is a plot against my life.* So turning back to the Town, they who went forward to the place found some threecore horsemen laid to intercept them; whereby he understood the Letter to be counterfeited. They declaring at their return what they had seen, he said, *I know I shall end my life in the hands of that man* (meaning the Cardinal) *but it will not be after this manner.*

Some two or three days after he made to his journey, and would not be dissuaded by the Laird of *Dun* and others who laboured to have him stay. The first night, he lodged at *Inner-gowry*, two miles from *Dundy*, with an honest man called *James Watson*; where being laid in bed, he was observed to rise a little after midnight, and go forth into a Garden. There, after he had walked a turn or two, he fell upon his knees, sending forth many sighs and groans; then prostrating himself upon the ground, he lay in that fort almost an hour, weeping and praying, and then returned to his rest. *William Spalden* and *John Watson*, who lay in the same chamber, and had followed to see whither he went, began to ask him, as if they had known nothing, where he had been: whereunto he made no answer. In the morning inquiring of new wherefore he rose in the night, and what was the cause of his mourning (for they told him all they had seen him do) he with a dejected countenance answered, *I wish you had been in your beds, which had been more for your ease, for I was scarce well occupied.* But they praying him to satisfy their minds farther, and to communicate some comfort unto them, he said, *I will tell you that I assuredly know my travel is nigh at an end; therefore pray to God for me, that I shrink not when the battel waxeth most hot.* Hearing these words, they burst forth in tears, and said it was to them a

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An. 1544. *Wisbart* returneth to *Dundy* the Pestilence there raging.

A Priest apprehended that intended to kill him.

History of the Church.

He visiteth *Montross*.

A plot of the Cardinals for his intercepting, and his wonderful escape. History of the Church.

His journey to *Edinburgh* and what befel him in the way.

History of the Church.

An. 1545.

small comfort. Whereunto he replied, *God will send you comfort after me, this Realm shall be illuminated with the Light of Christs Gospel as clearly as ever was any Realm since the days of the Apostles: The House of God shall be built in it; yea it shall not lack (whatsoever the enemies shall devise to the contrary) the very Capstone: neither shall this be long in doing, for there shall not many suffer after me. The glory of God shall appear, and Truth shall once triumph in despite of the Devil. But, alas! if the people become unthankful, the plagues and punishments which shall follow will be fearful and terrible.*

Withart preached at Leith.

This said, he addressed himself to the way, and went that night to Perth: the next day he came to Leith, where he kept himself close, expecting some advertisement from the Gentlemen of the West. No advertisement coming, he waxed heavy and sorrowful; and being ask'd what made him so heavy, he said, *I have labored to bring people out of darkness, but now I lurk as a man ashamed to shew himself before men.* They perceiving his desire was to preach, answered that they would gladly hear him; but considering the danger he might fall into, they could not advise him to do it. He replied, *If you and others will hear me the next Sunday, I shall preach in Leith; (let God provide for me as best pleaseth him.)* Which he did, taking for his text the Parable of the Sower, out of the 13 Chapter of S. Matthews Gospel.

He goeth to East Lothian, and preacheth at Haddington.

Having ended his Sermon, he was by the Gentlemen his Auditors counselled to leave the Town, (for they held his abode in that place dangerous:) which advice he followed, remaining some time with the Laird of Brunston, and sometime with the Laird of Longnedry and Ormeston; yet every Sunday in one Church or other he taught openly, unto the time of his apprehension. The last Sermon he made was at Haddington, where he received from the Gentlemen of the West a Letter, declaring they could not keep the Diet appointed at Edinburgh: which grieved him so much, as calling John Knox (who then attended him) he said, *I am weary of the world, since I see men too weary of God.* Yet he went to the Pulpit, and rebuking the people of that Town for the contempt of the Gospel, told them, that *strangers should possess their houses, and chase them from their habitations:* which came shortly to pass. In that Sermon, as he had always done at his last coming into Lothian, he spake of the short time he had to live, and told that his death was more nigh than they did believe. All that night he stayed in Haddington, and the next morning bidding those of his acquaintance farewell, as it were for ever, he went on foot to Ormeston, (for the frost was vehement) accompanied with the Laird of the place, John Sandelands of Caulder, and Chreichton of Brunston. John Knox was desirous to have gone with him, but he willed him to go back saying, *One is enough at this time for a sacrifice.*

He goeth to Ormeston, and dimitteth John Knox.

There he is apprehended and delivered to the Earl Bothwell upon promise.

History of the Church.

When they had supped, he fell in a long discourse of the happy estate of Gods children, and having ended that purpose, said he had a desire to sleep, but first appointed the 51 Psalm to be sung; which done he went to bed. About mid-night the house was belayed with horsemen that the Governor sent to take him prisoner. The Laird refusing to deliver him, and thinking to get him shifted, the Earl Bothwell Sheriff of the County came, and he required he should be put in his hand, upon promise that his life should be safe, and that it should not be in the Cardinals power to do him anyhurt. The Laird reporting this to Mr. George, he requested him to open the gate saying, *The blessed will of God be done.* So the Earl entered the house, to whom Mr. George said, *My Lord, I praise God that so honorable a man as you are doth receive me this night, in the presence of these Noblemen; for I am assured your Honour will not permit anything to be done unto me against the order of the Law. I am not ignorant that all the Law which they who seek my life use, is nothing but a corruption, and a Cloak to shed the blood of Gods Saints: yet I less fear to die openly, than to be murdered in secret.* The Earl answered, *I shall not only preserve your body from violence, if any be intended against you, but I will promise you on my honor, in the presence of these Gentlemen, that neither the Governor nor Cardinal shall be able to harm you, and that I shall keep you in my own power till either I make you free, or bring you back to the place where now I receive you.* Upon

Upon this promise was he delivered and put in the Earls hands, who departed with him to Elphinston, where the Cardinal was attending the success. It being told him that young Caulder and Brunston were with the Laird of Ormeston, he sent to apprehend them; but Brunston escaped to the wood: the other two were committed to the Castle of Edinburgh; and thither was Mr. George first carried, and afterwards brought back to the house of Hales (the Earls principal house in Lothian.) But the Queen-mother, at the Cardinals desire, being earnest for the Earl to have sent him again to the Castle of Edinburgh, albeit in regard of his promise he refused a long time, yet overcome in end by her intreaty he yielded. So was Mr. George of new taken to the Castle, and after a short stay there conveyed to S. Andrews, where he remained Prisoner unto the day of his suffering.

An. 1545. The Lairds of Caulder and Ormeston committed.

Withart carried to S. Andrews.

The Cardinal sends to the Governor for a Commission.

The Cardinal, not thinking it expedient to delay his Trial, wrote to the Prelates to meet at S. Andrews the 27 of February. The Archbishop of Glasgow, at his coming, gave advice to seek a Commission from the Governor to some man of quality, that might execute Justice, lest all the burthen should lie upon them; whereunto the Cardinal agreed, supposing the Governor would make no scruple in the matter: nor had he made any, if David Hamilton of Preston, knowing what was for it, had not seriously dissuaded him, advising him rather to use his power in the defence of Gods Servants, than to arm their adversaries with his Authority. For it is marvelled, said he, *that you should give such liberty to wicked and godless men thus to oppress poor Innocents, unto whose charge no crime is laid; only they are accused for preaching the Gospel of Christ, which your self not long since openly professed, and exhorted others to profess, promising by your Authority to maintain the same. The opinion which men had of your affection to the Truth was that which chiefly procured your advancement to the place you now hold in the Realm: and now consider what are mens thoughts and speeches of your proceedings, or rather what a fearful unthankfulness it is on your part to Almighty God, who hath bestowed upon you so many blessings. You are rid of your neighbors at home (who envied your honor) without blood and slaughter; you have lately reported victory of the foreign enemy that was stronger by much than your self; and now will you persecute Gods Servants for the pleasure of flagitious men, who neither can hide their wickedness, nor have care to dissemble it? Remember how suddenly the late King was taken away, when he followed these courses which now you run. They who by their perverse counsels wrought his undoing, are leading you on to the same destruction. At the first they were your open enemies, and resisted your promotion to the government with all their might: but now I know not how they have snared you by their malicious devices. Think upon King Saul, who was exalted by God from a mean estate to be King of Israel; so long as he obeyed the word of God, he prospered, but how soon he grew disobedient, he became miserable. Compare the success you have had in your affairs with his prosperity, and you will find it not unlike: and of this you may be assured, that except you take another course, your end shall be no better than his, perhaps worse. Wherefore be wise, and suffer not your self to be led any more by the counsels of wicked men, neither let poor innocents at their appetites be thus cruelly murdered.*

David Hamilton of Preston dissuadeth the Governor.

Buchan. l. 15.

The Governour, moved with these speeches, did answer the Cardinal, *'That he should do well not to precipitate the mans trial, but to delay it until his coming; for as to himself he would not consent to his death before the cause were well examined; and if the Cardinal should do otherwise, he would make protestation that the mans blood should be required at his hands.* This answer grieved the Cardinal not a little, for he knew that the delay would work the Prisoners escape, and to commit the cause to examination he saw it was more dangerous. Therefore in a great passion he replied, *'That he wrote not unto the Governor as though he depended in any matter upon his authority, but out of a desire he had that the Hereticks condemnation might proceed with a shew of publick consent, which since he could not obtain, he would be doing himself that which he held most fitting.*

The Governor desires the Cardinal to defer the Trial.

Thus he made a Citation to be given forth, and Mr. George to be charged to appear the next morrow, to answer for his Seditious and Heretical Doctrine. Mr. George receiving the Summons said, *The Cardinal hath no need to summon me, for I* am

A citation for his appearance.

An. 1545. *am in his hands, and kept fast in irons, so as he may compel me to answer at what time he pleaseth. But to manifest, saith he, what men you are, it is well done to keep your forms and constitutions.* The next day the Cardinal and Prelates being met in the Abbey-Church, the Prisoner was presented by the Captain of the Castle, and then the Sub-prior, called Master John Winname, a man of good learning, and one who secretly favored the Truth, went up into the Pulpit, as he had been enjoined. He took for his Theme the words of our Saviour in the 13 of *Matthews* Gospel, concerning the good seed, which he interpreted to be the Word of God; Hereise he said was the ill seed, and that he defined to be *A false opinion fighting directly against the Word, and defended with pertinacy.* Thereafter falling to speak of the causes of Hereise, he said the main cause was the ignorance and negligence of those that had the cure of Souls, and neither understood the word of God, nor could use the same to the convincing of false Teachers, and the reducing of those who were gone astray. In the later part of his Sermon, speaking of the way how Heresies should be discerned, he said, *That as the Goldsmith knoweth the fine gold from the counterfeits by the touchstone, so is Hereise discerned by the true, sincere and undefiled Word of God.* And in the end concluded, *that Hereticks ought to be punished, and might lawfully be put to death by the Magistrate.*

He is accused by Mr. John Lawder a Priest.

Buchan. l. 15.

His Answer.

Now albeit that was said made directly against themselves, who were then met, not to confute Hereise, but to bear down the Truth, and punish those that found fault with their pride and licentiousness; yet as all had been spoken for them they proceeded, and, after their wonted form, placed Mr. George in a seat erected for that purpose, and over against him, Master John Lawder, a Priest, in another; who having a Scroll of paper in his hand, containing the Articles laid unto Mr. George his charge, did use many bitter and reproachful words: all which he heard very patiently, not moving or changing once his countenance. Being required to answer, before he would utter a word, he bowed his knees, and made his prayer to God; then standing up, intreated them in most humble manner to suffer him repeat the sum of Doctrine which he had taught since his coming into Scotland; which, he said, was nothing but what the ten Commandments of God, the 12 Articles of Christian Faith, and the Lords Prayer contained. In Dundee he said that he had preached a part of the Epistle to the *Romans*. And as he was going on, to shew what form he kept in his preaching, he was interrupted by the accuser, who with many opprobrious speeches calling him an Heretick, a Runnegate, a Traitor and Thief, said that it was not lawful for him to preach, and that he had usurped the power at his own hand, without any lawful calling of the Church. The Prelates also prohibiting all discourses willed him to answer simply, yea, or nay; fearing, if liberty was given him to speak, he should draw some of the hearers to his mind.

Mr. George withstand his appellation.

Mr. George, perceiving that he could not have audience, appealed to an equal and indifferent Judge. Whereunto Lawder replied, that the Cardinal was a more than sufficient Judge for him: and then he reckoned on all his styles, saying, that he was Archbishop of *S. Andrews*, Bishop of *Meropois*, Chancellor of *Scotland*, Commandatory of *Aberbrothock*, *Legatus natus*, *Legatus a latere*, and the second person within the Realm. Mr. George calmly answered, *I do not condemn my Lord Cardinal, but I desire the word of God to be my Judge, and some of the Temporal estate, with certain of your Lordships here present, because I am my Lord Governors prisoner.* At which words some foolish people that stood by cried out, *such man, such Judge*; meaning that the Governor and others of the Temporal State were Hereticks like unto himself.

Sentence of death pronounced against him.

Then would the Cardinal have pronounced Sentence without any further process; but being advertised to let the Accusation be read, and hear what he would say, lest people should think him wrongfully condemned, he commanded the Priest to read the Points distinctly, and receive his Answer to every one of them severally. The Articles laid to his charge were eighteen in number, which, with the Answers he made, the Reader may at his leisure see in the Book of Martyrs. After they had spent some hours in this sort, Sentence was pronounced against him, and he condemned to be burnt as an Heretick. Then was he led back to the Castle,

Castle, and lodged in the Captains Chamber that night, the greatest part whereof he spent in prayer.

Early in the morning the Prelates sent two Friars to advertise him that he must die, and ask if he would confess himself: He answered, *That he had no business with Friars, nor would he willingly confer with them; but if they were disposed to gratify him in that sort, he desired to speak with the learned man that preached the day before.* This being permitted, the Sub-prior came, and talked with him a good space: At last he asked Mr. George if he would receive the Sacrament of the Lords Supper. He answered, *Most willingly, so I may have it ministered according to Christs institution, under both kinds of Bread and Wine.* Hereupon the Sub-prior went to the Bishops, and told that he had conferred with the prisoner, who did solemnly affirm that he was free of all the crimes, and that he did utter this not out of a desire he had of life, but to manifest his Innocency (which was known to God) before men. The Cardinal offended with these speeches of the Sub-prior, said, *It is a long time since we knew what a man thou art.* The Sub-prior answering nothing, asked if they would permit the Sacrament to be given to the prisoner. The Cardinal conferring with the rest of the Bishops a while, answered in all their names, *That it was not reasonable to give any Spiritual benefit to an obdurate Heretick condemned by the Church.*

When Master George heard that the Sacrament was denied him, being asked by the Captain of the Castle, going then to break fast, if he would take a part with him, he answered, *Very willingly, and so much the rather, because I perceive you to be a good Christian, and a man fearing God.* Then turning himself to the Captain, he said, *I beseech you in the name of God, and for the love you bear to our Saviour Jesus Christ, to be silent a little while, till I have made a short Exhortation, and blessed this Bread which we are to eat, so that I may bid you farewell.* The table being covered, and Bread according to the custom set upon it, he spake about the space of an half hour, of the institution of the Supper, and of our Saviours Death and Passion, exhorting those that were present to mutual love, and to the leading of an holy life, such as becometh the members of Christ. Then giving thanks, he brake the Bread, distributing to every one that was present a portion: likewise having tasted the Wine, he delivered the Cup unto them, exhorting them to remember with thankfulness the death of our Lord Jesus in this his Communion with them. *As to my self,* he said, *there is a more bitter potion prepared for me, only because I have preached the true Doctrine of Christ, which bringeth Salvation: but pray you the Lord with me that I may take it patiently, as out of his hand.* And so concluding with a new thanksgiving, he withdrew himself to his Chamber.

Within a little space two Executioners came up unto him, one of whom appalled him in a black Coat of Linen, the other fastened some bags of powder upon all the parts of his body; and thus arrayed he was brought to an utter room, where he was commanded to stay till all things were prepared. A Scaffold in the mean time erecting on the East part of the Castle towards the Abbey, with a great Tree in the midst in manner of a Gibbet, unto which the prisoner was to be tied: and right against it was all the munition of the Castle planted, if perhaps any should press by violence to take him away. The fore-Tower was hanged with Tapestry and rich Cushions laid for ease of the Cardinal and Prelates, who were to behold that spectacle. And when all things were made ready, he was led forth with his hands being tied behind his back, and a number of Souldiers guarding him to the place of Execution. As he was going forth of the Castle-gate, some poor creatures, who were lying there, did ask of him some alms for Gods sake: to whom he said, *I have not the use of any hands wherewith I should give you alms, but our merciful God, who out of his abundance feedeth all men, vouchsafe to give you the things which are necessary both for your bodies and for your Souls.* Afterwards two Friars met him, crying, *Master George, pray to our Lady, that she may be mediatrix for you to her Son.* To whom he said, *Cease, tempt me not, my brethren.*

Being come to the place of Execution, and gone up upon the Scaffold, he turned himself towards the people, and besought them not to offend with the good Word of God because of the Torments they saw prepared for him; desiring them withal to

An. 1545. Two Friars sent to confess him.

The Conference with the Sub-prior.

He communicated with the Captain of the Castle.

Buchan. l. 15.

Two Executioners lead him to the place of his suffering.

History of the Church.

his death, and the manner of it. 2. Martii 1545.

An. 1546.

to shew his brethren and sisters, who had often heard him, that the Doctrine he taught was no wives Fables, but the true Gospel of Christ given him by the grace of God, which he was sent to preach, and for which he was then with a most glad heart and mind to give his life. *Some have falsely spoken*, said he, *that I should hold the opinion that the Souls of men departed sleep, after their death until the last day; but I know and believe the contrary, and am assured that my Soul shall this night be with my Saviour in the heavens.* This said, he bowed his knees, and having conceived a short, but most pithy prayer, he was tied to the stake, and then cried aloud, *O Saviour of the world have mercy upon me; Father of Heaven, I commend my spirit into thine holy hands.* The Executioners having kindled the fire, the powder that was fastned to his body blew up. The Captain of the Castle, who stood near unto him, perceiving that he was yet alive, willed him to be of good courage, and commend his Soul unto God. *This flame* (said he) *hath scorched my body, yet hath it not daunted my spirit: but he who from yonder high place beholdeth us with such pride, shall within few days ly in the same as ignominiously, as now he is seen proudly to reft himself.* After which words one of the Tormentors drawing the Cord that went about his neck, stopt his breath, so as he spake no more. The fire increasing, his body was quickly consumed unto ashes.

His Prophecie of the Cardinals death.

Buchan. l. 15.

Prayers inhibited to be made for him after his death.

The Priests extol the Cardinal.

But the Cardinals malice not yet satisfied, caused the same night a Proclamation to be made through the City, that none should pray for the Heretick under pain of the heaviest Censures that could be inflicted. And then the Priests triumphing did in all meetings extol the Cardinal above the skies, saying, *That he not regarding the Governors Authority, had by himself caused justice to be executed upon that Heretick, and kist a most worthy Patron of the Ecclesiastical estate. If the Church, said they, in former times had found such a Protector, matters had not been reduced to the doubtful terms wherein now they stand; but long ere this time by her own power and authority she had been able to maintain her self.* Such insolent speeches they were heard to utter in every place. The Cardinal himself also seemed to be greatly pleased with that which he had done, presuming it should keep all his enemies in fear; yet it proved the very rock on which he and all his fortunes perished: for the common sort of people exclaimed mightily against his Cruelty, and some of good birth and quality did openly vow that the blood of Master *George Wishart* should be revenged, though they should give life for life; of which number, *John Lesley*, brother to the Earl of *Rothel*, forbore not in all companies openly to avouch, that his hand and dagger should be the Cardinals Priests.

He contracted his base Daughter to the heir of Craford.

An. 1546.

Buchan. l. 15.

Nor was he ignorant of the general hatred carried unto him, and thereupon began to fortify himself with some strong alliance, which he shortly after made, contracting one of his base daughters to the Earl of *Craford* his son and heir. The Nuptials were performed with an exceeding pomp and magnificence. But he did not long enjoy the content he took in his Match, for *Normand Lesley*, son to the Earl of *Rothel*, who had followed him a long time, and done him good services, having moved him in the behalf of some friends that were interested by the restitution of the Laids of *Cleish*, *Easter Weimes*, and certain others who had been forfeited in the late Kings time, was not answered as he expected; for which growing into a choler, and alledging the Cardinals promise in the business, he said, that he would not be deluded in that sort. The Cardinal, who had not been accustomed to such speeches, and thought he was not used with that respect which became, chafed mightily, so as after an unseemly altercation they parted in wrath.

A Conspiracy against the Cardinal.

This discord publicly rumored, divers that hated the Cardinal (some for the cause of Religion, and some for other private respects) did repair to *Normand*, and, working upon his passion, incensed him with their words, wondering how he could look for any good from him that was a man hated of God and all good people. And, as it falleth out in such conferences, whilst every man was recounting the injuries he had suffered in private, and talking of his violent courses, one amongst the rest said, that they should do God good service, and no small benefit to the Country, to make an end of that vicious and ungodly Tyrant, whom all good men did hate: and with such words inflaming one another, at last they agreed to cut him off.

The

The principal undertakers were *Normand Lesley*, *John Lesley* his Uncle, *William An. 1545. Kircaldy of Grange*, *Peter Carmichael of Fife*, and *James Melville*, one of the house of *Carnoby*. The plot was, to meet at *S. Andrews* in the most private manner they could, and surprise the Castle some morning before the servants were stirring. And that the enterprize should not fail, they gave hands to be in the City the 28 of May, promising in the mean time so to carry themselves as no suspicion might be taken of their purpose. Thus at the day appointed *Normand*, accompanied with five only, came to the City, and went to his accustomed lodging; *William Kircaldy* was there a day before; *John Lesley*, who did profess enmity to the Cardinal, entered not till night was fallen. Upon Saturday morning the 29 of May, rising about three of the clock, they met in the Abbey Church-yard, where they condescended that *William Kircaldy*, and six with him (for they did not exceed twelve in all) should attempt the opening of the Gate, and assure it for the rest. All things succeeded to their wishes: *Grange* at his first coming found the gate open, and entering with his company, entertained the Keeper with some speeches, asking if the Cardinal was stirring, and how soon he would rise. *Normand* came shortly after and some two with him: last of all came *John Lesley* with other two; whom as soon as the Keeper saw, suspecting some bad practice he made to the draw-bridge; but they laying hands upon him, took the keys, and assured the Gate.

Grange entered into the Castle.

Then appointing four of the company to watch the Chamber where the Cardinal lay, that no advertisement should go unto him, they went to the several Chambers in which the servants lay asleep, and calling them by their names, (for they were all known unto them) they put fifty of his ordinary servants, besides the workmen, Masons and Wrights, who were reckoned above a hundred, (for he was then fortifying the Castle) to the Gate, permitting none to stay within but the Earl of *Arran*, the Governors eldest Son, whom they thought best to detain upon all adventures. This was performed with so little noise, as the Cardinal did not hear till they knock'd at his Chamber. Then he asked who was there. *John Lesley* answered, My name is *Lesley*. Which *Lesley*, said the Cardinal, is that? *Normand*? It was answered, that he must open to those that were there. The answer gave him notice that they were no friends; therefore making the door fast, he refused to open. They calling to bring fire, whilst it was in fetching, he began to commune with them; and after some speeches, upon their promise to use no violence, he opened the door: but they rushing in with their Swords drawn did most inhumanely kill him, he not making any resistance.

The servants and workmen put to the gates.

The Cardinal killed.

The Tumult was great in the City, upon the rumour that the Castle was taken. The people armed, and such as favored the Cardinal made haste, intending to scale the walls; but when it was told them that he was dead whom they sought to help, their hearts cooled. The people still crying for a sight of the Cardinal, his corpse was brought to the very same place where he sat beholding Mr. *George Wisharts* Execution. Upon the sight whereof they dissolved: many then calling to mind the Martyr his last words, were thereby confirmed in the opinion they had of his Piety and Holiness.

A Tumult in the City. Buchan. l. 15.

Such was the end of this unfortunate man, who in his life was ambitious beyond measure, and in punishing of those he esteemed Hereticks more than inhumane. A barbarous part it was in him to sit and behold the Martyring of Master *George Wishart*, taking pleasure in that which no man could look on without pity. But the hatred he bare to the Truth, and the care he had to maintain his own greatness, was such and so excessive, as he did both forget himself, and the place he held in the Church, and now doth remain a tragical ensample in Story, to admonish every man to keep him within his bound, and hold that moderation which is fitting.

The Cardinal his Description.

The rumour of this fact being quickly dispersed through the Country, every man commended or condemned it as his passion led him. They who stood in awe of his power did highly commend the enterprize and praise the doers, and of that sort divers came to congratulate the fact, offering to take one part with them. Others, who were more wife and moderate, though they disliked not the fact, (as hoping to enjoy their possession with greater liberty) did yet abhor the form and manner

How the fact was interpreted in the Country.

An. 1545. manner, judging it to be foully done, especially on the part of *Normand*, at whose hands he did not look for any harm. And indeed few or none of those who had an hand in that work escaped an extraordinary judgment; God thereby declaring, that howsoever it pleased him in the execution of his Judgments to use sometimes the ministry and service of men, yet doth he not allow of their wicked disposition, and for most part faileth not to reward them with the same or the like that they do unto others.

A great stir in the Church by his occasion. But in the Church a fearful uproar was raised upon this accident, the Priests and Friars exclaiming every where against the Murther, as the most odious, which in any memory had been committed. The Bishops running upon the Governor (who was no less troubled with the fact than themselves) desired some course might be taken for the speedy punishment of the Murtherers: but he following the course of Law, directed summons for their appearing to underlie trial; which they contemned, and were therefore denounced Rebels. The Ecclesiastick Judges, to be nothing behind for their parts, did solemnly curse the actors, and all that should receive or minister unto them any necessities.

The Murtherers accursed. The Governors base Brother elected Bishop. 41. Mean while the Governor did nominate his base Brother for the place; who was elected by the Canons, and soon after confirmed by Pope *Paul* the Third. For he fearing the defection of the Realm from the obedience of the *Roman* See, as *England* had given the ensample, was glad to gratifie the Governour, and with the Bulls which were freely expd, wrote both to the Governor, and to the Bishop, that they should make their zeal appear in vindicating the injury done to the Ecclesiastick estate.

The Castle besieged, and supplied from England. Upon the receipt of these Letters it was resolved to besiege the Castle, which beginning about the end of *August*, continued until the month of *January*; howbeit to small effect: for the passage by Sea, being open, they were supplied with all necessities from *England* by King *Henry*, to whom they had obliged their faith by two several messages for defending the Castle, and maintaining the Contract with *England*: which the Governour fearing, he was induced to capitulate with the besieged, and yield unto the conditions following.

A Capitulation with the besieged. 1. That the Governor should procure unto them a sufficient Absolution from the Pope for the slaughter of the Cardinal; and till the same was returned, that they should retain the Castle, and not be pursued by force.

2. That they, their friends, servants and partakers, should simply be remitted by the Governor, and never be called in question for the said slaughter, but should enjoy all commodities spiritual and temporal which they possessed before the committing thereof.

3. That the besieged should give pledges for rendring the Castle how soon the Absolution was returned from *Rome*; and for surety of the pledges, but the Earl of *Arran*, eldest Son to the Governor should remain in their custody until the Absolution was returned, and they secured to their content.

The Governor sendeth to France for a supply. The conditions were to the besieged more advantageous than honourable to the Governor, but neither the one nor the other intended performance: for the Governor at the same time sent a messenger to *France*, with Letters from the Queen *Dowager* and from himself, intreating a supply of Ships and Gallies, to batter the House on that part which looked towards the Sea, and debar the keepers of farther provision. They, on the other side, were resolved not to forsake King *Henry's* protection, of whose assistance they were confident. The proceedings of the next Summer shall clear the intentions on either side; in the mean time let us hear how the affairs of Religion went the rest of this Winter.

Divers joyned with those within the Castle. Divers, as we touched before, upon the news of the Cardinals death, came and joyned with those that had killed him, especially Master *Henry Balnaves*, the Melvils of the house of *Raith*, and some Gentlemen of *Fife*, to the number of seven-score persons, who all entered into the Castle the day after the slaughter, and abode there during the time of the first siege. *John Rough*, he that had attended the Governors Chaplain in the beginning of his Regiment, came also thither, and became their Preacher.

After

An. 1545. After him came *John Knox*, but not till the siege was raised, and the appointment made whereof we have spoken. The adversaries of Religion, taking advantage of this, did cast in the teeth of both the Preachers and Professors the murther committed, as though they did all approve the same; and Bishop *Lesley* in his Chronicle speaking of *John Knox* saith, that He did think to attain to the top of Evangelical profession, by triumphing that way upon the slaughter of a Priest and Cardinal. I deny not but this his doing was scarce allowable, & that it had been a wiser part in him not to have gone towards them at all; yet since he did neither accompany them at the fact, nor come unto them till the conditions of Peace were granted, his guiltiness was not such as they make it to be: neither will I say that he was grieved at the Cardinal's death, but rather glad that such an enemy was taken out of the way; but that he did insult upon his death, or allow the manner of it, cannot be truly affirmed. As to that which is objected, forth of the Narration made of this accident in the Book intituled, *The History of the Church of Scotland*, where the Author seemeth indeed to commend the fact: though that History be ascribed to *John Knox*, it is sure that he did not pen the same, as I shall make clear in another place.

How soon the Governor was gone, *John Rough* did openly preach in the Parish Church, and was much haunted by the people; at which the Clergy offending, a great stir was raised. Dean *John Anand* oppugning his Doctrine both by word and writing, *John Knox* did take on him to maintain the same: and the matter being brought to a Dispute, after long reasoning upon the Authority of the *Roman* Church, *John Knox* did offer to prove, 'That the present Church of *Rome* was more degenerate from the Purity which it had in the days of the Apostles, than was the Church of the Jews from the Ordinances given by *Moses* when they consented to the death of our Saviour.

Such as were present at the reasoning having requested *John Knox* to make good what he had spoken, he took occasion the Sunday following to preach in the Parish Church, chusing for his Theme the 24 and 25 verses of the seventh Chapter of *Daniel*. In the Sermon, after he had spoken of 'the care that God had always of his Church, to forewarn her of the dangers that were to happen many years before the same fell out; and illustrated that point by the Predictions of *Israel's* Captivity, the prophecies of the Four Empires, namely the *Babylonian*, *Persian*, *Grecian*, and *Roman*, and foretelling of the Beast that should arise out of the destruction of the *Roman* Empire; he said that by that Beast the Church of *Rome* was to be understood, in regard all the marks assigned by *Daniel* did pertain to that Church, and to no other power which ever was in the world. Then falling to speak of Antichrist, he shewed that there was not any one Person meant by that title, but a Body and Multitude of people, having a wicked Head, that should not only be sinful himself, but the occasion also of sin to all that should be subject unto him. And that he was called Antichrist, because he was contrary to Christ in life and doctrine, and in laws. The contrariety of Life he made clear by decyphering the corrupt and beastly conversation both of the Popes themselves and of their Clergy. The contrariety of Doctrine he qualified by comparing the Doctrine of the Justification by Faith, taught in the Scriptures, with the Doctrine of Justification by Works, maintained by the Church of *Rome*. And the contrariety of Laws he proved by the observation of days, abstaining from meats, and forbidding of marriage, which Christ had made free. In end he came to speak of the Marks of the Beast. One he said was in the Text, where it was said, *He shall speak great words against the most High*; but what greater words said he can be uttered than to call the Pope the Vicar of Christ, the Successor of *Peter*, the Head of the universal Church, most Holy, most Blessed, one who cannot err, that may make right of wrong and wrong of right, that of nothing may make somewhat, that hath all Verity inclosed in the shrine of his breast, that hath power over all men, no man having power over him, and though he draw ten thousand millions of Souls with himself to Hell, that none may or ought to say that he doth wrong? which words he shewed were expressed in the common Law, and could not be denied. Another

An. 1545.

The Archbishop offended with the Sub-prior for permitting these Preachings. The two Preachers convened before the Sub-prior.

ther note more remarkable he adduced forth of *S. John* his Revelation, where it is said that *the Babylonian Whore shall make merchandise of the souls of men*; which never any did of what profession soever they were, the Pope and his followers excepted: for they (said he) take upon them to mitigate the pains of Souls in Purgatory, and to release them by saying of Masses, selling of Pardons, and Indulgences, which none besides them ever did: whereupon he inferred, that the Church of *Rome* was quite degenerate from her first Purity, and that very Beast foretold in the Scriptures, &c.

At this Sermon Mr. *John Major* the Sub-prior, a number of Canons and Friars of both Orders, with the whole University, were present; whom he appealed to answer his allegations, if they found any one of them not consonant to Truth. The Archbishop being advertised of this, wrote to the Sub-prior, saying, that he wondered how he could suffer such heretical and schismatical Doctrines to be taught, and not oppose himself thereto. Whereupon *John Rough* and *John Knox* were cited to answer unto certain Heads collected out of their Sermons, and set down as followeth.

1. That no mortal man can be the head of Christ's Church.
2. That the Pope is Antichrist, and so not a member of Christ's mystical Body.
3. That no man may make or devise a Religion that is acceptable to God, but that he is bound to observe and keep the Religion received from God, without chopping or changing the same.
4. That the Sacraments of the New Testament ought to be ministered as they were instituted by Christ *Jesus*, and practised by his Apostles, nor ought there any thing to be added unto them, nor diminished from them.
5. That the Mass is abominable idolatry, blasphemous to the death of *Jesus* Christ, and a profanation to the Lord's Supper.
6. That there is no Purgatory, in the which the Souls of men can either be pined or purged after this life, Heaven being appointed for the faithful, and Hell for the reprobate and unfaithful.
7. That Prayer for the dead is vain, and to the dead is idolatry.
8. That Bishops are no Bishops except they preach themselves without a Substitute.
9. That Tithes by God's Law do not appertain necessarily to Church-men.

John Knox his answer to the Sub-prior and Clergy.

This last Article I would not omit, because it is alledged by those that penned the Story. Whether it was a point of *John Rough's* preaching or not, I cannot say; but for *John Knox*, it is clear by his Sermons and writings still extant, that he held it a point of high Sacrilege to rob and spoil the Church of Tithes. It is true that many in these times, offending with the Extortion of Church-men, did hold that Tithes belonged not to the Church by any Divine right; and knowing that this Opinion would find easie passage among the people, as also serve to abridge the means and power of Church-men, they were the more ready to deliver such Doctrines: but this was done rather out of passion than judgment; for he that will not wilfully shut his eyes against the Truth, cannot but know that Tithes are the Lords, and the portion that he hath reserved for the maintenance of his worship and service. But to leave this.

John Knox his answer to the Sub-prior and Clergy.

The Sub-prior and others of the Clergy that convened with him having laid these Articles to their charge, *John Knox* answered, that for himself he was glad to declare his mind in those Points before so modest and judicious an Auditor; and turning to the Sub-prior, *It is a long time*, said he, *since I have heard that you are not ignorant of the Truth: therefore I do appeal your Conscience before the Supreme Judge, that if you think the Articles wherewith we are charged contrarious to the Truth of God, that you plainly open your self, and suffer not the people to be deceived; but if in your Conscience you know them to be true and sound, then I will crave your patrociny, that by your authority the people may be moved to embrace the Truth, whereof now many doubt because of your indifferency.* The Sub-prior answered, 'That he came not there to judge, but to confer of these Points, and would, if he pleased, reason a little of the Power of the Church, which in my opinion, said he, may very lawfully devise

An. 1547.

devise Rites and Ceremonies for decorating the Sacraments, and other parts of Divine service. *John Knox* replying, *That no man in the worship of God might appoint any Ceremony, giving it a signification to his pleasure*; One *Arbuthnot*, a gray Frier, reasoned so hotly in the contrary, that forgetting himself, he denied the Apostles to have received the Holy Ghost when they penned their Epistles. The Sub-prior checking the Frier, did after a little space dimitt the Preachers with a brotherly admonition, to take heed what Doctrine they delivered in publick.

When they were gone, such of the Clergy as were present entered in consultation what was fittest to be done for staying the defection of the people; and in end resolved, that every learned man of the Abbey and University should preach in the Parish-Churches on Sundays, the Sub-prior beginning, the Officials following, and the rest according to their seniority; eschewing all of them to speak of any controverted point which might breed question, and minister unto people occasion of talk. *John Knox*, who by this mean was excluded from the Pulpit on the Sunday, preached on the week-days sometimes, none daring to offer him any wrong, because of the fear they stood in of them within the Castle.

A consultation of the Clergy, how to stay the defection of the people.

But *John Rough*, being grieved with the wicked and licentious living of the Soldiers and others in the Castle, took his leave of them and departed into *England*: preaching some years in the Towns of *Carlisle*, *Berwick*, and *Newcastle*, he was afterwards provided to a Benefice by the Archbishop of *Tork*, not far from the Town of *Hull*, and resided upon it until the death of King *Edward* the Sixth. In the time of Queen *Mary's* Persecution he fled with the wife that he had married into *Friesland*, and won his living with the knitting of Caps, Hose, and such like wares; and in November 1557. coming to *London* for providing some necessities to maintain his trade, was apprehended by the Queens Vice-Chamberlain at the *Saracens* Head in *Islington*, where they who professed Religion used quietly to meet.

John Rough, forsaking those in the Castle, goeth into *England*.

Being brought before *Bonner* Bishop of *London*, and questioned if at any time since his last coming into *England* he had preached; he answered, *That he had not preached; but in some places where godly people were assembled, he did read the Prayers of the Communion-Book set forth in the Reign of King Edward the Sixth.* And being asked what his judgment was of the said Book, he confessed, *That he did approve the same, as agreeing in all points with the Word of God.* The Bishop used many persuasions to make him recant, and detained him some weeks in prison, to try what he would do: but finding him resolute and constant in his profession, he brought him forth to be judged. Where (one *Morgan* a Bishop of *S. Davids* assisting) he was charged, first, *That being a Priest, and in Orders, he had married a Wife*; next, *That he refused to use the Latine Service*; and thirdly, *That he would not go to the Mass.* To the first point he answered, *That Orders were not an impediment to Marriage, and that he had done lawfully in taking a Wife.* To the second and third he said, *If he were to live Methuselahs days, he would neither use the Latine Service, nor be present at Mass, which he counted abominable.* Upon these answers he was condemned, degraded, and put in the hands of the Secular Magistrate, who the next morning, being the 21 of November, caused him to be burnt in *Smithfield*. Thus ended that worthy Minister and Martyr of Christ, of whom I thought fit in this place to say so much, though his sufferings fell out some years after.

He is brought in question, and examined by *Bonner* Bishop of *London*.

He suffered Martyrdom, and is burnt in *Smithfield*.

The Summer following, about the beginning of *June*, the Absolution promised to those of the Castle returned from *Rome*; whereupon the Keepers were required to render the House, according to the Capitulation made. But they alledging the Absolution not to be sufficient, because of some words contained in the Bull, wherein it was said, *remittimus crimen irremissibile*, we remit a crime which cannot be remitted, refused to accept the same. It was answered that such a clause was insert only for aggravating the crime, and that the Absolution was in it self valid enough. But they would not be satisfied; and so complaining that promise was not kept with them, resolved to stand to their defence.

An. 1547. The Absolution returned from *Rome*, doth not satisfy them.

In the end of the same month there arrived twenty one Gallies sent from *France*, under the command of *Leon Strozius*, within sight of the Castle. The Governor was at that time in the borders, and upon advertisement of the Gallies

The Castle of *S. Andrews* again besieged at the coming of the French Gallies.

An. 1547.

arriving, came with such diligence, as divers who belonged to the Castle being in the City had no leisure to re-enter, and some who were gone thither for private business were forced to stay within. Shortly after his coming the siege was confirmed by Sea and Land, trenches cast, and the Cannons planted, some in the Abbey steeple, some in *S. Salvator's*, and some in the street that leads to the Castle.

The Castle besieged and battered by Land and Sea.

Then began the battery both by Sea and Land, but that of the Sea did no great harm. The siege continuing all the month of *July*, upon the twenty ninth day in the South-quarter (on which the Cannon had played furiously that morning) a great breach was made: this terrifying the defendants, who to that time shewed great courage, expecting relief from *England* (and indeed a naval Army was prepared to come, but King *Henry* dying about the same time it was stayed) beside the danger they apprehended of the breach, the Plague within the house was hot, and thereof every day a number died. So perceiving no help, and the sickness increasing, they came to a Capitulation, where it was agreed, that the lives of all within the Castle should be saved, the Principals transported unto *France*, and if they liked not to remain there, be conveyed upon the *French* Kings charges to what Country they pleased, *Scotland* excepted. Immediately the Castle was rendered to the *French* Captain, who sent his men to receive the prisoners, and make spoil of all that was in the House. They found of victuals great store, wherewith they furnished the Gallies. But the Cardinals treasure and household-stuff, which was very pretious, pleased them better. All this with the wealth the defendants had very pretious, pleased them better. All this with the wealth the defendants had (for they had brought all their substance thither) fell into the hands of the *French*. The fourth or fifth day after the Gallies put to Sea, and about the midst of *August* arrived safe at *Roan* in *Normandy*, where some of the prisoners were incarcerated; others detained all the winter in the Gallies, especially *John Knox*, Mr. *James Balfour*, with his Brothers *David* and *Gilbert*. The Castle, after the *French* were gone, was by act of Council demolished: which some said was done to satisfy the Popes Law, that ordains the places where Cardinals are slain to be ruined: but the true cause was, the fear the Governor had that *England* should take the House and fortifie it; as they did some others a short while after.

The Castle reduced upon capitulation.

The Castle demolished.

The Duke of Somerset invaded Scotland.

His Letter to the Governor and Nobility.

This revenge taken of the Cardinals death gave the Priests some satisfaction, who reckoned it a part of their happiness to be rid in this sort of *John Knox*, and others that they knew to be their enemies. But the Duke of *Somerset* entering with a strong Army into *Scotland*, in *September* next, put all in a new fear. The Governor sent Proclamations through the Country, charging all that could bear Arms to meet at *Edinburgh* for the defence of the Realm. Many of all sorts assembled, and with greater diligence than was expected, which made the Duke of *Somerset*, who was a Nobleman well inclined, and hated the shedding of blood, to write unto the Governour and Nobility, intreating them to consider, 'That both the Armies consisted of Christian men, who above all things (if they were not forgetful of their profession) ought to wish peace and quietness, and have in detestation war and unjust force; as likewise to remember that the cause of the present Invasion did not proceed from covetousness or malice, but from the desire of a perpetual Peace, which could not be so firmly made up by any mean as by Marriage, which they knew was promised, and by the publick consent of the whole Estates ratified, upon conditions more beneficial to the *Scots* than to the *English*; inasmuch that they were called not unto a servitude, but unto a common fellowship, and a liberal communication of all their fortunes, which could not but be more commodious to the *Scots* than to the *English*; the hope of advantage and the fear of injuries being always greater than the party that is more strong, to that which is the weaker. And for the business in hand, he desired them to consider this especially, that seeing there was a necessity of giving their Queen in marriage to some man, if they did either respect their profit or honor, they could not make a better choice than of a King their neighbor, born in the same Isle, joyned in propinquity of blood, instructed in the same Laws, educated in the same manners and language, superior in riches and in all external commodities and ornaments, and such a one as would bring with him a perpetual

petual peace, together with the oblivion of ancient grudges and hatreds. For should they take a stranger to be their King, differing from themselves in language, manners and laws, great evils and discommodities could not but arise; as they might know by that which had fallen out in the like case to other nations, by whose ensample he wished they should be made wise. As for the part of *England*, he said, if they did find the minds of the *Scots* not estranged from Peace, they would remit somewhat of their right, and be contented that the young Queen should be kept amongst themselves until she were fit for Marriage, and might chuse a Husband to her self by advice of the Nobility; during which time all hostility should cease betwixt the two Kingdoms; it being provided that the Queen should not be sent to any foreign Country, nor contracted in marriage with the *French* King, nor any other Prince: which if the *Scots* would faithfully promise, he would presently return with his Army, and recompence all injuries done since his coming into *Scotland*, at the sight and estimation of honest men.

This Letter the Governor communicated to his brother, and to a few others on whose counsel he depended, such as *George Dury* Abbot of *Dunfermlin*, Mr. *Archibald Beaton*, and Mr. *Hugh Rig* a Lawyer, who gave him advice to suppress the Letter: for they feared, if the offers were published, the greater part of the Nobility would embrace the same: and instead thereof they made a rumour to be dispersed through the Army, that the *English* were come to take away the Queen by force, and bring the Kingdom into subjection. The Nobles and whole Army believing this to be the effect of the Letter, became mightily incensed. Nor did any kith so foolish as the Priests and Clergy-men, who, dreaming of nothing but Victory, cried out, that the *English* Hereticks had no spirits, and durst not come to Battel. But they found themselves deceived; for upon Saturday, the tenth of *September*, 1547. the Armies joyning, the *Scots* were put to the worse, and many thousands slain, few in the fight (which lasted not long) but exceeding many in the chase. The *English* pursuing the Victory came forwards to *Leith*, where they remained eight days, dividing the spoil and prisoners; and in that time surprised the Isles of *Inchkeith* and *Inchcolm* in the river of *Forth*, with *Broughtie* Castle in the mouth of *Tay*, which places they strongly fortified. In their return homewards they took the Castle of *Home*, with the house of *Fascastle*, and placed Garrisons in the Towns of *Haddington*, *Lawder* and *Roxborough*. The Governor, the Bishop his brother, and such of the Nobles as escaped in the flight, went to *Striveeling*, and there taking counsel what should be done with the young Queen, concluded to send her to the Castle of *Dunbritton*, under the custody of the Lords *Areskin* and *Levingston*, and to advertise the King of *France* how matters went, intreating of him a supply both of men and money.

Hereupon the next Summer arrived at *Leith* three thousand *Germans* under the charge of Count *Rhingrave*, with as many *French* commanded by *Monsieur de Andelot*, *Monsieur de Mallery*, and *Monsieur d'Osse*, *Monsieur d'Esse* being General of the whole. This supply did to hearten the Governor, as gathering together an Army he beleaguered the Town of *Haddington*, which the *English* had at that time made very strong. The Nobility being there convened entered of new into a consultation touching the young Queen, and the course that should be taken with her. The *French* General desired she should be sent into *France*, and espoused to the *Daulphin*; which the Queen her Mother longed to have done. The Noblemen were not of one mind: for such as favoured the Reformation were of opinion that the conditions offered by *England* (which were then come to light) should be embraced, because that would bring with it ten years of Peace at least; in which time if either King *Edward* of *England* or the young Queen should depart this life, all things would return to their first estate; and if no such things happened, yet the Kingdom being at rest, and freed of the present Troubles, would grow to some better ease within it self, and they might more maturely advise what course was fittest to be taken. 'Delay, they said, in matters of such consequence was safest, and that precipitation might bring with it a suddain, but untimely, repentance. The rest stood all for the *French*, most of them being corrupted with gold, and others with

An. 1548.

The Duke of Somerset's letters suppressed.

The Battel of Pinkie.

The young Queen conveyed to Dunbritton.

An. 1548. The siege of Haddington.

A counsel taken for sending the young Queen to France.

An. 1550. large promises. The Governor himself had an annuity promised of twelve thousand franks, and a company of men at Arms to the Earl of Arran his son. All these pretending the safety of the young Queen, did reason that there was no other way to be rid of the English Wars but that one: For as long as the English have any hope, said he, to speed, they will still be troubling; but when they shall see the Queen gone, and that there is no remedy, they will cease from their pursuit. The greatest number inclining that way, it was concluded that the young Queen should be conveyed to France. Shortly after the French Navy that lay at Leith, giving out that they were to return home, compassing the North Isles, received her at Dunbritton, and after much tossing at Sea did safely land her in France.

An. 1550. The Wars with England in the mean time went on, and continued full two years, till by the Treaty of Bulloign, in the year 1550, a Peace was made, the Lord Chastillon being Commissioner for the French, the Earl of Bedford for the English, and David Parter Bishop of Ross for the Scots. At that time were Normand Lesley, M. Henry Balnaves, John Knox and others, who had been kept partly in prison and partly in the Gallies since the taking of S. Andrews Castle, put to liberty. Mr. James Balfour had freed himself long before by abjuring his Profession, and was become Official to the Bishop of S. Andrews; James Melvil died in the Tower of Brest in Britain; William Kircaldie, Peter Carmichael, with Robert and William Lesleys, who were imprisoned in Mont S. Michael, found means to escape before the Treaty, and went into England. Normand after he was freed returned into Scotland, but fearing the Governour he went into Denmark; where not finding that kind reception he expected, he betook himself to England, and had an honourable pension allowed him, which was thankfully answered during the life of King Edward the Sixth. Queen Mary succeeding, he found not the like favour, and thereupon went to France, where he had a company of men of Arms given him, with which he served the French King in his wars against the Emperor Charles the Fifth, and in pursuing the enemy whom he had in chafe was wounded with the shot of a Pistol, whereof he died the day after at Montruel. He was a man of noble qualities, and full of courage, but falling unfortunately in the slaughter of the Cardinal, which he is said at his dying to have sore repented, he lost himself and the expectation which was generally held of his worth.

The Country, notwithstanding the Peace made with England, was not in much better case; for the Governour, who was altogether ruled by the Bishop his brother, going through the Country with Justice Courts (as they call them) vexed the people mightily: and whereas during the War men enjoyed the liberty of their profession, a new Persecution was raised, which took the beginning at one Adam Wallace, a simple man, but very zealous in his Religion. He was taken at Winton in Lothian by the Bishops direction, and brought to his trial in the Church of Black Friars in Edinburgh; where, in presence of the Governour, the Earl of Argyle, great Justice of the Realm, the Earls of Angus, Huntley, Glaincarne, and divers others of the Nobility, he was accused, first, of *Usurping the office of a Preacher, having no lawful calling thereto*; next, of *Baptizing one of his own children*; thirdly, for *denying Purgatory*; fourthly, for *maintaining that Prayers made to the Saints and for the dead were merely superstitious*; and fifthly, for *calling the Mass an idolatrous service, and affirming that the Bread and Wine in the Sacrament of the Altar, after the words of Consecration, remained Bread and Wine*.

His Answer. To the first he answered, *That he never judged himself worthy of so excellent a vocation as is the calling of a Preacher, nor did he ever presume to preach; only he confessed, that in some private places he did read a part of the Scripture at times, & make a short exhortation thereupon to those that would hear him*. It being replied that he ought not to have meddled with the Scriptures; he said, *That he esteemed it the duty of every Christian to seek the knowledge of Gods Word, and the assurance of his own Salvation, which was not to be found but in the Scriptures*. One that stood by saying, *What then shall be left to the Bishops and Churchmen to do, if every man should be a babbler upon the Bible?* he answered, *It becomes you to speak more reverently of God and of his blessed Words; and if the Judge did right, he would punish you for your Blasphemy*. But to your

History of the Church.

The Country vexed with Justice Courts.

Adam Wallace accused of Heresie.

An. 1550. your question, I say, that albeit you and I and five thousand more would read the Bible, and confer together upon it, yet we leave more to the Bishops to do than either they will do or can; for we leave to them the preaching of the Gospel of Christ, and the seeding of the flock which he hath redeemed by his own blood, which is a burthen heavy enough; neither do we them any wrong in working out our own Salvation so far as we may.

To the second he answered, *That it was as lawful for him to baptize his own child, since he could not have a true Minister, as it was to Abraham to circumcise Imael and his family*.

To the third and fourth heads more generally he said, *That he never believed nor maintained any thing but that he found in the book hanging at his girdle; which was the Bible in French, Dutch and English*. And being urged to be more particular, he answered, *That if he were disposed to speak of these matters, he would require a more upright and indifferent Judge*. The Earl of Huntley upon that saying he was a fool to desire another Judge than the Governour and the Bishops there present; he replied, *That the Bishops could not be his Judges, because they were open enemies to the Doctrine he professed*. And for the Governour, he doubted if he had the knowledge to discern lies from truth, and the inventions of men from the true worship of God. The Judge that he desired, he said, was the Book of God, by which if he should be convinced to have taught, spoken, or done in matters of Religion any thing that was repugnant to the will of God, he would not refuse to die; but if he tried innocent, and was found not to have spoken or done any thing contrary thereto, then he desired the protection of the Governour and Nobility against the Tyranny of malicious men.

Being enquired what he did think of the Mass, he said, *That he had read the Bible in three languages, and had never found the word Mass in them all; and that the thing which was in greatest estimation with men was nothing but abomination in the sight of God*. Then did all the Company cry out *Heresie, Heresie, let him be condemned*. So the poor man was sentenced to be an Heretick, and put in the hands of Sir John Campbel of Lundie, Justice-deputy, who having adjudged him to die, sent him back to prison, because the night was coming on. All that night he spent in singing of Psalms, which he had learned by heart, and the next day was led forth to the fire, which was prepared on the Castle-hill, being inhibited to speak unto the people; yet when he came to the place of execution he intreated the beholders, *Not to offend with the Truth because of his sufferings*, saying, *The disciple is not above his Master*: and as he was proceeding, the Provost of the Town, who had the oversight of the Execution, did interrupt him, saying, that he would not be permitted to speak to the people; whereupon having in some few words commended his Soul to God, he took his death most patiently.

The same year there arose a great contention amongst the Church-men for saying the *Pater Noster*, upon this occasion. One Richard Marshal, Prior of the Black Friars at Newcastle in England, had been in S. Andrews, and in one of his Sermons taught, that the *Pater Noster should be said unto God only, and not unto the Saints*. Some Doctors of the University taking exception against his Doctrine, stirred up a Gray Frier called Frier Tottis to confute him, and prove that the *Pater Noster* might be said unto the saints. The Frier, an audacious and ignorant fellow, took the matter in hand, and reading this Text out of the 5. of S. Matthews Gospel, *Blessed are the poor in spirit, for unto them belongeth the kingdom of Heaven*, gathered upon it, *That the Pater noster might be said to Saints, because all the Petitions in the Prayer, said he, appertain to the Saints*. For if we meet an old man in the street, we will say, *Good morrow, Father*; which more in our prayers may we call the Saints our Fathers. And seeing we grant they are in Heaven, we may say to every one of them, *Our Father, which art in Heaven*. Then we know, said he, God hath made their names holy: so we may say to any of the Saints, *Hallowed be thy name*. And as they are in the Kingdom of Heaven, so that Kingdom is theirs by possession; therefore when we pray for the Kingdom of Heaven, we may say to any of them, *Thy kingdom come*. In like manner, except their will had been the will of God, they had never come to that Kingdom; therefore seeing their will is Gods will, we may say to every one of them, *Thy will be done*. But when he came

A contention among Church men for saying of Pater noster.

The foolish preaching of a Frier in S. Andrews upon this subject.

to

An. 1553. to the fourth Petition, he was much troubled to find a colour for it, confessing 'it was not in the Saints power to give us daily bread; yet they may pray, said he, to God for us, that he will give us our daily bread. The like gloss he made upon the rest of the Petitions, but with so little satisfaction of the hearers, as they all fell a laughing, and the children meeting him in the streets did cry and call him *Frier Pater noster*; whereof he grew so alhamed, that he left the City.

Acts of Marys, p. 1274.

Yet in the University the contention ceased not; whereupon the Doctors did assemble to dispute, and decide the question. In that meeting some held that the *Pater noster* was said to God *Formaliter*, and to Saints *Materialiter*; others, not liking the distinction, said that the *Pater Noster* ought to be said to God *Principaliter*, and to Saints *minus Principaliter*; others would have it *Ultimate & non Ultimate*; others *Primario, & Secundario*; and some (wherewith the most voices went) said that the *Pater Noster* should be said to God, *capiendo strictè*, and to Saints, *capiendo Largè*. Yet did they not settle upon the distinction; and after divers meetings, when they could not agree, by common consent the decision was remitted to the Provincial Synod, which was to meet at *Edinburgh* in *January* following. A simple fellow that served the Sub-prior in his chamber for the time, thinking there was some great matter in hand that made the Doctors to convene so often, asked him one night as he went to bed, what the matter was. The Sub-prior merrily answering, *Tom* (that was the fellows name) *we cannot agree whom to the Pater noster should be said*. He suddenly replied, *Sir, whom to should it be said but unto God?* Then said the Sub-Prior, *What shall we do with the Saints?* He answered, *Give them Aves and Creeds enow in the Devils name, for that may suffice them*. This answer going abroad, many said, *He hath given a wiser decision than all the Doctors had done with their distinctions*.

A pleasant discourse and jest of the Sub-priors servant.

The Decision of the provincial Synod.

The Catechism called *The two-penny Faith*.

A Provincial Synod kept at *Linlithgow*.

An. 1553. King Edward the Sixth of England dieth.

Queen-Regent admitted to rule by dimission of the Governor.

When the Synod convened, the question was again agitated, and after much reasoning, the same being put to voices, it was found that the *Pater noster* might be said unto the Saints. But the Bishops and such as had any judgment would not suffer the conclusion to be enacted, ordaining the Sub-prior at his return to *S. Andrews*, for settling the minds of people, to shew that the *Pater noster* ought to be said to God, yet so that the Saints ought also to be invocated. And thus ended that contention. In this meeting order was taken for publishing an *English* Catechism, containing a short explanation of the Commandments, Belief and Lords Prayer; and the Curates enjoyed to read a part thereof every Sunday and Holy-day to the people, when there was no Sermon. This being imprinted, was sold for two pence, and therefore called by the vulgar, *The two-penny Faith*.

The year following another Provincial Council was kept at *Linlithgow*, in which the maintainers of any Opinions contrary to the Church of *Rome* were accused, and the Decrees of the Council of *Trent* made in the time of Pope *Paul* the Third received. Some Acts were made for reforming corrupt lives of the Clergy, but little or no execution followed; they to whom the correction belonged being themselves in the highest measure faulty and culpable.

But the next year brought with it an alteration in both Kingdoms, to the Clergies great content: For in *England* King *Edward* the Sixth departed this life, a Prince of rare Piety, and the special comfort of those who professed the Reformed Religion; in whose place Queen *Mary* succeeded, one wholly devoted to the Pope and his faction: And at home the Governor was induced by *Robert Carnegie* (on whom he relied much) and by *Panter* Bishop of *Ross* to dimit the Regency to the Queen-mother, of whom the Clergy held themselves more assured. She following the directions of her brother, the Duke of *Guise*, and the Cardinal of *Lorain*, set her self to maintain Popish Superstition at the uttermost, using less cruelty than did Queen *Mary*, but more policy, and to the same end. So as now the fear of change in Religion was gone, and the hopes quite dashed of those that sought Reformation: yet the Lord by his Providence did otherwise dispose things, and made that a mean to advance Religion amongst us which men thought should be utterly extinguished; for some of those that fled from Queen *Marys* Persecution taking their refuge unto this Kingdom, did not only help to keep in the Light which was begun

to

to shine, but made the Sun break up more clear than before.

William Harlow, a man of simple and mean condition, came first into the Country. He had served some years in the *English* Church with good approbation, and was at this time very comfortable to the faithful.

An. 1554. *William Harlow* a Minister.

After him came *John Willock* a *Franciscan* sometime in the Town of *Aire*, who for love of Religion had left the Country, and lived in *England*. When the Persecution arose there, he fled into *Embsen* in *Friesland*, where he professed Medicine, and by that occasion was made known to *Anna* Countess of *Friesland*, then a widow, who employed him in a Commission to the Queen-Regent in the year 1554. His Commission giving him some liberty, he kept most company with those he saw well-affected in religion; and during the time of his abroad was a great encourager of the Professors. Returning the next year with commendatory Letters from the same Countess to the Queen-Regent, he made his stay in *Edinburgh*, where, notwithstanding he was visited with an heavy sickness for divers months, he ceased not daily to instruct and exhort such as came unto him, who were neither few, nor of mean fort.

John Willock a Convert.

An. 1554.

In the end of the year *John Knox* came into *Scotland*, to whom many of good note repaired; for he taught daily in the house of one *James Sim* at *Edinburgh*, where he was secretly kept. In his teaching he labored chiefly to inform his hearers, that in no case it was lawful to be present at the Mass, or to partake of the Papistical Sacraments. *William Maitland* younger of *Lethington*, a man of good learning and utterance resorting often to his Sermons, and perceiving his vehemency in that Point, took occasion one day in the presence of his Auditors to say, 'That he did not think his Doctrine well-grounded, and that wise men ought to serve the time and not expose their lives to unnecessary dangers, and so make themselves unprofitable to the Church. For even the Apostle *S. Paul*, said he, to eschew the tumult of the people at *Jerusalem*, went into the Temple, and purified himself with four men that had a vow upon them, which otherwise than for eschewing the present danger he would not have done. To this *John Knox* answered, *That men ought so to serve the time, as they neglect not their obedience unto God, whose Commandment, how great soever the danger be, may not be transgressed. For the ensample alledged*, he said, *the dissimilitude was great, seeing to go into the Temple to purifie and pay vows was sometimes commanded by God himself, whereas the Mass from the first invention of it was abominable Idolatry, and never allowed of God*. Farther he said, *that it might justly be doubted if either S. Pauls fact, or the advice that S. James and the Elders of Jerusalem gave him, had any good warrant, seeing the event proved not such as they did promise to themselves; for S. Paul was so far from purchasing thereby the favour of the Jews, as to the contrary they rising in a tumult threw him forth of the Temple, and had almost killed him; so as it seemed God did not allow his doing, for that it served to confirm the obstinate Jews in their superstition*. By these and the like answers to the rest of the allegations propounded, the hearers were so satisfied, as they resolved to go no more to Mass, but to make an open separation, whose ensample divers others both of the Town and Country followed.

John Knox returned into *Scotland*.

John Knox his conference with young *Lethington*, touching the presence at the Mass.

This being observed by the Priests and others of the inferior Clergy, they complained to the Bishops, and shewed how the Church-service was contemned, and people drawn away to private Conventicles. The Bishops meaning the safe to the Queen-Regent, she was much commoved; yet advised them to use their own authority, and spare her for a little time, lest the Articles of the Marriage which was then treating betwixt her daughter and the *Daulphin* of *France* might receive some cross at the Convention of the Estates. Hereupon they took counsel to call *John Knox*, and summoned him to appear in the Church of Black Friars at *Edinburgh* the fifteenth of *May*. But when the day came, they took a new device, and deserted the Diet, pretending some informality in the Summons; howbeit the true cause was, that a number of Barons and Gentlemen were come to the Town to assist him. After that time his Preaching grew publick, and was more frequented than before. The Earls of *Glencarn* and *Marshall* repaired daily thereto, and were so taken with his Sermons, as they did counsel him to write unto the Queen-Regent, and

The Priests offended at the dissent of the Mass.

John Knox cited, and the Diet deserted.

An. 1556. and intreat her to make a Reformation of the Church; which he did. The Letter was delivered by the Earl of *Glencarne*; but she calling it a Pasquil, gave the same to the Archbishop of *Glasgow*, and made no more account thereof. This is that Letter which was afterwards published in Print, and intituled, *A Letter to Queen Dowager*.

He goeth to Geneva.

Letters about the same time were brought to *John Knox* from the English Church at *Geneva*, declaring that they had elected him to be their Preacher, and requesting him to come and accept the Charge. This Letter he communicated with those that were his ordinary auditors; and when he saw them exceedingly grieved for his departing, gave his promise to return, how soon they should find it fit to recall him.

He is condemned as an Heretic, and burnt in effigy.

Soon after he took leave of them and went to his journey; but was not well gone, when upon a new Citation directed by the Clergy (because he appeared not) he was condemned for an Heretic, and burnt in effigy at the Mercat-cross of *Edinburgh*. This was done in the month of *July*, 1556. The copy of the Sentence being sent unto him, he published an Apology, intituling it *An Appellation from the Clergy to the Nobility and Commons of Scotland*.

An. 1556. Divers prodigious signs.

This year many prodigious signs were observed: A Comet of that kind which the Astronomers call *cometa*, the vulgars a fire Bissome, shined the whole months of *November*, *December*, and *January*; great Rivers in the midst of Winter dried up, and in the Summer swelled so high as divers Villages were therewith drowned, and numbers of Cattel feeding in the valley-grounds carried to the Sea; Whales and stones of the bigness of a Doves egg falling in many parts destroyed abundance of Cornes; and, which was most terrible, a fire Dragon was seen to flie low upon the earth, vomiting forth fire both in the day and night season, which lasted a long time, and put the people to a necessity of watching their houses and cornyards. These direful signes (as every man is led by his fancy to presage) were taken by some to be prognosticks of great Troubles that should ensue upon the Match with *France*; others said that thereby was signified some great change in the estate of the Church.

The esteem of the Clergy decayeth.

Mr. John Dowglas a Carmelite forsaketh his Order.

And indeed after this the estimation of the Clergy daily diminished, and divers of that number relinquishing their Order, made open profession of the Truth. Mr. *John Dowglas*, a Carmelite Frier, forsaking his Order, became a Chaplain to the Earl of *Argile*, who resided then at Court, and spoke openly in his Sermons against Popish Superstitions. In *Dundee*, *Paul Methuen* did publickly exhort the people to renounce the Doctrine of *Rome*, and submit themselves to the Doctrine of Christ. And in all the parts of the Country some were daily breaking forth, especially from the Cloisters, and declaiming against the Corruptions of the Church. The Bishops perceiving it would be to no purpose to convene the Preachers before themselves for Heresie, moved the Queen-Regent to call them before the Council for raising Mutinies, and stirring up people to Sedition, hoping that way at least to restrain their publick teaching: but at the day appointed for their appearance, such numbers of people did accompany them, as it was held safest not to call them till the multitude was dispersed; and for that effect a Proclamation was given out, charging all persons that were come to the Town without licence of the Authority to repair immediately to the Borders, and attend the Lieutenant in the service against *England* for the space of 15 days.

The Preachers cited before the Council.

A Proclamation for the Borders.

The Gentlemen of the West complain of their oppression.

The Gentlemen of the West-country, who were but lately returned from the same service, esteeming this a sort of oppression, went in a tumult to the Palace, and entering the Queens Privy-chamber, complained of the unreasonable Proclamation that was sent forth. The Queen began to excuse the matter, and shew the necessity of their attendance for some short time; but they would not be satisfied. And one *James Chalmers* of *Gaitgirth*, a froward and furious man, stepping forward, said, *We know, Madam, that this is the device of the Bishops who stand by you; we avow to God it shall not go so: they oppress us & our poor tenants for feeding their idle bellies, they trouble our Preachers, and seek to undo them and us all; we will not suffer it any longer.*

longer. And with those words every man made to his weapon. The Queen being extremely feared gave him many good words, praying them to use no violence, and saying that she meant no ill to their Preachers; that she would hear the controversie betwixt the Bishops and them; and that the present Diet with the Proclamation given out should be discharged. So the force ceased, and all was quiet for that time.

Not long after there arrived a messenger from the French King with Letters to the Nobility, desiring that the Marriage should be consummated betwixt the young Queen and the Dauphin his Son, and that certain Commissioners should be sent to assist the solemnity. A Convention of Estates being called to this purpose in *December* following, choice was made of eight persons to go in that journey. For the Spiritual Estate were named *James Beaton* Archbishop of *Glasgow*, and *James Stewart* Prior of *St. Andrews*, base Brother to the young Queen; For the Nobility, *Gilbert Kennedy* Earl of *Cassils*, *George Lesly* Earl of *Rothies*, and *James Lord Fleming*; for the Burrows, *George Lord Seaton* Provost of *Edinburgh*, and *John Areskin* of *Dun* Provost of *Montrose*.

Commissioners chosen for the young Queens marriage with the Dauphin.

The great Disasters that happened both in their going and returning brought many to think the Marriage would not prove happy and prosperous. For having shipped to *Leith* in the month of *February*, they were dispersed by a mighty tempest, and one of their Vessels that carried their horses cast away at *S. Ebbes* head, before they left the Scottish shore; another, wherein the Earl of *Rothies* and Bishop of *Orkney* sailed, with all the furniture for the Marriage, (which was very rich and costly) perished upon the coast of *France*, nigh unto *Bulloign*, the Earl and Bishop hardly escaping by the ship-boat, which carried them to land. Neither had they any better fortune in their return homewards; for at *Diep* divers of the chief persons fell sick and died. The Bishop of *Orkney*, a man of singular wisdom and experience, (who in his time had performed many honourable Ambassages to the credit and benefit of his Country) ended there his life the 14 of *September*, 1558. The Earl of *Rothies* died two days after him, and the Earl of *Cassils*, The Treasurer of the Realm, a vertuous Nobleman, went the same way. The Lord *Fleming*, a brave young Nobleman, returned to *Paris*, suspecting some contagion, and deceased in *December* following. These deaths falling out so suddenly together, bred a suspicion in many that they were made away by poison, which was the rather believed, because the French King was known to be displeased for their refuse of the matrimonial Crown to his Son. However it was, the apprehension taken therefore begat a great hatred of the French among the people of this Realm.

An. 1558.

The History of Walter Mill Martyr.

In the month of *April*, *Walter Mill*, an old decrepit Priest, having ceased from saying of Mass, became suspected, and was upon the same apprehended in *Dysert* by Sir *Gorge Strachen* and Sir *Hugh Torry*, two of the Archbishops of *S. Andrews* Priests: He was kept in the Castle, and earnestly laboured to recant and acknowledge his Errors; but continuing firm and constant in his Opinions, his trial at last made, he was accused in presence of the Bishops of *S. Andrews*, *Murray*, *Briehen*, *Cathnes*, and *Athens*; the Abbots of *Dunfermlin*, *Lundors*, *Balmerineth* and *Couper*; Dean *John Winrame*, Sub-prior, *John Grison*, a black Frier, Mr. *William Cranston*, Provost of the old College, and divers other Doctors of the University. When he came into the Church, and was led to the place where they had appointed him to stand, he looked so feeble, partly by age and travel, partly by ill entertainment, as it was feared none should hear what he answered. Yet how soon he began to speak, he delivered his mind with such quietness and courage as amazed his very enemies.

Sir *Andrew Oliphant*, one of the Archbishop's Priests commanding him to arise (for he was upon his knees) and answer to the Articles, said, *Sir Walter Mill, get up and answer, for you keep my Lord here too long.* He notwithstanding continued his devotion, and that done he arose, and said, *he ought to obey God more than men; I serve a mightier Lord than your Lord is. And where you call me Sir Walter, they call me Walter, and not Sir Walter: I have been too long one of the Pope's Knights. Now say what you have to say.*

His Examination.

Oliphant

An. 1558.

Oliphant then began with this question, *What thinkest thou of Priests Marriage?* He answered, *I esteem it a blessed bond, ordained by God, approved by Christ, and made free to all sorts of men; but you abhor it, and in the mean time take other mens wives and daughters; you vow Chastity, and keep it not.*

Oliphant proceeding said, *Thou sayest that there is not seven Sacraments.* He answered, *Give me the Lord's Supper and Baptism, and take you the rest and part them amongst you.*

Oliph. *Thou sayest that the Mass is Idolatry.* He answered, *A Lord sendeth and calleth many to his Dinner, and when it is ready, ringeth the Bell, and they come into the Hall, but he turning his back upon the guests catcheth all himself, giving them no part; and so do you.*

Oliph. *Thou deniest the Sacrament of the Altar to be the Body of Christ really in flesh and blood.* He answered, *The Scripture is not to be taken carnally, but spiritually; and your Mass is wrong: for Christ was once offered on the Cross for mans sin, and will never be again, for then he put end to all sacrifices.*

Oliph. *Thou deniest the office of the Bishop.* He answered, *I affirm they whom you call Bishops do not Bishops works, nor use the Offices of Bishops, but live after their own sensual pleasures, taking no care for the Flock, nor yet regarding the word of God.*

Oliph. *Thou speakest against Pilgrimage, and callest it a Pilgrimage to Whoredom.* He answered, *I say that Pilgrimage is not commanded in the Scripture, and that there is no greater Whoredom in any place than at your Pilgrimages, except it be in the common Brothels.*

Oliph. *Thou preacheest privately in houses, and sometimes in the fields.* He answered, *Yea man, and upon the Sea too, when I am sailing.*

Oliph. *If thou wilt not recant thy Opinions, I will pronounce Sentence against thee.* He answered, *I know I must die once, therefore, as Christ said to Judas, Quod facis fac cito; you shall know that I will not recant the Truth, for I am corn, and no chaff; I will neither be blown away with the wind, nor burst with the flail, but will abide both.*

These answers he gave with great boldness, to the admiration of all that were present.

Sentence pronounced against Walter Mill.
The Bailiff of the Regality refuseth to be Judge.

Then did *Oliphant* pronounce Sentence, ordaining him to be delivered to the temporal Judge, and burnt as an Heretick. But because no man could be found to supply the place of a Judge, (for *Patrick Lermouth* Bailiff of the Regality did abso- lutely refuse) nor in the whole City so much as a cord to be had for Money to tie him after he should be condemned, his life for one day was prolonged. The next morning one of the Archbishop's domesticks, called *Alexander Somervaille*, a wicked and flagitious man, supplying the place of the temporal Judge, condemned him to the fire; and because no cords could be had, the ropes of the Archbishops Pavilion were taken to serve the purpose.

His constancy at his suffering.

As the time of his suffering drew near, his constancy and courage still encreased; for being conveyed to the fire with a number of armed men, when he was come to the place, and the Priest *Oliphant* did command him to go to the stake, he said, *No, I will not go, except thou put me up with thy hand; for by the law of God I am forbidden to put hands on my self; but wilt thou put to thy hand and take part of my death, thou shalt see me go up gladly.* Then *Oliphant* putting him forward, he went up with a cheerful countenance, saying, *Introibo ad altare Dei*; and desired he might be permitted to speak to the people. *Oliphant* and the Executioners said, that he had spoken too much, and that the Bishops were offended with the delay. Yet some youths that stood by willed him to speak what he pleased, giving the Executioners and Bishops both to the Devil. So after he had made his Prayer upon his knees he arose, and standing upon the coals, spake to the people a few words to this effect, 'Dear friends, the cause why I suffer this day is not for any crime laid to my charge, though I acknowledge my self a miserable sinner before God; but only for the defence of *Jesus* Christ, set forth in the Old and New Testaments; for which as many faithful Martyrs have offered their lives most gladly, being assured after their death to enjoy endless felicity; so this day I praise God that he hath called me of his mercy amongst the rest of his Servants, to seal up his Truth with my life,

life, which as I have received of him, so willingly I offer it to his glory. There- fore, as you would escape eternal death, be no more seduced with the Lies of the Priests, Monks, Friars, Priors, Abbots, Bishops, and the rest of the sect of Antichrist; but depend only upon *Jesus* Christ and his mercy, that you may be delivered from condemnation.

The multitude that look'd on made a great lamentation, for they were exceedingly moved with his words. When the fire was kindled and began to flame, he cried, *Lord, have mercy on me; pray, good people, whilst there is time*; and thus departed, shewing a wonderful courage and resolution of spirit. The Citizens took his death so grievously, that, lest it should be forgotten, they made up a great Heap of stones in the place where his body was burnt; and when the Priest had caused the Heap twice or thrice to be carried away, denouncing such as should bring any stones thither accursed, still it was renewed, until watches were appointed to see who they were that brought any stones to the place, and charge given to apprehend them. The Epitaph made upon him is worthy the inserting.

The people exceedingly moved at his speeches.

*Non nostra impietas, aut acta crimina vita
Armarunt hostes in mea fata truces.
Sola fides Christi, sacris signata libellis,
Que vita causa est, & mihi causa necis.*

His Epitaph.

This man was the last Martyr that died in Scotland for Religion, and his death the very death of Popery in this Realm; for thereby the minds of men were so greatly enraged, as resolving thereafter openly to profess the Truth, they did bind themselves by promise and subscription to oaths, if any should be called in question for matter of Religion at any time after, they should take up Arms, and joyn in defence of their brethren against the tyrannous Persecution of the Bishops.

His death, the death of Popery in this Kingdom.

The work of Reformation did hereupon take a beginning, the Story whereof before I set down (after I have remembered some worthy persons that lived in those times) I will add the Catalogue of our Bishops in the rest of the Sees of this Kingdom, so far as I have been informed or learned by diligent search.

The worthy men that lived in this time.

Sir David Lindsay of *Mont* shall first be named, a man honorably descended, and greatly favored by King *James* the Fifth. Besides his knowledge and deep judgment in Heraldry (whereof he was the chief) and in other publick affairs, he was most religiously inclined; but much hated by the Clergy, for the liberty he used in condemning the Superstition of the Time, and rebuking their loose and dissolute lives. Nottheless he went unchallenged, and was not brought in question; which shewed the good account wherein he was held. Divers Poesies he wrought in his mother tongue, which gave evidence of his quickness of wit, and the knowledge he had in Histories. In the beginning of the Governors Regency he did attend him, till the Governour misled by ill counsel made his authority subject to the Cardinal. After that time he lived for the most part private, and died in a good age, the Queen Regent having the administration of affairs.

Sir David Lindsay of the *Mont*.

Next to him shall be remembered *Mr. Patrick Cockburn*, a Gentleman of the house of *Langton* in the *Merse*. This man having attained by his studies to great learning, lived a long time in the University of *Paris* well esteemed. What course he took afterwards I know not, nor where he died; but by the Treatises yet extant that he wrote, it appeareth that he was a man of good Learning and a favourer of the Truth.

Mr. Patrick Cockburn.

The third shall be *John Mackbrair*, a Gentleman of *Galloway*, who forsaking the Country for Religion, became a Preacher in the English Church: in the time of Queen *Marys* Persecution he fled to *Frankford*, and served the English Congregation as Minister. Afterwards called by some occasion to the charge of a Church in the lower *Germany*, he continued there the rest of his days. Some Homilies he left upon the Prophecy of *Hosea*, and an History of the beginning and progress of the English Church.

John Mackbrair.

To these I shall add our Countryman *Robert Wachop*, though he lived and died

Robert Wachop Archbishop of *Armagh*.

An. 1130. an adversary to the Truth, seeing by his virtue and learning he purchased both credit and dignity in foreign parts; and, which almost exceedeth belief, being blind from his very birth, only by learning the lessons and conferences of learned men; he grew to such knowledge, as in the University of *Paris* none of the Doctors was held more learned, nor had a more frequent auditory. Being afterward promoted to the Archbishoprick of *Armagh* in *Ireland*, he was employed in divers Legations to the Emperor and King of *France* by Pope *Paul* the Third, which he discharged with such prudence, as he came to be greatly esteemed with all the Princes to whom he was known. At last in his return homewards from *Rome*, in the year 1551, he died at *Paris*, much lamented of all that University.

Coming now to set down the Catalogue of Bishops in the rest of the Seas, I shall keep the order of the Provinces, and begin with *Dunkeld*, the Bishop whereof hath hitherto been reckoned in the first place.

The Bishops of DUNKELD.

In the City of *Dunkeld* there was of old an Abbey founded by *Constantine* the Third King of *Picts*, about the year 729, to the memory of *S. Columbe*, in which the *Culdees* were placed. King *David*, in the year 1130, did erect it to be a Bishops See; and recommending one *Gregorius* to the place, obtained Pope *Alexander* the Third his confirmation thereof. He sate 42 years, and was much favoured by that good King. The lands of *Auchtertail*, with divers others appertaining to that See, were of King *David* his gift. This Bishop died at *Dunkeld* in the year 1169.

2. *Richard*, Chaplain to King *William*, was elected in his place, and consecrated in *S. Andrews* upon the Vigils of *S. Laurence* by *Richard* Bishop of *S. Andrews*. This Bishop was commended for vindicating the Church of *Abercorne* forth of the hands of a laick person named *John Avonele*, who claimed the Patronage thereof. He sate four years, and dying at *Crawmond*, was buried in *S. Colmes Inche* in the year 1173.

3. *Cormacus* succeeded in his place, to whom King *William* gave the lands of *Dalgathy*. He died in the year 1177.

4. In his place was chosen *Walter de Bidden*, who was Chancellor to King *William*; but he lived not many years.

5. *John Scot*, an Englishman born, being Arch-deacon of *S. Andrews*, had been elected Bishop of that See, but that his Election being withstood by the King, as we shewed before, he was after *Biddens* death promoted by the Popes consent to *Dunkeld*; a man that made conscience of his Charge, and was painful in his Office. The Country of *Argile* was at that time of the Diocefe of *Dunkeld*, the people whereof did only speak *Irish*, and neither understood the Bishop, nor he them. Upon this he travelled to have the Diocefe divided, and *Argile* erected into an Episcopal See; and to that effect sent a Letter to Pope *Clément* the Third, intreating that one *Ewaldus* his Chaplain, who could speak *Irish*, a wife and godly person, might have the charge of that part committed to him: For, *How*, said he, *can I make an accompt to the Judge of the world in the last day, when I cannot be understood of them whom I teach? The maintenance is sufficient for two Bishops, if we be not prodigal of the Patrimony of Christ, and will live with that moderation which becometh his servants: it shall therefore be much better to diminish the charge, and increase the number of able workmen in the Lords field.* The Pope reading the Letter, and considering how earnest he was to be eased of his Charge, though to his own temporal loss, said, *It is the study of others to enlarge their bounds and livings, not caring how it goeth with the people; and here is one that requesteth his Benefice may be parted in two. O how few Bishops are now in the Christian world so disposed!* And so commending greatly the Bishops disposition, granted his request, sending back *Ewaldus* (for he was the messenger) consecrated Bishop as was desired. The Bishop glad to have obtained his desire, entered *Ewaldus* to the Charge, and followed diligently his own in that part which remained. Some few days before his death he rendered himself a Monk in *Newboile*, and there departed this life in the year 1203. His body was interred

Dunkeld erected to be a Bishoprick.

The succession of Bishops in that See.

tered in the Quire of that Church upon the North side of the Altar. *William An. 1210. Bining*, afterwards Abbot of *Comper*, did write his Life, but the story is perished.

6. After his death *Richard Provand* King *Williams* Chaplain, was consecrated Bishop, and lived a few years only in the See, for he departed this world in the year 1210, and was buried in *Inchcolme*.

7. *John Leicester*, Cousen to King *William*, and elected successor, and dying at *Crawmond*, was buried in *Inchcolme* with his predecessor in the year 1214.

8. *Hugo*, called *Hugo de sigillo*, a Monk of *Aberbrothock*, succeeded unto *Leicester*; a man of sweet and amiable disposition. He was called *The poor mans Bishop*, and lived not a year after his consecration.

9. *Matthew* Chancellour of *Scotland* was then elected, but he died the same year before he was consecrated.

10. To him succeeded *Gilbert*, Chaplain to Bishop *Hugo*. He sate 22 years, and died in the year 1236.

11. *Galfrid Liverance* was elected in his stead. This Bishop was a zealous man; he reformed the Service of the Church *ad usum Sarum*, and ordained the Canons to make residence at *Dunkeld*, giving them the Commons of the Church for their entertainment. He died at *Tibbermoore* in the year 1249, and was buried at *Dunkeld*.

12. After *Galfrids* death *Richard* Chancellor to the King succeeded, and dying the same year at *Crawmond*, was buried in *Inchcolme*.

13. After him *M. Richard of Innerkething*, Chancellor of *Scotland*, was elected, who sate 22 years. He built the great Quire of the Abbey-Church in *Inchcolme* upon his own charges, and died very old in the year 1272. He is much commended for his faithful service done to King *Alexander*. His body was interred at *Dunkeld*, and his heart laid in the North wall of the Quire which he built in *Inchcolme*.

14. *Robert Suteville*, Dean of *Dunkeld*, debarred at first from the Bishoprick of *S. Andrews* by the ambitious suite of *Abel* the Archdeacon, was at this time preferred to be Bishop of *Dunkeld*. He died in the year 1300, and governed the See 28 years, *Moribus, scientia & vita præclarus*.

15. After him *Matthew*, by recommendation of *Edward* the first of *England*, who kept *Scotland* then under subjection, was advanced to the Bishoprick, and sate 12 years.

16. *William Sinclair*, a brother of the house of *Rossin*, and Uncle to *William Lord Bisset*, succeeded. This is he that King *Robert* the Bruce used to call his own Bishop; for the King being in *Ireland* with an Army for the supply of his brother *Edward*, the English taking advantage of his absence, sent two Armies to invade the Kingdom; the one by Land, the other by Sea. The Sea-Army landed in *Fife*, near to *Auchtertail* (where the Bishop had his residence) which the Sheriff of the Country, for hindering their depredations, went to encounter, but at the sight of their numbers he gave back and fled. The Bishop hearing of their flight, brought forth his ordinary train, and casting himself in the Sheriffs way, asked why he fled; and having checked him bitterly for his cowardise, called for a lance, crying aloud, *You that love the honour of Scotland, follow me.* By this forwardness he put such courage in the rest, as they returning upon the English, did chase them all back to their Ships. One of the Ship-boats overcharged with the company that leapt into it was sunk, and in that conflict were drowned and slain 500 English and above. The honor of this Victory was wholly ascribed to the Bishops courage, for which he was greatly favoured by the King. He built in his time the Quire of *Dunkeld* from the ground, which the Army of *England* had demolished; redeemed the Lands of *Green-oke* from one *Simon Cader*, and gave to his Archdeacon the Church of *Logia Leguhy*, with the Vicarage pensionary of little *Dunkeld*. Afterwards dying the 27 day of June, Anno 1338, he was buried in the Quire of *Dunkeld*, in a marble Tomb by himself erected.

17. The same year one *Duncan*, an Englishman born, was consecrated Bishop. He set in feu the Lands of *Fordel* to *Walter Fotheringham*, at the desire of *Edward Baliol*, and died in the year 1364, after he had sate 26 years.

An. 1376.

18. To him succeeded *Michael of Monimuske*, Chamberlain of Scotland. He died the first of *March* 1376, and was buried in the Quire of *Dunkeld*.

19. After him *Mr. John Peblis*, Chancellor to King *David Bruce*, came to the place; a man learned and of great authority. He sat 20 years in the See.

20. In the year 1396, *Robert Carden* Son to *John Carden* of that ilk, was consecrated Bishop, and governed the See the space of 40 years. He did many good things in his time to his Church, building and enlarging it at his own charge, and acquired thereunto divers lands, as the town of *Crawmond* with the lands adjoining, for which he gave in excambion the lands of *Cambo* in the same Parish, and the lands of *Muchler* besides *Dunkeld*. He died the 16 of *January* 1436, and was buried honorably in *S. Ninians* Chappel of *Dunkeld*, which himself had built.

21. To him succeeded *Donald Macknachton*, Dean of *Dunkeld*, Doctor of the Common Law, and Nephew to Bishop *Robert* his predecessor. He was elected by the Chapter; but King *James* the First misliking the choice, opposed his entry; whereupon he took journey to *Rome* to obtain his Election confirmed, and died by the way as he was travelling thither.

22. *James Kennedy*, Nephew to King *James* the First by his sister, was then preferred to the See. Two years he sat Bishop in *Dunkeld*, and was afterwards translated to *S. Andrews*, as before we have shewed.

23. Upon his Translation *Mr. Alexander Lawder*, Parson of *Rothow*, and brother-german to the Bishop of *Glasgow*, then Chancellor of the Kingdom, was elected Bishop: but he died the same year (which was the year 1440) at *Edinburgh*, and was buried with his Ancestors in the Church of *Lawder*.

24. *Mr. James Bruce*, Parson of *Killmeny*, was after him consecrated Bishop of *Dunkeld* at *Dunfermlin*, the fourth of *February* in the year of Christ 1441, and sat Bishop the space of 6 years. In the seventh year he was translated to the Bishoprick of *Glasgow*, and made Chancellor of the Kingdom.

25. To him succeeded *Mr. John Ralston*. He was Secretary to King *James* the Second, and sat Bishop little above three years, dying in *Dunkeld* in the year 1450, where he was buried.

26. Master *Thomas Lawder*, Preceptor or Master of *Lowtreay*, who had been Tutor to King *James* the Second in his youth, at the age of 60 years was elected Bishop after *Ralston* by the Kings recommendation. He took great pains in preaching, and by his continual exhortations and exemplary life won that unruly people to the obedience of God and the King. Having finished the building of the Church, he dedicated the same in the year 1454, and adorned it in most magnificent manner. He obtained of the King an erection of the Bishops Lands on the North side of *Forth* into a Barony called *the Barony of Dunkeld*, as likewise the Lands in the South into another which was called *the Barony of Aberlady*; built a Bridge upon the River of *Tay*, nigh to his own Palace; founded a number of Chaplains and Prebends, partly in *Edinburgh*, partly in *Dunkeld*; made purchase of two lodgings, one in *Edinburgh*, and another at *Perth*, for the receipt of his Successors: and having done many good works, resigned his Bishoprick, because of his great age, to Master *James Levingston*, Dean of *Dunkeld*.

27. This Resignation was crossed awhile by *Thomas Spence*, Bishop of *Aberdene*, whose credit in the Court was great at that time: but upon transaction amongst themselves, the Kings consent was obtained, and he consecrated at *Dunkeld* by *John Hepburn* Bishop of *Dumblain*, *John Balfour* Bishop of *Briehen*, and the said *Thomas Spence*, in the year 1476. He sat seven years two months and five days, and dying at *Edinburgh*, was buried in the Isle of *Inchcolm*.

28. The Chapter after *Levingstons* decease made choice of *Alexander Inglis*, Dean of *Dunkeld*, and Keeper of the Rolls in the time of King *James* the Third: but Pope *Sixtus* the Fourth, casting his Election, gave the Bishoprick to *George Brown* Chancellor of *Aberdene* (who was then at *Rome*) and consecrated him Bishop in Saint *James* Church, Anno 1484. The King displeased with this promotion declared him rebel, and complained thereof to the Pope and Cardinals; but the Pope maintaining his own gift, the King was afterwards reconciled to him, and he peaceably

ably possessed in the Bishoprick. This Bishop was a strict observer of discipline, and by his austere and rigorous forms wrought a great Reformation in all the parts of his Diocese, which he distributed in four Deanries, placing one in the Borders of *Athol* and *Drumalbane*, another in *Fife*, *Fotherick* and *Strathern*, the third in *Angus*, and the fourth in the parts besouth *Forth*. The penalties of offenders he gave to the use of the Church where they resided, saying commonly, *Oleum peccatorum non impinguet caput meum*. He was a man given much to Hospitality, and withal very careful of the Church; for he recovered to the See the lands of *Fordel* and *Muckarsie*, with the Forest of *Birnan*, that had been alienated before his time, founded divers Prebends and Chaplains, and gave many ornaments the Cathedral Church. Before his death he was tormented with the Felt gravel, which he bore most patiently, professing that he was glad to endure those pains, as serving to wean his heart and affection from the love of this world; and so departed this life most happily the 12 of *January*, 1514.

29. *Andrew Stewart*, Brother to *John* Earl of *Athol*, was upon his death postulated Bishop; but it took no effect, Master *Gawan Douglas*, Brother to the Earl of *Angus*, and Provost of Saint *Giles* in *Edinburgh*, being preferred thereto by Pope *Leo* the Tenth. This gift was quarrelled by the Duke of *Albany* Governor, and the Bishop called in question for his trafficking with *Rome* without licence; whereupon he was committed, and continued prisoner a whole year. Afterwards compounding with *Andrew Stewart*, to whom he gave the Churches of *Elit* and *Cargil*, he got peaceable possession of the See; yet the troubles that followed in the country made him forsake the same, and undertake a journey to *Rome*. In his way thither he died of the Plague at *London* in *Savoy* house in the year 1522. A man learned, wise, and given to all virtue and goodness. Some monuments of his ingeny he left in *Scottish* metre which are greatly esteemed, especially his translation of *Virgil* his Books of *Æneids*.

30. *George Creighton* succeeded, a man nobly disposed, and a great house-keeper, but in matters of his calling not very skilled. In the question of Religion (which was in his time severely agitated) he loved to have things calmly carried, but his counsel took little place. It was he that said to one of his Vicars, whom he was persuading to leave his Opinions, *That he thanked God that he knew neither the Old nor the New Testaments, and yet had prospered well enough all his days*.

31. *Robert Creighton* his Nephew was preferred upon his death to the See, in whose time fell out the Reformation of the Church.

The Bishops of ABERDENE.

1. *Malcolme* the Second, in memory of the defeat he gave the *Danes* at *Murthlack*, founded there a Bishops Seat in the year 1010, and preferred one *Beanus* thereto, a man of singular virtue and godliness, gifting to him and his successors the lands of *Murthlack*, *Cloveth* and *Dummeth*. This Bishop sat 32 years, and dying in *Murthlack* was buried at the Postern-door of the Church, which himself had built.

2. *Donortius*, who succeeded him, lived Bishop 42 years, and was interred with his predecessor.

3. *Cormachus* the third Bishop of this See, governed the same 39 years, and was buried likewise with his Predecessors.

4. *Neftanus* succeeded. In his time King *David* did translate the See from *Murthlack* to *Aberdene*, and gave to him and his successors the lands of old *Aberdene*, *Selaty*, *Govil*, *Moorecroft*, *Kinnundy*, *Mamewlay*, *Clat*, *Tillinessil*, *Rayne*, *Daviot*, and their Churches, with divers others lands, whereby the See was greatly enriched. This Bishop died in the year 1154, having sat 14 years at *Murthlack*, and 17 at *Aberdene*.

5. After the death of *Neftanus* one *Edward* was promoted, who was greatly favoured by *Malcolme* the Fourth, called the Maiden, and was thought to have persuaded the King to continue in his single life. He was the first Bishop that brought the Canons to do ordinary service in the Church of

The Succession
of Bishops in
the See of
Aberdene.

An. 1247. *Aberdene*, and died in the eleventh year after his Consecration.

6. *Matthew Kinninmouth*, Archdeacon of *S. Andrews*, succeeded; a man famous for learning, and other excellent virtues. In his time began the Cathedral Church of *Aberdene* to be built unto the memory of *S. Machar*, to whom King *Malcolme* gave the Lands of *Tuligreg*, *Fetterneir*, *Crowdan*, *Banchory Devenish*, *Balhelvy*, and the Patronages of the Churches. He sate Bishop 34 years.

7. *John Prior of Kelfo* was next elected Bishop. This man is greatly commended for liberality to the poor, and magnificence in the buildings and ornaments of the Church: he died the next year after his Consecration.

8. One *Adam* was assumed in his place, rather for satisfying King *William's* pleasure, than for any good affection born to the man by the rest of the Clergy. At first he shewed no great care in his Charge, giving himself wholly to temporal affairs; yet after King *Williams* death he grew quite another man, setting himself to amend his former negligences. He sate 21 years.

9. Upon his death the Clergy and people of *Aberdene* postulated *Matthew Chancellor* of the Kingdom, who was willing to accept the place; but *Dunkeld* falling void in the mean season, King *Alexander* the Second preferred him to that See.

10. And *Gilbert Striveling*, a man well born, and much esteemed for his integrity of life, obtained the place: but he lived not many years, departing this world in the eleventh year after his Election.

11. *Radolph Abbot of Aberbrothock* succeeded, being with an uniform consent of the Clergy and people elected Bishop. He was brought with great difficulty to accept the charge; a man of great prudence, and painful in his calling: for he travelled through all his Diocese on foot, preaching and visiting the Churches, that he might know their true estate; and is said never to have changed his form of living that he used in the Cloister, and to have been more abstinent and sparing both in diet and apparel than he was before. He died some eight years after his Consecration, which was about the year of Christ, 1247.

12. *Peter Ramsey*, a man of good learning, was next chosen Bishop; he was a man very kind to the Canons, and parted many of his rents amongst them. He sate Bishop ten years, and deceased about the seventh or eighth year of King *Alexander* the Third his reign.

13. Presently after his death *Richard Pottock* an *Englishman* was elected, who sate Bishop 13 years.

14. *Hugh Benham*, elected by the Monks, went to *Rome*, and was there consecrated by Pope *Martin* the Fourth. After he had remained there the space of a year, he returned to *Scotland*, at which time there was a great contention between the Church-men and the people of the Country for certain Tithes, that the Priests did exact too rigorously. The difference being submitted to him, he composed the same in a Convention of the Clergy at *Perth*, wherein the King and many of the Nobles were present, and died of a Catarrhe, being very old, in the Isle of *Loch Fovil*, about the year 1280.

15. *Henry Cheen*, Nephew to the Lord *Cummyn*, was preferred to the See. The Troubles which in his time brake forth in the Kingdom between *Bruce* and *Baliol* wrought him great vexation; for whilst he took part with his Uncle against *Bruce*, he was banished into *England*, where he lived until the end of these Wars, and then licensed by King *Robert* to return, he gave himself to repair the Church, and restore all things which the licentiousness of War had disordered. He died the same year in which King *Robert* the *Bruce* ended his life, that is, in the year of Christ 1329, which was the 48 year after his Consecration.

16. *Alexander Kinninmouth* Doctor of Divinity succeeded in his place, a great lover of learning and learned men, whom out of all parts he drew to make residence with himself. In the Winter season he dwelt at *Murthlack*, and when the Spring opened at *Aberdene*, because of the confluence of people all that time of the year: all the Summer and Harvest time he remained at *Fetterneir* and *Rain*, that he might the more commodiously discharge his office in every part of his Diocese.

The

An. 1247. The *English* in his time set on fire the Town of *Aberdene*, which burnt six days together, and did much harm; his own Palace with the whole houses of the Canons were thereby consumed, which was thought to have hastened his death. He departed this life in the eleventh year of his Consecration.

17. *William Deyn* was made Bishop in his stead. The most of his time the Realm was infested with Wars, whereby he was impeded in many good purposes that he intended, and had much ado to keep the Clergy in obedience, for every man during the War took liberty to do what they thought good. He sate Bishop the space of ten years.

18. After him *John Raith* Doctor in Divinity was chosen Bishop by the Monks. He lived only six years Bishop, and was buried in the Quire of *Aberdene*.

19. King *David Bruce* returning from *France* about this time had brought with him in company one *Nicolas*, a corrupt and ambitious man, who procured the Kings recommendation to the Chapter of *Aberdene* for his Election. The Canons excused themselves, saying, *The Church of Aberdene was not so scant of men as to admit an unworthy person into the place. And howsoever the King in his Kingdom might do what he pleased, they were by their oaths ascribed to admit none but learned men, and such as were approved for integrity of life: wherefore intreated the King in humble manner to suffer them, as they had been accustomed, to elect some wise and grave person, that could discharge the place with credit: which after some months they obtained, making choice of one Alexander Kinninmouth, who was consecrated in the Town of Perth, the King himself being present. This man answered fully the hopes conceived of him, and took great pains in his calling; for on the sereal days he taught the Civil and Canon Law, and the Holy days he spent in preaching and prayer. Thrice every week he fasted, contenting himself in the holy Eves with bread and water. He caused demolish the old Church of Aberdene, which he esteemed not so beautiful as was fitting for a Cathedral Church, and laid the foundation of another more magnificent. But ere the work was advanced six cubits high, he was employed by King Robert the Second in an Ambassage to France, for renewing the old League, which he worthily performed. Shortly after his return he died, having sate Bishop 24 years.*

20. *Adam Cunningham*, a man well descended, and of great authority, was after him elected. This Bishop is said to have been in such account for his wisdom and sincerity, that in all matters of importance propounded in Council his opinion did ever prevail. His frequent employments with the *French King*, as well before as after his preferment to the See, and the happy success he had therein, manifested his prudence and dexterity of wit: yet, as it falleth out often in Courts, upon some envious delations the King became jealous of him, as if he had practised with some Noblemen against the Royal Succession, and pressed to reduce the old form of Election of Kings. Finding that the King had taken some impression of the report, albeit nothing was more false, he took counsel to retire himself, and attend his charge at home: where he had not long stay'd, but he fell in a new trouble with a base Son of the Kings, named *Alexander*, a man extremely vicious, and for his oppressions hated of all good men. To the Bishop he bare a special grudge, because of the liberty he had used in reprovng his wickedness; and hearing in what dislike the Bishop was with the King, he violently possessed himself in the Bishops Lands, thrust forth his Tenants, and behaved himself as Master and Lord of all. The Bishop complained to the King, but finding no redress, he pronounced him excommunicate; wherewith the wicked man incensed, associating a number as wickedly disposed as himself, did swear to take the Bishops life, and came to *Aberdene* of that intention. Whereof the Bishop getting advertisement, he went forth to meet him on the way, and how soon he saw him, discovering his head, which was all white (for he was a man of great age) said, *If this be it that thou seekest, I have brought it unto thee, take thee head, life, and all.* The company admiring the old mans courage, and moved with some compassion of his white hairs, persuaded *Alexander* not to meddle with his blood. The report of this infolency going to the King, he sent for his Son, and committing him to prison, caused satisfaction to be given for all the

An. 1390.

the injuries the Bishop had sustained, and surety for his indemnity thereafter. After which he enjoyed reasonable quietness until his death, which happened in the year of Christ 1390. having sat Bishop ten years.

21. *Gilbert Greinlaw*, a man learned, wise, and of great esteem with the Nobles of the Kingdom, was consecrated Bishop of *Aberdene* the same year. He had been Chancellor to King *Robert* the Third a long time, which office he discharged with great credit, and to the contentment of all the subjects. After the Kings death (the Earl of *Fife* Brother to the deceased King then governing the Realm) he was employed in an Ambassage to *Charles* the Seventh of *France* and went thither in the company of the Earls of *Buchan* and *Douglas*, who with divers other Noblemen were afterward unfortunately killed at the Battel of *Vernoil*. The Bishop at his return found all things out of frame, the Governor dead, his Son *Mordach* placed in his room, and the whole estate miserable by the riots and oppressions which were used every where without punishment. This made the Bishop retire himself and live private at home, where soon after he died of a Consumption in the year 1424. His body was interred in the Quire of the Cathedral Church.

22. After his death *Henry Leighton* Bishop of *Murray* was translated to *Aberdene*, a man learned both in the Civil and Canon Law, of great experience, and in that regard postulated Bishop by the Canons. He stood doubtful a while whether he should condescend to the Charge or not, yet was induced to consent at last, and so came to *Aberdene*, where he applied himself carefully to do the Charge of a Bishop; but the Estates of the Realm meeting in solemn Convention for putting some order to the present confusions, he was sent with some others in Commission to *England*, to treat for redemption of King *James* the First, who was there detained captive. This business happily performed, he returned with the King, to whom he gave great content by his services and forwardness in reforming publick abuses. He advanced greatly the fabrick of the Church of *Aberdene*, and bestowed large sums for perfecting that work; he built also the Chappel called *S. Johns Chappel* within the Cathedral, and was therein buried himself in the year 1441. 17. years after his Translation.

23. *Ingram Lindesay*, Doctor of the Canon Law, was upon his death with the great applause of all good men received Bishop. He was at that time very old, and by the policy of one *Alexander*, who aimed at his place, moved to take journey to *Rome*; the man imagining that he should die in the voyage, whereof yet he was deceived. For the Bishop failing to *Marseilles* in *France*, went from thence by Sea to *Rome*, and after some months stay returned more healthful than before. Seventeen years he continued Bishop and ruled the affairs of the Church very wisely. A man constant in his promises, of a spare diet, but very hospitable, for he entertained great numbers both of learned men and others, especially the eldest Sons of Noblemen and Barons in the North parts; and notwithstanding of his age and publick employments, was ever at study when he could find any free time from those cares. A little before his death he fell in the Kings displeasure, for denying admision to some whom the King had presented to certain Benefices, for that they were either meer ignorants, or for their years incapable. But this did not much trouble his mind, as being no way conscious to himself of any just offence offered. He died at *Aberdene*, much lamented of the Citizens, who loved him dearly, and buried him in the Cathedral Church with great solemnity.

24. Then was *Thomas Spence*, Bishop of *Galloway*, translated to the See, a man of active spirit, and fitted for great business. Whilest he was yet very young he went to *France*, trusted with a Commission by King *James* the Second, and by his wife behaviour won such favour with *Charles* the Seventh then reigning, as after divers great services performed to that King, he returned honoured with the place of a Chancellor, and a yearly pension of 3000 *French* Crowns; about which time the Bishoprick of *Galloway* falling void, he was held most worthy to be preferred thereto, and from thence, by the occasion of Bishop *Lindesay* his death, at the earnest entreaty of the Canons, was translated thither. Most of his time after he was translated he spent in Legations from the King and Estate, sometimes to the Duke

An. 1480.

Duke of *Burgundy*, and sometimes to *Edward* the Fourth of *England*. Nottheless mindful of his Church, he adorned the same in a most rich and sumptuous manner, and built of new the Bishops palace, which since the burning by the *English* had been wast and ruinous. Amongst other charitable works, he erected an Hospital at *Edinburgh*, acquiring thereto divers lands, and ended his life by sickness the fiftenth of *April* 1480. His body was interred in the *Trinity* College of *Edinburgh*.

25. *Robert Blaicater*, being for the time at *Rome*, was by the provision of Pope *Xistus* the Fourth made Bishop, at whose hands also he received Consecration; a Gentleman well descended, and of good knowledge both in divine and humane learning. Soon after he was translated to *Glasgow*, where he died.

26. *William Elphinston* succeeded to *Blaicater*, a famous and memorable person. He was born in the City of *Glasgow*, and trained up in the Pedagogie of that City; where he made such profit in his studies, that all who knew him conceived even in his younger years great hopes of his advancement. By the advice of his Uncle *Lawrence Elphinston* he went to *France*, being 29 years of age, and there abode some nine years, having purchased good reputation in the University of *Paris* for his skill in the Laws, which six years together he professed, reading daily the Lectures thereof in a most frequent Auditory. Then returning into his Country, was preferred first to be Official of *Glasgow*, afterwards made Official of *S. Andrews*, and promoted to be of the Kings Council. Some jars falling out at that time betwixt King *James* the Third and *Lewis* the Eleventh of *France*, which was like to have dissolved the ancient friendship betwixt the two Nations, he was joyned in Commission with the Bishop of *Dunkeld* and Earl of *Buchan* for pacifying the same, and by a wife and most eloquent oration brought matters so about, that the old League and Amity was renewed, and all occasions of discord quite removed: whereupon the Bishoprick of *Rosse* was at his return cast upon him, which he accepted with great difficulty. The See of *Aberdene* afterwards falling void, he was translated thither, and at that time was made Chancellor of the Kingdom; in which charge he carried himself with that moderation, and equity, as he was both loved and revered of all persons. But the unhappy Troubles that fell out betwixt the King and some of his Nobility, which by no means (though he did use his uttermost diligence that way) could be pacified, made him retire to his Charge at *Aberdene*, where he gave himself to reform such things as he found disordered in the Church, and had doubtless effected the same, if he had not been called back to Court, and employed much against his will in publick affairs.

King *James* the Fourth then entering his reign, he was by the consent of the whole estate sent Ambassador to *Maximilian* the Emperor, to suit his daughter *Margaret* in marriage for the King: but she before his coming being promised to the Prince of *Spain*, the business took no effect: yet that his travel should not be altogether unprofitable, in his return from the Emperors Court he reconciled the Variance which long had continued betwixt this Nation and the people of *Holland*, and thereby grew in such favour with the King, that whatsoever business he had, either within or without the Kingdom, the same was wholly committed to his trust.

Neither did he in the mean while neglect to use his best means for the advancement of Learning, having built a stately College in *Aberdene*, which for the beauty of the edifice and rich foundation was one of the rarest monuments this Kingdom had seen. The expence he bestowed partly on that work, partly for providing materials for building of the Bridge upon *Dee*, with the large alms he gave daily to the poor and religious of all sorts (not to speak of the help and relief he made to others of his kindred) exceeding almost all credit and belief: for he was ever observed to keep a good table, and had no Benefices in *Commendam* (which was then grown into a custome amongst Church-men) yet upon the Rents of his own Bishoprick he did both maintain his estate, and do all those great and magnificent works, and dying left in treasure ten thousand pounds in gold and silver, which he bequeathed to the College and the finishing of the Bridge at *Dee*: that in him we may truly see how it is not the abundance of worldly goods, but the blessing of God, that maketh rich.

What

An. 1514.

What time he could spare from the publick service he spent in writing the History of his Nation, and gathered in one Volume all the Antiquities that could be found thereof. The memories also of those holy men who lived in former times in this Kingdom he studied to preserve, committing to writing their worthy and memorable acts, and giving order that on solemn days the Religious should read some part thereof in their common meetings; neither was he seen to be idle, but always in labour and striving how to benefit the publick. Nor was there any man known to have been of more integrity of life and manners, sweet and pleasant conversation, of a cheerful countenance, and exceeding delightful. The constitution of his body was healthful and strong: Old age, which to others is of itself a Disease, wrought in him no alteration either of mind or body; for being 83 years old, his judgment in the weightiest matters of State was observed to be as quick, and his memory as ripe, as when he was in the middle of his youth.

That which is supposed to have hastened his death was the unfortunate death of the King at *Flowden*; for after the report of that loss he was never perceived to laugh, nor willingly did he hear any thing that founded unto mirth or gladness, and thereupon had resolved to live the rest of his time obscure and retired: yet being called by the Council to assist some great business which for the time was in hand, he sickned in his journey towards *Edinburgh*, and the sixth day after his coming thither died most Christianly. His body embalmed was carried afterwards to *Aberdene*, and entombed in his own College before the high Altar. They write that the day his Corps was brought forth to the burial, the Pastoral staff, which was all of silver, and carried by *Alexander Lawder* a Jurist, broke in two pieces, one part thereof falling in the grave where his body was to be laid, and that a voice was heard to cry, *Tecum, Gulielme, Mitra sepelienda*. With thee the Mitre and glory thereof is buried. Thirty years he sat Bishop, and ended his course being very old in the year 1514.

27. The Canons assembling according to their custome to elect a Bishop in his place, the Earl of *Huntley*, a man of great power in the North, came upon them unexpected, desiring that *Alexander Gordon* his Cousen, then Chanter of *Murray*, might be chosen. The Canons not daring refuse, did all give their consents. In the mean time was one *James Ogilvy* presented thereto by the Duke of *Albany*, and at *Rome Robert Forman* Dean of *Glasgow* took a provision thereof from Pope *Leo* the Tenth: yet both these did resign their titles afterwards at the Duke of *Albany* his persuasion; *Ogilvy* having received in recompence the Abbacy of *Driburgh*, and *Forman* yielding at the desire of *Andrew Forman* his Brother, then Archbishop of *S. Andrews*, upon promise of the next place that should fall void. Thus after some months delay *Gordon* was received, and consecrated Bishop: but he enjoyed the place a short time, and was buried in the Cathedral Church of *Aberdene*.

28. *Gawan Dumbar*, Archdeacon of *S. Andrews* and Master of the Rolls, a man of many excellent parts, was after him elected Bishop. He set himself to perfect all those works which Bishop *Elphinston* had begun, and were not as yet finished; especially the building of the Bridge upon *Dey*, with the houses that he had appointed for the several professions of Sciences in the College. The Executors of Bishop *Elphinston* he called to an accompt, and made them render the moneys left by him in Legacy; adding thereto his own liberality, wherewith he accomplished all these works. He founded likewise an Hospital for twelve poor men, and a Preceptor to attend them; and all the time he lived Bishop, which was 13 years, whatsoever profit or commodity he made by the Church, he bestowed wholly upon the poor and such publick works, without applying a farthing either to his own use, or the enriching of any of his kinsmen. He departed this life at *S. Andrews* the ninth of *March*, 1531.

29. To him succeeded *William Stewart*, son to the Laird of *Minto*, a man given to vertue, charitable to the poor, and ready to every good work. He built the Conistory-house in old *Aberdene*, enlarged the territory of the College, & bestowed upon it a part of the rent it now possesseth: he built likewise the Library, with two Schools, and founded therein four Chaplains: the office of the Chancellary in the State, conferred

ferred upon him by the King, he discharged with good credit, and dying at *Aberdene* in the month of *April*, in the year 1545, was buried in the Cathedral Church. An. 1160.

30. *William Gordon*, Son to the Earl of *Huntley*, succeeded in the place. This man brought up in Letters at *Aberdene*, followed his studies a long time in *Paris*, and returning thence, was first Parson of *Clat*, and afterwards promoted to the See. Some hopes he gave at first of a vertuous man, but afterwards turned a very Epicure, spending all his time in drinking and whoring; he dilapidated the whole Rents by feuing the Lands, and converting the victual-duties in money, a great part whereof he wasted upon his base Children, and the Whores their Mothers; a man not worthy to be placed in this Catalogue. He died in the year 1577.

The Bishops of MURRAY.

This Bishoprick was founded by King *Malcolme* the third, a worthy and religious King: but who were the first Bishops in this See, I find not. The first that is named is one *William*, who did consecrate *Arnold* Bishop of *S. Andrews* about the year 1160.

The succession of Bishops in the Diocese of Murray.

2. To him succeeded *Simon*, a Monk of the Abby of *Melrose*, elected Bishop in the time of *William* King of *Scots*, who governed the See 13 years. He died in the year of our Lord 1184, and was buried at *Birney*.

3. *Richard*, a Chaplain of King *William*, late Bishop 19 years, and was buried in *Spinie*, where he died.

4. *Ericus*, Prior of *Lesmahagow*, succeeded him. He continued Bishop 24 years, and was the first that founded the College of Canons. He died in the year of our Lord 1227, and was buried with his predecessor.

5. After him *Andrew* Dean of *Murray* was consecrated Bishop. He founded the Cathedral-Church of *Elgin*, and added ten Canons more to the College. He died in the year 1274, and was buried in the Quire of the Church which he had founded towards the South.

6. *Simon*, Dean of the same Church, was preferred next unto this See, and lived Bishop 9 years only. He was buried in the Quire of *Elgin*.

7. *Archbald*, Dean of *Murray*, was after his death made Bishop, and sat 47 years. He built the Palace of *Kinneddore*, and departed this life in the year 1303. at *Elgin*; where his corps was also interred.

8. *David Murray* after his death elected, was consecrated at *Avignon* by Pope *Boniface* the Eighth. He lived Bishop 27 years, and died in *January*, 1330.

9. *John Pilmore*, who then stood elected to the Bishoprick of *Rosse*, was by the provision of Pope *John* the 22, consecrated Bishop of *Murray*. He continued Bishop 27 years, and departed this life in the Castle of *Spinie*.

10. *Alexander Barre*, Licenciator in the Laws, succeeded. He was consecrated by Pope *Urban* the Fifth, and died in the Castle of *Spinie* the fifteenth of *May*, 1397.

11. *William Spinie*, Chanter of *Murray*, and Doctor of the Canon Law, was after his death consecrated Bishop by Pope *Benedict* the Thirteenth, and lived Bishop nine years only. He died in the Chanory of *Elgin* the second of *August*, 1406, and was buried in the Quire of the Cathedral-Church.

12. *John Innes*, Parson of *Duffus*, and Batchelor both in the Canon and Civil Law, sat after him seven years, and died in the Chanory the fifteenth of *April*, 1414.

13. *Henry Lichon*, Parson of *Duffus*, a Doctor in both Laws, after he had sat Bishop in this See 10 years, was translated to *Aberdene*.

14. *Columba Dumbar* succeeded living Bishop 10 years, and departing this life in the Castle of *Spinie*, was buried in the Isle of *S. Thomas* the Martyr.

15. After him *John Winchester*, Chaplain to King *James* the Second, was preferred to the See; a man of good parts. He continued Bishop 13 years, and was buried in *S. Mary* Isle, within the Cathedral-Church.

16. *James Stewart* Dean of *Murray* sat two years Bishop.

17. To him succeeded *David Stewart*, his brother, Parson of *Spinie*, who governed the See 14 years, and was buried in *S. Peter* and *S. Pauls* Isle upon the South of the Cathedral-Church.

18. After

An. 1140.

18. After his death *William Tulloch*, Bishop of *Orkney*, was translated to *Murray*, and lived five years only after his Consecration.

19. *Andrew Stewart* Dean of *Murray* succeeded. He sat Bishop 19 years, and was buried in the Quire of the Cathedral-Church.

20. *Andrew Forman* sat after him Bishop 15 years, and was then translated to *S. Andrews*.

21. Next after him *James Hepburn* governed the See 9 years, and was buried in our *Lady Isle*, nigh unto the Tomb of *Alexander* the first, Earl of *Huntley*.

22. *Robert Shaw* Abbot of *Paisley*, a man of great vertue and exceedingly beloved, was next made Bishop; but he lived not above two years in the place.

23. *Alexander Stewart*, Brother-german to the Duke of *Albany*, sat after him seven years, and was buried in the Monastery of *Scone*.

24. To him succeeded *Patrick Hepburn*, who was Commendatory of *Scone*. In his time the Reformation of Religion was made. He lived Bishop 36 years, and died in the Castle of *Spinie* the 20 of *June*, 1573.

The Bishops of BRICHEN.

In this See, since it was founded by King *David*, which was about the year 1140, there have been many worthy Bishops; yet most of them are buried in oblivion. These few that follow I have gathered out of old Records.

1. *Urwardus* or *Edwardus* lived about the year 1260, a Monk at first at *Conper* in *Angus*, a man very zealous in his calling, for it is testified of him that he went on foot through the whole Kingdom (with one *Eustathius* Abbot of *Aberbrothock*) preaching the Gospel wheresoever he came.

2. *Albinus* after him was Bishop some few years.

3. *William* Dean of *Brichen*, elected successor, died at *Rome* in the year 1275, whilst he was attending to have his Election confirmed.

4. The fourth Bishop I find mentioned is one *John*, who governed the See in the year of God 1318, and got a new confirmation from King *David Bruce* of all the lands, possessions and privileges enjoyed by his Predecessors in former times, because of their rights lost in the time of the last War. This Confirmation is dated in the year 1359.

5. To him succeeded *Adam* Chancellor of the Kingdom, but it seemed he sat few years.

6. Then *Patrick*, who was his successor both in the Bishoprick and in the office of Chancellary in the year 1372.

7. *Steven*, in the year 1384.

8. *Walter* surnamed *Forrester*, in the year 1434.

9. *John*, who was likewise Chancellor, Anno 1434. In his time was the Church of *Cortoguhy* annexed to the Bishoprick by *Walter Palatine* of *Strathern*, Earl of *Athol*, Lord *Brichen* and *Cortoguhy*.

10. *George Shorewood* succeeded him in both charges, Anno 1483. In his time was the Church of *Funeven* made one of the Chapter.

11. Another called *John* was made Bishop in the year 1483.

12. *William Meldrum* succeeded in the year 1500.

13. And after his death *John Hepburn*, Anno 1552.

14. To him succeeded ----- *Sinclare*, Dean of *Restalrig*, a little before the Reformation.

The Bishops of DUMBLANE.

The See of *Dumblane* was founded likewise by King *David*.

1. *Jonathus* was the first Bishop. He died in the year 1200, or thereabout, and was buried at *Inchaffray*.

2. *Simon*

The succession of the Bishops of *Dumblane*.

An. 1210.

2. *Simon*, who succeeded him, lived not a year.

3. *Abraham*, Chaplain to *Gilbert* Earl of *Stratherne*, was consecrated in the year 1210. This was the Earl who gave a third part of his lands to the See of *Dumblane*, and another third part to the Abby of *Inchaffray*.

4. *William* called *Gulielmus de Bosco* was next preferred to the See, and shortly after created Chancellor.

5. *Osbert*, Abbot of *Cambuskenneth* succeeded. He died in the year 1231.

6. The sixth Bishop was *Clemens*, a Frier of the *Dominican* Order, consecrated in the *Stowe* Church of *Weddal*, in the year 1233. This man was an excellent Preacher, learned above many of that time, and of singular integrity of conversation: he gave divers lands and rents to the Church of *Culroft*, and restored the Cathedral Church of *Dumblane*, which was decayed. *Leander Bononiensis*, in his third Book *De viris illustribus Predicatorum*, remembreth him with a special commendation. The like doth *Philippus Wolphius*, in his third Book *De vitis peritorum virorum*. He died in the year 1236.

7. *Robert* was after him elected. This is he who was sent with *Richard* Bishop of *Dunkeld* by the rest of the Prelates in the year 1268, to protest against the proceedings of *Ottobon* the Popes Legate for the contribution imposed by him upon the *Scottish* Clergy towards the charge of the Holy War.

8. *Alpin* after him governed the See some few years.

9. Then one *Nicolaus* was made Bishop. He gave the half of the Church of *Strowan* to the Abby of *Inchaffray*.

10. After him succeeded *Maurice* Abbot of *Inchaffray*, a Prelate of great spirit, who gave great encouragement to his Countrey-men in that famous Battel of *Bonnockburn*, and was therefore chosen by King *Robert Bruce* to be his Confessor after that Battel. The See falling void, he was preferred to the same.

11. One *William* succeeded to him.

12. Then *Walter Cambuslang* in the year 1363.

13. And after him was *Finlan*, commonly called *Dermoch*, who built the Bridge of *Dumblane*, and died in the year 1419.

14. *William Stephen*, one of the first Professors in the University of *S. Andrews*, was after him preferred.

15. Upon his death *Michael Ochiltre* succeeded, a wealthy Prelate and well esteemed. He purchased to his See a great part of the forfeited lands of *Stratherne*, adorned the Cathedral Church with many rich ornaments, built the Bridge of *Knaig* at *Machant*, with the Church of *Muthill*, and did in his time divers other good works.

16. After him succeeded *Robert Lawder*, who founded divers Prebendaries and Canonries in the Church of *Dumblane*.

17. *John Hepburn* succeeded in the year 1471. This Bishop had a long contention with the Abbot of *Inchaffray* for certain Churches claimed by the Abbot, but the matter was afterwards pacified. He died in the year 1508, and was buried in the Quire of the Cathedral Church.

18. *James Chisholme* obtained the Bishoprick after his death by the Popes provision, and carried himself in his charge very commendably: a severe censour he was of the corrupt manners of the Clergy, and recovered many lands and possessions which were sacrilegiously taken from the Church before his time. He died in the year 1534.

19. To whom succeeded *William Chisholme* his brother, a wicked and vicious man, who, for hatred he bare to true Religion, made away all the lands of the Bishoprick, and utterly spoiled the Benefice.

The Bishops of ROSS.

1. This See was also one of King *David's* Foundations. The first Bishop I find was one *Gregorius*.

The succession of the Bishops of *Ross*.

2. *Reinaldus*,

L

An. 1066.

2. *Reynaldus*, a member of *Melrofs* who died in the year 1213.
3. *Andrew Murray* was chosen in his place, but he shortly after resigned the same to
4. *Robert*, Chaplain to *Alexander* the Second.
5. After him one *Matthew* was elected and consecrated by Pope *Gregory* the Tenth at *Viterbium*, in the year 1274.

Then succeed these in order.

6. *Thomas Dundie*.
7. *Roger*.
8. *Alexander*.
9. *Thomas Urwhart*.
10. *Alexander Kilbuines*.
11. *William Bullock*.

12. *Thomas Tullich*.
13. *Henry Cokborne*.
14. *James Woodmand*.
15. *Thomas Hay*.
16. *John Guthrie*.
17. *John Frazer*.
18. *Robert Cokburn*.

19. *William Elphinstone*, who was afterwards Bishop of *Aberdene*.
20. *James Hay*.

21. *Robert Carnrocffe*, Abbot of *Halirudhouse*, a man of great wealth, and preferred by King *James* the Fifth to this See about the 1534. year, and lived ten years Bishop.

22. *David Panter*, Secretary to the Governor, was after his death elected in the year 1544, and immediately after employed in a Legation to *France*, where he remained seven years. At his return he was solemnly consecrated, the Governour and many of the Nobility being present. He was a man learned, and of great experience in publick affairs, and died about the year 1550.

23. To him succeeded *Henry Sinclair*, Dean of *Glasgow*, and Vice-president in the College of Justice: a man of singular wisdom and learning, especially in the Laws; which place he discharged with good credit. By his advice many things were bettered in the form of Justice, and divers abuses in the forms of process amended. His death fell out shortly after the Reformation, and in his place Mr. *John Lesly* (of whom we shall have often occasion to speak) was preferred.

The Bishops of CATHNES.

The succession
of the Bishops
of *Cathnes*.

1. This Bishoprick was founded by *Malcolm* the Third, about the year 1066, who preferred thereto one *Darrus*, whom he favoured greatly. This man lived long and in a good reputation, and after his death was honoured for a Saint.

2. There succeeded to him one *Andrew*, of whom *Roger Hoveden* makes mention, saying that he came into *England* with *William* King of *Scots* in the year 1176, and shortly after his return home departed this life.

3. To him succeeded *John*, the Bishop that *Harold* the Earl of *Orkney* and *Cathnes* used most cruelly, cutting forth his tongue, and pulling out his eyes: which King *William* (in whose Reign it happened) punished exemplarily; for he caused the Earl his eyes first to be pulled out, then made him to be executed by the hands of the hangman, and all his male children to be gelded, to extinguish their succession.

4. *Adam*, another Bishop, whether his immediate successor or not, I cannot say, was no less barbarously used; for in the year 1222, or much thereabout, some wicked people suborned by the Earl of *Cathnes* assailed him being private at home, and killing his chamber-boy, with a Monk of *Melrofs* that did ordinarily attend him (for he had been Abbot of that Monastery) drew him by force into his kitchen, and when they had scourged him with rods, set the kitchen on fire, and burnt him therein. King *Alexander* the Second was at that time upon his journey towards *England*, and upon notice of this cruel fact turned back, and went in haste to *Cathnes*, where

where he put the offenders and their partakers to trial: 400. by publick sentence were executed, and all their male-children gelded, that no succession should spring from so wicked a seed. The place where their Stones were cast in a heap together is to this day known by the name of *Stony-hill*. The Earl for withholding his help, and because he did not rescue the Bishop, was forfeited. And howbeit after some little time he found means to be restored, yet did he not escape the judgment of God, being murdered by some of his own servants who conspired to kill him, and, to conceal the fact, set the house on fire, and burnt his body therein: so was he paid home in the same measure he had used the Bishop.

5. To this *Adam* succeeded *Gilbert* the Canon, surnamed *Murray*, and Son to the Lord of *Duffus*, who was in great esteem for the bold & courageous answer he made to the Pope's Legate at *Northampton*. He built the Cathedral-Church of *Cathnes* upon his own charges, & lived to see the same finished, & shortly after the dedication died at *Scravister* in the year 1245. The *Posteris* gave him the reputation of a Saint.

6. *William*, who succeeded, followed his steps, and did much good in his time. He died the year 1261.

7. Then *Walter*, Doctor in the Canon Law, who lived ten years, and ended his days in the year 1271.

8. *Archibald*, a man much commended for his meek and tractable disposition, succeeding, died in the year 1288.

9. *Andrew* a man skilled in the Laws, was preferred after his death, and lived Bishop 13 years.

10. *Fergus* succeeded to him. This Bishop was a strong defender of the Liberties of the Church, and died in the year 1328.

11. *David* that followed lived 20 years Bishop, and departed this life an. 1348.

12. *Thomas Fingask* was next Bishop. He died in the Canonry of *Elgin* an. 1360, and lieth buried in S. *Maries* Isle in a Tomb erected by *William* Earl of *Sutherland*, whom he left his Executor.

13. To him succeeded Bishop *Alexander*, who lived many years in that See, and died in the year 1409.

Then these in order.

14. *Malcolm*, a zealous and devout man, who died anno 1421.

15. *Robert Strackbock* died anno 1440.

16. *John Innes*, Dean of *Rosse*, in the year 1448.

17. *William Mudie* died anno 1460.

18. After whom one *Prosper* was elected, but he resigned the place in favour of *John Sinclair*, Son to the Earl of *Cathnes*, who was never consecrated, and so the See remained void the space of 24 years; during which time Mr. *Adam Gordon* governed the affairs of that See.

After *Sinclair's* death succeeded *Andrew Stewart* Commendatory of *Kelfo* and *Ferne*. He died in the year 1517 and was buried in the Cathedral-Church of *Cathnes*. *Andrew Stewart*, Son to the Earl of *Athol*, was preferred after him, and died in the year 1542.

Then *Robert Stewart*, Brother to *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox*, was made Bishop. He was afterwards made Prior of S. *Andrews*, and created Earl of *March*, upon his resignation of the Earldom of *Lenox* to Duke *Esme*. A man of noble disposition, but much addicted to his servants, whom he rewarded with dilapidation of the Church-rents, whereto he was provided. He died at S. *Andrews* very old, in the year 1586.

The Bishops of ORKNEY.

The Islands of *Orkney* lying over against *Cathnes* have always since they were made Christians been governed by Bishops; but being possessed by the whilest that Kingdom stood, and for a long time in the hands of the *Norwegians*, from whom *Alexander* the Third King of *Scots* recovered the same by composition,

The Bishops
of *Orkney*.

An. 1137.

the first Bishops and their successors are utterly unknown: of the latter I have no intelligence, nor in the Records that remain is there any mention of them, only I read of six or seven that sate in this See before the Reformation.

1. One *William* that lived in the time of King *Robert* the Third, 1390.
2. *William Tullock*, who was translated to *Murray* in the reign of King *James* the Third, anno 1464.
3. To whom succeeded another *William*, who died about the year 1469.
4. After him we read of one *Andrew*.
5. Then *Edward*, who consecrated the Chappel of the Kings Colledge of *Aberdene*, about the year 1503.
6. After whom *Robert Maxwell* was Bishop in the time that King *James* the Fifth did visit the North and West Isles of *Scotland* 1536.
7. To him succeeded *Robert Reid*, a man of excellent wit and great experience, imployed in divers Legations, and selected amongst others by the Estates to assist the Marriage of Queen *Mary* with *Francis* the Dolphin of *France*. He died in his return at *Diep* in *Normandy*, much lamented, for he was of great integrity, and careful in the administration of justice, 1558.

The Bishops of GLASGOW.

The succession
of the Bishops
of Glasgow.

This City at first was made famous by *Kentigern*, commonly called *S. Mungo*, who is esteemed the first Bishop thereof. I spake of him before, and shewed how he was begotten by *Eugenius* the Third upon *Thametis* Daughter to the King of *Picts*. His Mother finding her self with child, out of shame and fear of her Fathers wrath stole privately away, and entering into a little Vessel that she found at the nearest coast, was by the wind and waves cast on land where the Town of *Culross* is now situated; there was delivered of her birth, and leaving the child with a nurse, returned home. His Parents being unknown, he was brought to *Servanus*, and baptized and bred up by him; yet it seems by the Hymn they did ordinarily sing in the Festivals, that his Father came afterwards to be known, for thus it begins.

They report of him, that a Lady of good place in the country having lost a Ring which her Husband gave her, as she crossed the River of *Clud*, and her Husband waxing jealous, as if she had bestowed the same upon one of her Lovers, she did mean herself unto him, intreating his help for the safety of her honour; and that he going to the River, after he had used his Devotion, willed one who was making to fish, to bring him the first that he caught; which was done: in the mouth of that fish he found the Ring, and sending it to the Lady, she was thereby freed of her Husbands suspicion. The credit of this I believe upon the reporters; but howsoever it be, the See and City do both of them bear in their Arms a Fish with a Ring in the mouth even to this day. He was certainly a man of rare Piety, and to the poor exceeding bountiful, lived to a great age, beyond the ordinary course of men, as in the conclusion of the Hymn is said.

*Cum octogenos centum quoque quinque vir annos
Complerat, sanctus est Glasgow funere functus.*

After his death for many ages the See was in a manner desolate, upon the reign of *Malcolm* the Third, who restored the same to some integrity. The first Bishop I find named after the restitution was,

1. *John Achaian*, who took great pains in building the Cathedral, and having brought it to a reasonable perfection, did dedicate the same in the year 1137. King *David* being there in person, and bestowing upon the See the lands of *Patrick*, which the Bishops do yet enjoy. It was in his time that *Thurstan* Archbishop of *Tork* encroaching upon his Jurisdiction, (which at that time comprehended the Countrey of *Cumberland*) placed a new Bishop at *Carlisle*, by the instigation of *Henry* King of *England*. This the Bishop took so heavily, as, when he perceived his

his complaints not much regarded, he forsook his Charge, and went into *France*, An. 1207. inclosing himself in the Monastery of *Tours*, where he abode until the Pope, at the request of King *Malcolm* the Fourth, compelled him to return; after which time he lived not long, for he died at *Glasgow* in the year 1146, the twenty eighth of May.

2. To him succeeded another called *John*, who was greatly favoured by King *Alexander* the First, and did counsel *Eadmerus*, because of the Kings dislike, to leave *S. Andrews*, and return unto *England*.
3. *Herbert* was his successor, and in his time the controversy with *Tork* was great, for the Superiority claimed by one *Roger* Archbishop of *Tork* over the Bishops of *Scotland*. This contention drew *Angelramus* Archdeacon of *Glasgow*, and Chancellor of the Kingdom for the time, to travel unto *Rome*, as was touched before; and *Herbert* dying whilst he was there,
4. *Angelramus* by an uniform consent of the Clergy and Laity was elected in his place, and, upon notice given of the Election, consecrated by Pope *Alexander* at *Rome*, from whom he obtained an exemption to the Church of *Scotland* from the Jurisdiction of the *English* and all others, the Apostolick See only excepted. Shortly after his return he died.

5. *Jocelin* Abbot of *Melrose* was his successor. In his time the City of *Glasgow* was erected into a Burgh Royal. He died at *Melrose*, and was interred in that Monastery.

6. *Eugenius* was chosen after his death, but how long he lived, I read not.
7. *Hugo* Chancellor of the Kingdom succeeded, and lived but a few years.
8. After him *William Malvoisin* a Frenchman was elected, and consecrated in *France* by the Popes direction. He was afterward translated to *S. Andrews*, and preferred to the office of Chancellor.
9. *Florentius*, Son to the Count of *Holland*, was assumed in his place; and shortly after, upon licence obtained of the Pope, he resigned the Office, and died at *Rome* in the year 1207.
10. And then *Walter* Chaplain to King *William*, was consecrated Bishop. He lived in the place 27 years.
11. *William Babington*, Chancellor of the Kingdom, was after his death elected Bishop. In his time, as *Boeth* writeth, the fabrick of the Church of *Glasgow* was fully accomplished: his words are, *Absolutum est ea tempestate templum Cathedrale Glasguense, sedes profecto magnifica, cujus haud exigua partem Gulielmus ibidem Episcopus liberalitate sua extruxerat, nec diu operi perfecto superstit.* He died the 25 of January 1261.

12. The Canons meeting to chuse a Successor, condescended upon *Nicole Moffet* Archdeacon of *Teviotdale*; yet shortly after forethinking their Election, they procured the same to be called at *Rome*, whither he was gone to obtain Confirmation. Thereupon *John de Chyan* an Englishman was by the Pope provided to the See, whom King *Alexander* the Third admitted with great difficulty. This man is said to have been learned, but very troublesome to the Canons, upon whom he laid grievous impositions. The discord betwixt him and them waxing hot, he left the Country, and going to *France*, died there in the year 1268.

13. *Nicole Moffet* Archdeacon of *Teviotdale* was upon his death provided to the See, notwithstanding the opposition of the Canons: but he lived a short time, and died at *Tunningham* of the Apoplexie. He was no less hated of his Clergy, whom he is said to vex with many injuries.

14. *William Wishart*, Archdeacon of *S. Andrews*, and Chancellor of the Kingdom, was chosen of the Canons in the year 1270. But *S. Andrews* falling void by the death of *Gamelinus*, before his consecration he was postulated thereto, and so returned to *S. Andrews*.

15. *Robert Wishart*, Archdeacon of *Lothian*, and Cousen to the said *William*, was upon his change by the Kings recommendation admitted to the place. This is he who made that reply to King *Edward*, in the Consultation held at *Norham* for the right of the Crown, whereof we spake in the life of *William Fraser* Bishop

An. 1325. shop of *S. Andrews*: a worthy man, and a great lover of his Country, for which he suffered much trouble, being made prisoner and sent unto *London*, where he was kept some years; afterwards obtaining liberty, he returned to his See, and therein performed many good works. He died the 26 of *November*, 1316, and was buried in the Church of *Glasgow* betwixt the Altars of *S. Peter* and *S. Andrew*.

16. *John Lindeſay* ſucceeded, a man given much to the adorning of his Church. He died the ninth of *April* 1325, and was buried in the Cathedral, nigh to the Altar of the Bleſſed Virgin.

17. Mr. *Stephen Dundy* was the ſame year elected Biſhop, and going to *Rome* to be confirmed, died by the way, not without ſuſpicion of poiſon given him at a Feaſt made by the Friars Predicant of *Glasgow*.

18. In his place was choſen *John Wiſhart*, who in his return from *Rome* was taken priſoner by the *Engliſh*, and died ſome few days after.

19. *William Rae*, a good and zealous man, was after him choſen by the conſent of the whole Chapter. He redeemed the poſſeſſions of the Church which his predeceſſors had alienated, built the ſtone Bridge at *Glasgow*, and, having done many good works, died in the year 1367.

20. After his death *Walter Wardlaw* ſucceeded. Pope *Urban* the Sixth did prefer him to be Cardinal in the year 1384; and in the third year after he died.

21. Then was Mr. *Matthew Glendonning* provided to the place. In his time the Steeple, which was all built of Timber, was burnt by Lightning; in place whereof he intended to build one of Stone, and made therefore great preparation, but was prevented by death in the year 1408.

22. His ſucceſſor *William Lawder* finiſhed the work. He was Chancellor of *Scotland*, and without the Chapters Election provided by the Pope of mere authority, which was never done in that See before.

23. After him *John Cameron* was Biſhop, a man given to Violence and Oppreſſion, who committing many deeds full of cruelty and covetouſneſs, eſpecially upon his own Tenants and Vaſſals, made (as the ſame goeth) a fearful and unhappy end; for in the year 1446, the night before *Chriſtmas* day, as he lay aſleep in his houſe of *Lockwood*, ſome ſeven miles from the City of *Glasgow*, he ſeemed to hear a voice ſummoning him to appear before the tribunal of *Chriſt*, and give an account of his doings. Thereupon he awak'd, and being greatly terrified, did call his ſervants to bring lights and ſit by him; he himſelf took a Book in his hand, and began to read: but the voice being again heard, ſtruck all the ſervants with amazement. The ſame voice calling the third time far louder and more fearfully, the Biſhop after a heavy groan was found dead in the bed, his tongue hanging out of his mouth. This, reported by *Buchanan* almoſt in the ſame words, I thought good to remember, as a notable example of Gods judgment againſt the crying ſin of Oppreſſion.

24. To *Cameron* ſucceeded *James Bruce*, who was tranſlated from *Dunkeld* to this See in the year 1446, and preferred to be Chancellor of the Kingdom.

25. After him Mr. *William Turnbull* (others called him *David*) was choſen Biſhop. He founded the College of *Glasgow*.

26. Upon his death *Andrew Moorehead* was elected. The Hoſpital near the Caſtle was his Foundation.

27. To *Moorehead* ſucceeded *John Lang*, who was Chancellor of *Scotland*.

28. He dying, Mr. *George Carmichael* was promoted, but not conſecrated; for he died going to *Rome* for Confirmation.

29. *Robert Blacader*, Biſhop of *Aberdene*, was after his death tranſlated to this See. In his time was the See of *Glasgow* erected in an Archbiſhoprick, for which aroſe a great contention betwixt *Shevez* Archbiſhop of *S. Andrews* and him, which after was ſome treaty pacified, and *Galloway*, *Argile* and *Iſles* appointed Suffragans to *Glasgow*. He lived until the year 1500, at what time taking his journey toward *Jeruſalem*, he departed this life in the way thither.

30. Mr. *James*

30. Mr. *James Beaton* upon his death was preferred, and ſate Biſhop twenty two years; thereafter he was tranſlated to *S. Andrews*, of whom you may read. An. 631.

31. Mr. *Gawan Dumbart*, Tutor to the King, upon his Tranſlation was promoted; a good and learned man. He was afterwards made Chancellor of the Kingdom, and adminiſtered the Office with good commendation.

32. Mr. *James Beaton* ſucceeded after his death, in whoſe time the Reformation fell forth, and of him we ſhall have occaſion afterwards to ſpeak.

The Biſhops of GALLOWAY.

1. *Ninnian* had his chief abode in the Country of *Galloway*, and built there a Church all of white ſtone, which was therefore called *Candida caſa*, and to this day in the Country Language *Whitherne*, as you would ſay, a white Houſe. He is accounted the firſt Biſhop of this See. The Biſhops of Galloway.

2. In the year 631, one *Plehelmus* (*Beda* calleth him *Peſſelmus*) was here Biſhop.

3. *Frithwoldus* ſucceeded to him, and died in the year 768.

4. After him *Pethumus*, who deceaſed anno 778.

5. Then *Ethelbert*.

6. And after him *Baldulphus*. Further mention I find not of any Biſhop in this See in thoſe firſt times; and it ſeems it hath been quite decayed, before *Malcolm* the Third reſtored the ſame.

In the latter times I read only of theſe following.

7. *John* Biſhop of *Galloway*, who reſigned his Charge, and became a Monk in the Abby of *Halirudhouſe*.

8. *Thomas Spence*, tranſlated from *Galloway* to *Aberdene* in the year 1458.

9. *David*, who was alſo Dean of the Kings Chappel.

10. *Alexander*.

11. *Henry*.

12. *George*, unto whom ſucceeded *Andrew Dury*, who died at *Edinburgh* anno 1556.

13. And Biſhop *Alexander Gordon*, who lived at the Reformation, and embraced the Truth.

The Biſhops of ARGILE.

This Biſhoprick was part of the Dioceſe of *Dunkeld*, until *John Scot* Biſhop thereof obtained of *Clement* the Third a diviſion of the Biſhoprick, as you may read in the Catalogue of the Biſhops of *Dunkeld*. The Biſhops of Argile.

1. Then was *Ewaldus* or *Harold* his Chaplain conſecrated Biſhop, and the Seat appointed to be at *Liſmore*, a ſmall Iſle in the Bay of *Inner-Lochy*, lying over againſt *Lorn*, whence the Biſhop of this See is ſtyled *Liſmorenſis Epiſcopus*. This erection was made in the year 1200.

2. To *Harold* ſucceeded *William*, who periſhed by a tempeſt at Sea, in the year 1240.

3. And to him another of the ſame name.

4. Then *David*, who was Biſhop in the year 1330.

5. In the year 1425, one *Finlaw* Biſhop of *Argile*, *Vir ordinis Dominicani*, as *Buchanan* ſaith, upon the apprehenſion of Duke *Murdach*, joyned with the Dukes youngſt Son againſt King *James* the Firſt, and fled with him into *Ireland*. The King complaining of him to Pope *Martin* the Fifth, he gave Commiſſion to the Biſhops of *S. Andrews* and *Dumblane* to call him before them, and finding him guilty, to depoſe him from the place; but he in the mean time died in *Ireland*.

6. So by the proviſion *George* Laird of *Balcomie* in *Fife*, was preferred to the See. How long he lived Biſhop, and who ſucceeded ſince his time, I have not learned.

The

An. 1289.

The Bishops of the ISLES.

The Bishops
of the Isles.

During the heat of the Tenth persecution against the Primitive Christians, under *Dioclesian* the Roman Emperour, many *Britains*, Clergy-men, Monks and others fled into *Scotland* for refuge, and were lovingly entertained by *Crathlinth*, who gave them the Isle of *Man* to inhabit, and assigned to them sufficient revenues for their maintenance. In this Isle, *Crathlinth* built a stately Church to the honour of our Saviour, called *Sodorense Fanum*; hence the Bishops of the Isles were called *Sodorense Episcopi*.

1. The First Bishop was *Amphibalus* a *Britain* born, and a man of excellent piety, he lived very long, carefully instructing the *Scots* and *Picts*, in the Christian Religion. He flourished about the year 360.
2. The next Bishop we read of, was *Machilla*, who confirmed *S. Bride* or *Brida* in her purpose of single life. He flourished anno 516.
3. *Michael*, the time he lived in is uncertain.
4. After the Bishoprick was erected by Pope *Gregory* the Fourth, we read of *Nicolas* who was Bishop anno 1203.
5. Then *Reginald*, anno 1217.
6. Whether *Richard* (who dedicated the Church of *S. Maryes* in the *Castle-town*) was his immediate successor, I cannot tell. He flourished anno 1257. During the times of these three last Bishops the Isles were sometimes under the *Norwegians*, sometimes under the *Scots*. But after that the Isle of *Man* was made a member of the *English* Empire, the rest of the West Isles did withdraw their obedience from the Bishop thereof, and did chuse a Bishop of their own. The Seat was translated to the Isle of *Icolmkill*, and the Bishop had his residence in the Abbey of *Saint Colme*. After the translation of the See I read of
7. *Onacus* who is reported to have been a good and godly man. He flourished anno 1289.
8. *Marcus*, who was Chancellor of *Scotland* in the time of the debate between *Robert Bruce* and *John Baliol* for the Crown.
9. Wether *Mauricins* (whom *Edward* the First of *England*, carried prisoner to *London*) was the same man, or his successor, I cannot tell.
- 10 I read of one of the Bishops of the Isles, who was slain with King *James* the Fourth at the unfortunate battel of *Flowdon* anno 1513. but I could never recover his name. And thus far of the succession of Bishops unto the time of the Reformation.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

The Third BOOK.

The History of the Reformation of the Church, and how it is wrought.

THE Petitions put up to the Queen Regent for Reformation of the Church taking no effect, some Noblemen and Barons joyning in counsel did bind themselves by Oaths and Subscriptions to assist one another, and hazard their lives and substance, in advancing the cause of Religion. The principals were *Archibald* Earl of *Argile*, *Alexander* Earl of *Glencarne*, *James* Earl of *Morton*, *Archibald* Lord of *Lorne*, *Sir James Sandelands* of *Calder*, *John Erskin* of *Dun*, and *William Maitland* of *Lettington*. An. 1558.

They meeting together, after deliberation what should be fittest first to do, concluded, That in all Parishes the Curates should be caused read the Prayers and Lessons of the Old and New Testament on Sundays and other Festival days, according to the form set forth in the Book of Common Prayers; and if they should refuse, that the most qualified in every Parish should do the same. But for Preaching and interpretation of Scripture, the same should be used only in private houses after a quiet manner, till God should move the Queen to grant farther liberty. An Act for publick Service.

This accordingly was performed in the parts where they had commandment, and by their example in divers Towns and Parishes of the Countrey the like was done, to the great offence of the Clergy, who complaining of that boldness to the Queen Regent were answered, that it was no fit time to enter into those matters, and that she should find occasion ere it were long to put order unto them. But the Clergy fearing delays did forthwith call a Provincial Council at *Edinburgh*; where professing to make reformation of abuses, they renewed some old Popish Constitutions, which they made to be imprinted and affixed upon the doors of all the Parish-Churches. History of the Church.

The Bishop of *S. Andrews*, advertised of the Reformation begun in *Argile*, sent to the Earl *Sir David Hamilton* his Cousen, with a Letter, wherein after he had shewed the peril in which he cast both himself and his House by that open Defection from the Church, he desired him in some honest fashion to rid himself of that defamed and perjured Apostate who had seduced him; (this was one Mr. *John Douglas* whom the Earl had taken to be his Minister) offering to provide him of a learned and wise Preacher, for whom he would lay his Soul in pawn that he should teach no other but true Doctrine, and agreeable to the Catholick Faith. The Earl answered, 'That for peril he feared none either to himself or his House, having resolved to live in obedience to his Prince, and to serve God as well as he could according to his written Word: and for the Defection alledged, seeing it had pleased

The Clergy
complaining
to the Queen
Regent.The Bishop of
S. Andrews
letter to the
Earl of *Argile*.The Earl of
Argile his an-
swer.

An. 1558. *pleased God to open his eyes and give him the knowledge of his Truth, which he took for a great argument of his favour, he would not relinquish or forsake it for fear of any inconveniences. As to the man he wrote of, he said that he heard him teach the Doctrine of Christ, condemn Idolatry, Adultery, Fornication, and such like wickedness, and that he should make him give an account thereof whensoever he should be cited. But to call him defamed and perjured there was no reason seeing he was not declared to be such by any Sentence; and if he had in former times made any unlawful oath, he had done much better in violating the same, than if he had observed it. Farther, whereas he made offer to provide him of some learned man, he gave him thanks, considering the necessity there was of labourers in the Lord's harvest; but he understood what his meaning in that was, and minded not to be led with any such Teachers. In end he wished him not to begin the battel with him, whereof the event would be doubtful; for as to himself he knew God was God, and should be God still, whatsoever mans craft could work or devise.*

The Feast of S. Giles.

The Bishop receiving this answer did communicate the same with the chief of the Clergy, who thereby conceiving that there was some business in hand, began to think of other defences; and the Feast-day of S. Giles, or *Sanctus Egidius*, talking out about that time to be kept at *Edinburgh*, they intreated the Queen Regent to honor the solemnity with her presence. The custom was in that time of the year to carry the Image of the Saint in procession through the Town, (for they had S. Giles to their Patron) with Drums, Trumpets, and all sort of musical instruments; neither was there any day kept more superstitiously than this. The Queen agreed the rather to accompany the procession, for that some Tumult was feared, which she thought her presence would repress. But when the time of the Solemnity was come, the Saint was missing, for some had stoln the Image out of the place where it was kept. This made a stay, till another little Image was borrowed from the Gray Friars; which the vulgar in mockery called *young Saint Giles*. Herewith they set forward, the Regent accompanying the people till the Procession was nigh ended; then withdrawing her self to the lodging where she was to dine, she was no sooner gone than some youths, provided for the purpose, drawing near unto the *Fertor*, and making a shew to carry it upon their shoulders, after they had walked some few paces, and perceived by the motion they made the Image was fixed to the *Fertor*, they threw all to the ground, and taking the Image by the heels, dashed the same against the stones, so as head and hands were beaten off, and the Idol wholly defaced. The people hereupon fell a crying, the Priests and Church-men betook them to flight, and a great stir was in the streets. Some hours the Fray continued, and being in end settled by the authority of the Magistrates, the whole Clergy that were in Town assembled themselves; and making the best countenance they could, indicted a solemn meeting in the beginning of *November* next.

The Procession disturbed by a Tumult.

Paul Methuen cited.

To this diet *Paul Methuen* was summoned, and not appearing, was decerned for his contumacy to be banished the Realm: a prohibition likewise was given to all the subjects, that none of them should entertain or receive him in their houses. Nottheless the Town of *Dundy*, where he abode, forbore not to hear his Sermons, and minister unto him all necessities. Meanwhile they who had combined for working a Reformation did send into all parts of the Realm to solicit persons to joyn in that cause, and purchase the subscriptions of those that were willing unto a Bond which was framed to that effect. Some moved with a zeal to Religion, others out of a desire to change, and the greatest part longing to be relieved of the oppressions of the Church-men, were easily moved to consent. So when they understood by the return of the Subscriptions, that the Country for the most part was inclined that way, and that in force and power they were nothing inferior to their adversaries, they resolved to begin and make an end of the work: yet lest they should seem to condemn Authority, they concluded to present a Supplication to the Queen Regent and Council, to whom *the redress of all enormities both Ecclesiastical and Civil did orderly belong*; (these were the words of the Supplication:) and to this effect made choice of Sir *James Sandelands of Calder*, an honourable Baron, and of great account, to present the Petitions following.

Supplication to the Queen Regent for Reformation.

1. That their Ministers might be permitted, in conceiving of publick Prayers and the administration of the Sacraments, to use the Vulgar language understood by the people.

An. 1558. Petitions for Reformation.

2. That the Sacrament of the Supper might be ministred in both kinds, according to our Saviours institution.

3. That the election of Ministers should be according to the manner used in the primitive Church, that those who had the charge of election should enquire diligently of the Life and Doctrine of such as were admitted.

4. That seeing by corruption of time ignorant and scandalous persons had been promoted to Ecclesiastical offices, they should after trial be discharged, and other more sufficient put in their places.

These Petitions were no way pleasing to the Queen Regent, yet because the Parliament was approaching, wherein the matrimonial Crown and naturalization of the French were to be passed, she thought best to keep them in hope, saying, *That all they could lawfully desire should be granted unto them; mean while they were licentiated to use their Prayers and Service in the vulgar language, providing they did keep no publick assemblies in Edinburgh or Leith, for eschewing of Tumults.*

The Queens answer.

The Prelates having notice of this were highly incensed, and when their consent was required (for the same Petitions were presented to them) carrying themselves more imperiously than before, answered, that *they would not depart a jot from the decrees of Trent*. Afterwards being a little calmed, they made offer to commit the cause to dispute, which by these of the Congregation (this was the title given commonly to the Reformers) was accepted upon two conditions; one, that the controversies in Religion might be decided by the Scripture; the other condition was, that such of their brethren as were exiled or condemned might assist the dispute, and have safe conduct given them to that effect. But both the conditions were denied; for neither would they admit any other Judge but the Canon Law and Council, nor would they dispense with any sentence by them pronounced. Some of them that affected quietness propounded other conditions of reconciliation; that if the Congregation would suffer the Mass to be held in the wonted reverence, if they would acknowledge Purgatory, confess the invocation of Saints, and admit Prayers for the dead, they should be allowed to pray and administrate the Sacraments in a known language. But those conditions were held so ridiculous and absurd, as they were not vouchsafed any answer.

A dispute offered by the Clergy, and accepted by the Congregation.

Ridiculous conditions offered to the Petitioners.

Soon after this the Parliament being assembled, the Articles following were presented to the Queen Regent.

Articles presented by the Congregation to the Parliament.

1. That in regard the Controversies in Religion, which had a long time continued betwixt the Protestants in *Germany* and the *Roman* Church, were not as yet decided by a lawful General Council, and that they themselves upon the same grounds could not any longer communicate with Papists in their idolatrous Religion; the humble desire of the Congregation was, that all such Acts of Parliament as warranted Church-men to proceed against Hereticks might be abrogated, or at least suspended, till in a lawful General Council the Controversies depending were determined.

2. And lest it should hereby seem that they desired a liberty to profess what they pleased, they humbly required that all such might be led before the temporal Judge, the Prelates and their officers being only permitted to accuse; with this proviso, that an authentick Copy of the accusation should be delivered to the person accused, and a competent term assigned him to answer.

3. That all lawful defences should be received from Persons accused of Heresie, and they allowed to except against the Witnesses according to Law.

4. That the party accused should have liberty to expone his own mind, and that his Declaration might carry more faith than the deposition of whatsoever Witnesses; forasmuch as no person ought to suffer for Religion, who is not known to be obstinate in his wicked opinions.

5. That none of their profession should be condemned for Heresie, unless they were first convinced by the Word of God to have erred from the Faith, which the holy Spirit witnesseth to be necessary to Salvation.

The

An. 1558.

The Queen Regent stayeth the presenting of the Articles.

The Queen receiving the Articles answered in effect as before, That it was not safe for her to utter her mind at that time; which if she should do, the spiritual Estate would not fail to oppose her in all business. But how soon the publick matters were passed, they should know what a good mind she bare unto them. Howeverbeit this answer did no way content the wiser sort, yet knowing that the Articles would not pass in an Act if she should dissent, they resolved to surcease from presenting them to the Estates, only desired they might be permitted to make a Protestation, which they did in this sort.

The Protestation made by those that desired Reformation.

It is not unknown to this honorable Parliament, what Controversie is of late arisen betwixt those that will be called Prelates and Rulers of the Church, and a great number of us the Nobility and Commonalty of this Realm for the true worshipping of God, the duty of Ministers, and the right administration of the holy Sacraments: and how we have complained to the Queen Regent, that our Consciences are burthened with unprofitable Ceremonies, and we compelled to endure many idolatrous abuses; that such as take upon them Offices Ecclesiastical do perform no part of the duty which is required of true Ministers, and that we and our brethren are most unjustly oppressed by their usurped authority. As also we suppose it to be sufficiently known to your Honors, that we were of mind this present Parliament to seek redress of these enormities; but considering the troubles of the time do not suffer such a Reformation as we by the warrant of God's Word do require, we are enforced to delay that, which of all things most earnestly we desire; and yet lest our silence should give our adversaries occasion to think that we repent us of our former intentions, we cannot cease to protest for remedy against that unjust Tyranny, which heretofore patiently we have sustained.

Therefore first we protest, that seeing we cannot obtain just Reformation according to God's Word, that it may be lawful to us to use our selves in matters of Religion and Conscience, as we must answer unto God, until such time as our adversaries be able to prove themselves the true Ministers of Christ's Church, and purge themselves of such crimes as we have already laid to their charge, offering our selves to prove the same, whenever the sacred Authority shall please to give us audience.

Secondly, we protest, that neither we nor any other of the godly that please to joyn with us in the true Faith, which is grounded upon the word of God, shall incur any danger of life or lands, or other political pains, for not observing such acts as have passed heretofore in favor of our adversaries, or for violating such Rites as have been invented by man without the Commandment of God.

We thirdly protest, that if any tumult or uproar shall arise amongst the members of the Realm for the diversity of Religion, and if it shall chance that abuses be violently reformed, the crime be not imputed to us, who now do most humbly seek that all things may be reformed by order: but that whatsoever inconvenience shall happen to ensue for lack of timely redress, the same may be imputed to those that will not as now hearken to our Petitions for reformation.

And last we protest, that these our requests, proceeding from Conscience, do tend to no other end but only to the reformation of abuses in religion; most humbly beseeching the sacred authority to think of us as faithful and obedient subjects, and take us in their protection, keeping that indifferency which becometh God's Lieutenants to use towards those that in his name do call for defence against cruel oppressors and blood-thirsty tyrants.

These Protestations made in face of Parliament, were desired to be insert in the Books of publick Records; but the Queen Regent answering that she should remember what was protested, & put a good end to all things, the desire was rejected.

Yet how soon the Parliament brake up, and matters in it went to her contentment, it was observed that her countenance was quite altered upon those that favored the Reformation, and often she was heard say, *That being now freed of the vexations which most troubled her mind, she would labor to restore the Authority by some notable example to that reverend esteem which in the late times it had lost:* whereby divers did apprehend that a Tempest was breeding, albeit the same did not break forth until the next Spring; at which time taking up the names of all the Ministers in the Country, she caused summon them to appear at Striveling the

The Protestation refused to be inserted in the Records.

The Queens countenance changed towards the Congregation.

tenth of May. Hereupon the Earl of Glencarn and Sir Hugh Cambel Sheriff of Aire were sent to enquire the reason of that Citation, and to entreat her not to molest the Ministers, unless they could be charged with preaching false doctrine, or behaving themselves disorderly. The Queen in passion replied, *That mangle their hearts, and all that would take part with them, these Ministers should be banished Scotland, though they preached as soundly as ever S. Paul did.*

The Noblemen marvelling what should move her to such passion, besought her in humble manner to think of the promises she had made to them from time to time. Hereat growing into a greater choler she said, *That the promises of Princes should be no further strained than it seemed to them convenient to perform.* Then said they, *If this be the conclusion which you have taken, that you will keep no promises to the Subjects, we cannot any longer acknowledge your Authority, and will henceforth renounce all obedience to you; what inconveniences may arise of this, you may bethink your self.* This unexpected answer calming the Queen a little, after a few more words, she said, that she would think how to remedy these evils in the best and most quiet sort.

The same day at night advertisement was brought to the Queen of the Reformation begun in the Town of Perth, wherewith she was much disturbed, and calling the Lord Ruthven, commanded him to go and suppress these Novations. He answering, *That he should make their bodies and goods subject, but had no power over their minds and consciences,* she was so commoved, that she avowed to make both him and them repent what they had done.

The Diet appointed for the appearing of the Ministers at Striveling drawing nigh, the Professors in all parts of the Country prepared to accompany them. In the parts of Angus and Mernis such was the zeal of the people as none would stay at home, all professing to go and yield confession of their Faith with their Ministers.

The Queen advertised of this concourse of people from all parts, employed John Areskin of Dun to cause them return home, promising that the Diet should desert, and nothing to be done to the prejudice of the Ministers. This he signified by letters to the principals of the Congregation, advising them to dismiss the multitude. But they suspecting (as it also came to pass) that some advantage should be taken of the Ministers not appearing at the day, resolved to make the Commons return to their houses, the Barons and Gentlemen staying at Perth in the mean while with the Preachers. When the day appointed came, notwithstanding of the promises made, the Preachers not appearing were denounced Rebels. The Laird of Dun offending herewith, departed from Court, and coming to Perth excused himself of the advice he had given, declaring that they were not to expect any favour, and that they should do wisely to provide against the worst.

Whilest these things passed, John Knox returned from Geneva into Scotland, and joyning with the Congregation did preach to them at Perth. In his Sermon he took occasion to speak against the Adoration of Images, shewed that the same tended to God's dishonour, and that such Idols and monuments of Superstition as were erected in Churches ought to be pulled down, as being offensive to good and godly people. The Sermon ended and the better sort gone to dinner, a Priest, rather to try mens affections than out of any devotion, prepared to say Masse, opening a great case, wherein was the History of divers Saints exquisitely carved. A young boy that stood by saying that such boldness was unsufferable, the Priest gave him a blow. The boy in an anger casting a stone at the Priest, happened to break one of the Pictures: whereupon stir was presently raised, some of the common sort falling upon the Priest, others running to the Altar and breaking the Images, so as in a moment all was pulled down in the Church that carried any mark of Idolatry. The people upon the noise thereof assembled in great numbers, and invading the Cloisters, made spoil of all they found therein. The Franciscans had store of provision both of victuals and household-stuffe: amongst the Dominicans the like wealth was not found, yet so much there was as might shew the profession they made of Poverty to be feigned and counterfeit. The Carthusians, who passed both these in wealth, were used in like manner; yet was the Prior permitted to take with him what he might carry of gold and silver plate. All the spoil was given to the poor,

An. 1559. Commissions directed to the Queen.

Reformation begun at Perth.

The Queen Regent dealt with the Lord of Dun to stay the contentions of the people.

John Knox joyneith with the Congregation at Perth.

The Monasteries demolished at Perth.

An. 1559.

The Images pulled down at Couper in Fife.

The Queen Regent intended to surprise Perth.

The Earl of Glencarn cometh to assist the Town.

An Accord mediated by the Earl of Argile and Lord James.

The Conditions of the Accord.

the rich sort forbearing to meddle with any part thereof. But that which was most admired was, the speed they made in demolishing these edifices. For the *Charterhouse* (a building of exceeding cost and largeness) was not only ruined, but the stones and timber so quickly taken away, as in less than two days space a vestige thereof was scarce remaining to be seen. They of *Couper* in *Fife*, hearing what was done at *Perth*, went in like manner to their Church, and defaced all the Images, Altars and other instruments of Idolatry; which the Curate took so heavily, as the night following he put violent hands in himself.

The report of these things being brought to the Queen Regent, she was greatly incensed, especially against those of *Perth*, and presently dispatched letters to the Duke of *Chattellerauld* (the Lord *Hamilton* was so styled) and to the Earls of *Argile* and *Athol*, desiring them to come to her with diligence. The French Garrison were likewise called, her purpose being to surprise the Town at unawares. But they within the Town receiving advertisement of her preparation, sent messengers to all the parts of the Kingdom for aid and assistance. Many came to their succours from *Angus*, *Mernis*, *Fife*, and the adjacent Shires; some also from *Lothian*. But the celerity which *Alexander* Earl of *Glencarn* used was most admired; for he, upon warning given him of the danger wherein the Town stood, taking his way through the mountains, travelled night and day till he came to *Perth*, bringing with him two thousand and five hundred men, a good and opportune support; the Lord *Ruthven* having a little before fallen from them, and gone to the Queen, which bred a great discouragement to the rest. The principals that came in *Glencarn's* company were the Lords of *Boyd* and *Ochiltree*, the Sheriff of *Aire*, the Lairds of *Cragie*, *Sesnok*, *Carnall*, *Bar* and *Garthgirth*.

The Queen getting intelligence that the Earl of *Glencarn* was come to assist them, and that in the Town there was seven thousand Gentlemen, besides the Burgers, resolute men all; sent the Earl of *Argile* and the Prior of *S. Andrews*, called then Lord *James*, to enquire the reason of their Convocation, and mediate an Accord. The Earl of *Glencarn* and Laird of *Dun*, selected to treat with them, answered to the first Point, *That they were come thither to defend their friends, and save the Town from destruction*. As to the Accord they professed to mediate, they said, *That if the Queen Regent would cease from troubling the Professors of true Religion, and suffer the Reformation begun in the Town to proceed, they should in all other things be obedient to her commandments*.

The Noblemen employed in this Treaty were known to be well affected to the cause, which made them within the Town hearken to the Conditions proposed; and so much the rather, that the Noblemen did promise, if the Queen did either refuse to accept reasonable conditions, or the same being accepted did violate the least jot thereof, they should in that case joyn themselves openly with the Congregation, and undergo the like hazard that they did. Thus at their perswasion the Articles following were drawn up and agreed unto by both parties.

1. That both the Armies dissolving, the Town should be left patent to the Queen.
2. That none of the Inhabitants should be molested or called in question for the alteration they had made in Religion.
3. That no French-men should enter into the Town, nor approach to it by the space of three miles; and that when the Queen retired, there should no French Garrison be left in the Town.
4. That all other controversies should be delayed unto the next Parliament, or meeting of the Estates.

This appointment was made the 29 of May, Anno 1559. After which publick thanks being given by *John Knox* for the good issue of the present Trouble, the Congregation departed forth of the Town, having first obliged themselves one to another, that they should all concur in maintaining the true Religion, and be ready at all occasions to defend the Professors thereof; for still they feared that promises should not be kept with them, and that the Queen would find occasions to violate the

the Articles whensoever she pleased, as the success also declared.

For immediately upon their departing, she entered into the Town with some French souldiers in her company, contrary to the Articles; one of whom marching by the house of *Patrick Murray*, a Citizen who was known to be most forward in the cause of Religion, whether casually or of purpose, it is uncertain, killed with a shot his son, a boy of 13 years old, that was beholding the Queens entry. The child being brought and laid before the Queens lodging, she asked whose son he was; answer made that he was the son of one *Patrick Murray*, she said that the case was to be pitied; and the more, that it had fallen on the son, and not on the father: but she could not help misfortune. Before three days passed all the heads of the Capitulation were broken, some of the Citizens exiled, others fined in great sums, the present Magistrates thrust out of Office, new Rulers intruded, and four Companies of souldiers left in the town for a Garison, who were charged to permit no other Service but that of the Roman Church, which against promise she had of new established. Some that desired matters should be more peaceably carried, told her that the placing of a Garison would be interpreted a breach of the Articles. She answered, *That the promise was to leave no French souldiers in the Town, which she had done, for they were all Scottish men that were there*. And it being replied, that all who took wages of the French King would be counted French souldiers: she said, *That promise was not to be kept to Hereticks, and if she could make as honest an excuse after the fact committed, she would take upon her conscience to kill and undo all that Sect*. But Princes, said she, ought not to have their promises so strictly urged.

These speeches being divulged did procure to her much ill will. Some reason indeed she had to assure the Town, it being the Town of all the Kingdom most commodious for the assembling of forces out of all quarters, and the people by nature bellicose, and at that time greatly inclined to those of the Congregation: but the advantage she made of this was little or nothing to the malice she incurred by the breach of promises. Neither did she after this time ever see a good day, but was of all sorts of people despised and misregarded.

The Earl of *Argile* and Lord *James*, thinking their honors touched by the breach of the Peace which they had mediated, did forsake her and went to the Congregation, whereupon they were charged to appear before the Council; but they answered, *That seeing the Queen had broken Conditions, which by warrant from her self they had made with the Lords of the Congregation, they would have no more meddling in such dishonest courses, and do the best to repair things*.

The Noblemen remained at that time in *S. Andrews*; and because they foresaw this their answer would not be well accepted, and feared some sudden attempt (for the Queen with her Frenchmen lay then at *Falkland*) they sent to the Lords of *Dun* and *Pittarrow*, and others that favoured Religion in the Countrys of *Angus* and *Mernis*, and requested them to meet at *S. Andrews* the 4 day of June. Mean while they themselves went to the town of *Craile*, whither all that had warning came, shewing great forwardness and resolutions; and were not a little encouraged by *John Knox*, who in a Sermon made unto them at the same time put them in mind of that he foretold at *Perth*, how there was no sincerity in the Queen Regents dealing, and that Conditions would not be kept, as they had found. Therefore did he exhort them not to be any longer deluded with fair promises, seeing there was no peace to be hoped for at their hands who took no regard of Contracts and Covenants solemnly sworn. And because there would be no quietness till one of the parties were masters, and strangers expelled out of the Kingdom, he wished them to prepare themselves either to die as men, or to live victorious.

By this exhortation the hearers were so moved, as they fell immediately to the pulling down of Altars and Images, and destroyed all the Monuments which were abused to Idolatry in the Town. The like they did the next day in *Austruther*, and from thence came directly to *S. Andrews*. The Bishop hearing what they had done in the Coast-towns, and suspecting they would attempt the same Reformation in the City, came to it well accompanied, of purpose to withstand them: but after he had tried the affections of the Towns-men, and found them all inclining to the Con-

An. 1559.
The Queen Regent entered into Perth.

The Articles of Peace violated.

The Earl of Argile and Lord James forsake the Regent.

John Knox in a Sermon preached at Craile persuadeth the expulsion of the French.

Images pulled down at Craile and Austruther.

An. 1559.

The Monasteries of S. Andrews demolished.

Proclamation to meet the Queen at Couper.

The Lords of the Congregation prevent her.

The meeting at Couper Moor.

The estate of the Queens Army.

A Treaty for Peace.

The French required to be dimitted.

gregation, he went away early the next morning towards Falkland to the Queen. That day being Sunday, John Knox preached in the Parish-Church, taking for his theme the History of the Gospel touching our Saviours purging of the Temple; and applying the corruption which was at that time in Jerusalem to the present estate in the Church, and declaring what was the duty of those to whom God had given authority and power, he did so incite the Auditors, as, the Sermon being ended they went all and made spoil of the Churches, raising the Monasteries of the Black and Gray Friars to the ground. The report of this carried to the Queen Regent, she was fore incensed, and presently gave order for the marching of the French Companies towards S. Andrews, directing Proclamations to all the parts about for meeting her in arms the next morning at Couper.

The Lords taking purpose to prevent her coming, went the same night thither accompanied with 100 horse only, and as many foot; but such was the readiness of men in that quarrel, as before 10 of the Clock on the next day their number grew to 3000. The Earl of Rothes and Lord Ruthven brought with them many Gentlemen from Lothian: the Lairds of Calder, Ormston, Halton, Restarig and Coalston brought only a few; for the warning they got was late, yet their presence did greatly encourage the rest. The towns of Dundee, S. Andrews and Couper shewed great resolution and courage.

In the morning early the Noblemen had drawn forth their Companies to the Moor on the West side of the town, and committed the direction of all things to Mr. James Halleburton, Provost of Dundee, a man of good experience, and much esteemed both for valour and counsel, who made choice of a plot of ground most convenient for defence; for it lay so, as the Munition might play on all sides upon the enemy, without receiving any annoyance from them, till it should come to handy-blows. A little River ran also between the Armies, which the enemies behaved pass before they gave the onset. The Lord Ruthven with the horsemen was placed in the vanguard; the other Lords with the Gentlemen of Angus, Mernis, Fife and Lothian, made the battel. The Towns-men of Dundee, S. Andrews and Couper were set in the rear, and a certain space from them were the serving-men and followers of the Camp appointed to stand, which made shew of an auxiliary force provided against all accidents.

In the Queen Regent's Army the French were commanded by Monsieur de Offell, and the Scots by the Duke of Chattelaerault: the morning was dark, and the fields covered with a foggy mist, which hindered the Armies that they could not see one another. About noontide, when the air began to clear, the French sent some of their company to view the numbers and order kept by the Congregation; who beholding them from afar as they stood ranged in three battels, and perceiving behind them the multitude of serving people, which they took to be a supply of Frenchmen, affirmed at their return the numbers to be greater than in truth they were. Upon this a Post was directed to the Queen (who was not as yet come from Falkland) to inform her how matters went, and to shew that the Lords were much stronger than was supposed, and very forward to fight; as likewise that they perceived a secret muting in their own Army, some openly professing, that they would not fight against their friends and Countrymen for the pleasure of strangers. She hearing this, was content they should treat for Peace. So the Lord Lindsey and the Laird of Wighton were employed by the Duke to confer with the Lords, who at first were not suffered to approach nigh to the Army, and had answer that they knew the Queen had sent those forces to pursue them, and if they would invade they should find them prepared to defend. But they professing all their desires to be for Peace, and that they were sent to that effect, were afterwards permitted to go to the Lords, who told them, *That they had been so often abused with the Queen Regent's promises, as they could not trust her words any more; but if she would send back the Frenchmen that troubled the Country and give safety that no violence should be used to those that profess the true Religion, they should not be found unreasonable.* It was answered, *That for dimitting the Frenchmen she could say nothing till the French King was advertised; and for the security*

rity craved, she could give no other but her own Word, nor stood it with her honour to do otherwise. Thus because a present Peace could not be concluded, a Truce for eight days was made upon condition that the French souldiers should be transported unto Lothian, and promise given, *That before the expiring of that time some indifferent men should be sent to S. Andrews, authorized with sufficient power for making a firm and solid Peace.* This Truce, made at Garlibank the 13 of June, 1559. was signed by the Duke and Monsieur de Oysell in name of the Queen.

This done the Lords of the Congregation departed, leaving the fields first at the Duke's request, and returning to Couper gave publick thanks for that the enemies had failed of their purpose. The next day, dismissing the multitude, they went to S. Andrews, where attending some days (but in vain) the coming of these indifferent persons, who were promised to be sent thither, for concluding a final Peace, complaints were daily brought unto them of the oppressions used by the Laird of Kinsawne, whom the Queen Regent had placed Provost in the Town of Perth. The Earl of Argyle and Lord James did hereupon write to the Queen, shewing how at her special desire they had travelled with the Congregation then being at Perth, and brought them to accept of the conditions propounded by her self: the breach whereof, chiefly in one point, that is the placing of a Garrison of souldiers in the town of Perth, was no less dishonourable to them who had given their promises to the contrary, than it was grievous to the people. Therefore they desired the Garrison might be removed, and the Town restored to the former liberty.

No answer returning, the Lords resolved to expulse the Garrison by force, and coming to Perth, the 24 of June, they summoned the Provost, Captains and Souldiers to render, assuring them, if they held out, and that it happened any one to be killed in the assault, all their lives should pay for it. The Provost and Captains answered, That they had promised to keep the town for the Queen Regent, and would to the last drop of their blood defend the same. As these things were in doing, the Earl of Huntley, the Lord Areskin and Mr. James Bannatyne, Justice Clerk, came by direction of the Queen to perswade the Lords to delay the siege, at least for some days: but they refused to defer it the space of one hour, praying them, if they loved the safety of the besieged, to advise them to render; for if any harm should be done in the assault, their lives should answer it. Huntley offending that his intercession availed not, left them without a farewell.

Then were the Provost and Captains again summoned. But they expected no sudden assault, and being confident that the Queen would send relief, answered as before: whereupon the Lord Ruthven, that lay on the West quarter, began to batter the walls with his munition. The men of Dundee, who lay upon the East-side, played upon the Town in like manner with their pieces, which put the besieged in fear; so as considering their own weakness, and doubting the succour should come too late, they demanded a Parlee, wherein it was agreed, that if the Queen did not send relief within the space of 12 hours, they should depart and go forth of the Town with their weapons and Ensigns displayed. Thus was the Town yielded, Kinsawne expelled, and the Lord Ruthven repossessed in his charge, and the inhabitants restored to their Liberties.

The next day the Abbey of Scone, situate a mile above Perth, was burnt to ashes by the Towns-men of Dundee. The Noblemen were earnest to have the Church and House saved from fire; but the people were in such fury, because one of their company was killed by a shot from the House, as by no means could they be pacified.

Intelligence in the mean time coming to the Lords, that the Queen was of mind to place a Garrison of French souldiers in Striveling, to stop that passage, and exclude the Professors beyond the River of Forth from those of the South, they made haste to prevent her, and rising at midnight came early in the morning to the Town, and immediately after their coming pulled all the Monasteries to the ground. The Altars and Images in all the Churches within and about the Town were broken and defaced, and the Abbey of Cambuskenneth ruined and cast down. Three days they abode at Striveling, and on the fourth marched towards Edinburgh, doing the like

An. 1559.

Images and
Alars pulled
down at Lin-
lithgow and
Edinburgh.A Proclamati-
on by the
Queen Re-
gent.Rumours dis-
persed to the
prejudice of
the Congre-
gation.The Lords
purge them-
selves to the
Queen.The Procla-
mation of the
Lords.

at Linlithgow, which is in the way. The rumour of their approach, though they were but few in number, (for they passed not three hundred men in all) did so terrify the Queen and the companies that were with her, as with all the haste they could make they fled to Dunbar. The Lord Seaton, who for the time was Provost of Edinburgh, and took upon him the protection of the Black and Gray Friars, abandoned the charge, and left all to the spoil of the multitude, who before the arriving of the Lords had demolished all the Monasteries within the Town, and carried away whatsoever they found in the same. It is strange to think how by so weak means in such a disorderly way those things should have been wrought, seeing upon the least shew of resistance the enterprisers would in all probability have left their attempt. But God put such a fear in the adversaries hearts, as they did flee none pursuing.

The Queen Regent not knowing how to redress these things, gave forth a Proclamation, wherein she declared, 'That having perceived a seditious Tumult to be raised by a part of the Lieges, who named themselves the *Congregation*, and under pretence of Religion had taken Arms, She, by the advice of the Lords of the Privy-Council, for satisfying every mans Conscience, and pacifying the present Troubles, had made offer to call a Parliament in January next, or sooner if they were pleased, for establishing an universal order in matters of Religion by the advice of the Estates, and in the mean time to suffer every man live at liberty, serving their Conscience without any trouble, until farther order were taken. And because much appeared to consist upon the state of the Town of Edinburgh, she in like manner had offered to permit the inhabitants to use what manner of Religion they would during that time, to the end none might have just cause to say that they were forced to any thing against their minds. But that they of the Congregation, rejecting all reasonable offers, had by their actions clearly shewed, that it is not Religion, nor any thing pertaining thereto, that they seek, but only the subversion of Authority, and the usurpation of the Crown. In testimony whereof they daily brought English men into their houses, that came with messages unto them, and returned answers back to England, and of late had violently possessed the Palace of *Halirudhouse*, and intromitted with the Irons of the Mint-house, one of the chief things that concerned the Crown. Wherefore she commanded all persons belonging to the said Congregation, (the inhabitants of the Burgh excepted) to depart forth of the Town of Edinburgh within six hours after the charge, as likewise all that were of their society to forsake them, and live obedient to the Authority, except they would be reputed and holden Traitors to the Crown, &c.

Together with this Proclamation rumors were dispersed, that the Lords of the Congregation had conspired to deprive the Queen Regent of her Authority, and to disinherit the Duke of *Chattellerauld* and his heir of their succession and title to the Crown. These rumors were believed of divers, and prevailed so far, as many that assisted the Congregation began to shrink and fall away: in regard whereof it was thought needful they should clear themselves both by their Letters to the Queen, and open Proclamation to the people; which they did in manner following.

First in the Letters directed to the Queen they said, *That they had notice given them of a Proclamation lately made, wherein they were traduced as usurpers of their Sovereigns Authority, and Invaders of her Person, who in absence of their Sovereigns governed the Realm, which they esteemed to proceed of a seditious information made by their enemies, and was an imputation most false and odious; their intentions being no other but to abolish Idolatry and superstitious abuses, that did not agree with the Word of God, and maintain the true Preachers thereof from the violence of wicked men. They did therefore beseech her to use her Authority to that effect, and for other matters she should find them as obedient as any subjects within the Realm; whereof they promised to give testimony and assurance, so as they might have safe access to her Highness.* This was the substance of the Letter which was sent by the Lords *Ruthven* and *Ochiltry* unto her.

In the Proclamation they did call God to witness, *That such crimes as they were charged with never entered into their hearts, and that their only intention was to*

banish

banish Idolatry, and advance true Religion, and defend the Preachers thereof; promising to continue in all duty towards their Sovereign and her Mother their Regent, provided they might enjoy the liberty of their Consciences. As to the intromission with the Irons of the Mint-house, they said, *That they being born Counsellors of the Realm, and sworn to procure the profit thereof, when they understood the subjects to be greatly hurt by the baseness of the money, which increased the dearth of all necessary wares, they could do no less of their duties than stay the coining of more lay money, until the Nobility and Council had taken further deliberation therein. And where it was given out, that they had spoiled the Mint-house of great sums, in that point they did remit themselves to the Declaration of Mr. Robert Richardson, Master of the Mint, in whose hands they delivered all the gold and silver, both coined and uncoined, which there was found, &c.* For the intelligence with England nothing was replied: where-by it seemed there was some dealing that way for expelling the French men; which they did not deny, and thought not convenient as then openly to profess.

The Queen taking hold of the last words of the Letter sent unto her self, and desiring to know what they would say, as likewise trusting to gain somewhat by conference with them, did offer a safe-conduct to any that pleased: whereupon the *Lairds of Pittarrow* and *Cunningham-head* were sent in the name of the Congregation, to declare that their intent and purpose was no other, but that they might enjoy the liberty of their Consciences, and unable Ministers be removed from all Ecclesiastical administration; *Christ Jesus might be truly preached, and his holy Sacraments rightly administered; and that their Preachers might be licensed to do their offices without molestation, until such time as by a general Council lawfully convened, or by a Parliament within the Realm, the controversies of Religion should be decided. Which things being granted, they did faithfully promise in all other things dutiful obedience. Only, to be assured of sincere dealing, they desired that the French companies which were to the country a burthen, & fearful to them, might be sent home to their native Country.*

These Propositions were not pleasing, yet made she no shew of any dislike, but using gracious words, said, *That if she could be assured of their honest and dutiful meaning to her Daughter and her self, their demands seemed not unreasonable. But she longed to speak with some of their number who were of greater Authority, meaning, as afterwards she uttered, that her desire was the Earl of Argile and Lord James should come unto her; for when she saw the Lord Ruthven and Ochiltry returned not unto her with the Laird of Pittarrow, she fell a-complaining that she was not sought in a courteous manner, and that they in whom she put her most confidence had left her in her greatest need. In end she said, That she could not be satisfied till she spoke with the Earl of Argile and Lord James, for still she suspected that there was some higher purpose amongst them than Religion.*

This reported to the Lords, they would not by any means condescend that these Noblemen should go unto her, doubting some practice against them; for she was heard say, *That if the means could be found out to divide these two from the rest, she was sure to prevail:* one likewise of her chief attendants was said to have bragged, that before *Michaelmas* next both these Noblemen should lose their heads. This not succeeding, it was agreed that the Duke, the Earl of Huntley, the Lords *Erskin* and *Summervale*, with the Abbot of *Kilwinning* and Justice Clerk should meet for the Queen with such as the Congregation did appoint, for treating of the best means to settle a constant and solid Peace; and for the part of the Congregation were named the Earls of *Argile* and *Glencarn*, the Lord *Ruthven*, *Boyd* and *Ochiltry*, the Lord *James*, and the *Lairds of Dun and Pittarrow*.

These meeting at *Preston*, to the number of an hundred on each side, (as was appointed) conferred together a whole day, but without any conclusion; for the Queen seeming to yield unto the free exercise of Religion, would have it provided, that in what place she happened to come, the Ministers should cease from preaching, and the Mass only be used. The Lords answered, *That this were to leave them no Church; for when the Queen pleased, she might change the place of her residence, and so there could not be any certain exercise of Religion, which were all alike as to overthrow it.* In these terms they parted that night; yet the Lords named for the Congregation

An. 1559

The Lairds of
Pittarrow and
Cunningham-
head, sent to
the Queen.The Queens
desire to
speak with
the Earl of
Argile and the
Lord James.The Lords
suspecting
some practice,
refuse to send
the Noble-
men.A meeting
at Preston.

An. 1559.

The answer of the Lords to the condition proposed.

News of the French Kings death.

The Queen prepareth to enter into Edinburgh.

The Articles of the Truce.

gation, unwilling to break off the Conference, said, they would think more of the business, and advertise what would be yielded unto.

After some deliberation, the Lord *Ruthven* and *Pittarrow* were remitted with this answer, *That as they could not impede her to use what exercise of Religion she pleased, so could they not agree that the Ministers of Christ should be silenced upon any occasion, much less that the true service of God should give place to Superstition and Idolatry. Wherefore they humbly requested (as often they had done) liberty to serve God according to their Consciences, and did beseech her to remove the French souldiers, otherwise there could be no firm and solid Peace.* The Queen hearing all, replied only that she wished there might be Peace; but to none of the points proposed made she any direct answer. Whereupon the Noblemen resolved to bide together at *Edinburgh*, and not depart till matters were fully composed.

News in this time were brought of the French King *Henry* the Second his death, which put the Lords in some better hopes, but withal made them more careless; for divers, as though nothing was now to be feared, did slide away to attend their private affairs; and they who remained, expecting no invasion, lived secure, keeping neither watch nor ward, as if there had been no enemy to fear. The Queen on the other side became more watchful, observing all occasions whereby she might weaken the Faction, and assure her self: so getting notice of the solitude which was at *Edinburgh*, she hasted thither with the Companies she had. The Lords advertised of her coming, grew doubtful what to do; for howsoever they might save themselves by flight, they saw the Town by their retiring should be lost, and the Church, which in some good fashion was then established, be utterly cast down: therefore with the small number they had they issued forth of the Town, and putting themselves in order, stood on the East side of *Craigingate*, to impede the approach of the French. The Duke and Earl of *Morton*, who were gone that morning to meet the Queen and give her the convoy, laboured to compose things, but prevailed not; only that day they kept the parties from falling into an open conflict. The next day when the Queen, which lay all that night at *Leith*, prepared to enter into the Town by the West port, and that the Lords were advanced to stop her in the way, the Lord *Areskin*, who until that time had carried himself a neuter, threatened to play upon them with the Cannon, unless they suffered the Queen to enter peaceably and without trouble. This it was supposed he did to make them accept the Conditions of Truce offered the day before, which they seeing no better way were content to yield unto. The Articles were as followeth.

1. That the Congregation and their adherents (the inhabitants of *Edinburgh* only excepted) should depart forth of the Town within the space of twenty four hours, to the end the Queen Regent and her Companies may enter peaceably in the same.

2. That the Congregation should render the Palace of *Halirudhouse*, with all the furnishing they found therein, redeliver the Mint-house and Printing Irons the next morning before ten of the Clock: and for observing this and the former Articles, the Lord *Ruthven* and Laird of *Pittarrow* should enter as pledges to the Queen.

3. That the Lords of the Congregation and all the members thereof should remain obedient subjects to the King and Queens Authority, and to the Queen Regent, as governing in their place, observing the Laws and customs of the Realm, as they were used before the raising of this Tumult, in all things, (the cause of Religion excepted) wherein the order after specified should be followed.

4. That the Congregation should not trouble nor molest any Church man by way of deed, nor make them any impediment in the peaceable enjoying and uplifting their Rents; and that it should be lawful for them to dispoise and use their benefices and rents according to the Laws and customs of the Realm, until the tenth of *January* next.

5. That the Congregation should use no force nor violence in casting down of Churches, Religious places, or defacing the Ornaments thereof, but the same should be harmless at their hands until the tenth of *January* next.

6. That the town of *Edinburgh* should use what Religion they pleased, until

until the said day, and none of the Subjects in other parts of the Country be constrained against their minds in matters of that kind.

7. That the Queen should not interpose her authority to molest the Preachers of the Congregation, nor any other their members, in their bodies, lands, possessions, pensions, or whatsoever other kind of goods they enjoyed; nor yet should any spiritual or temporal Judges trouble them for the cause of Religion, or other action depending thereupon; until the said tenth of *January*, but that every man should live in the mean time according to Conscience.

8. That no man of War, French or Scottish, should be put in Garrison within the Town of *Edinburgh*: only it should be lawful to the Souldiers to repair thither for doing their lawful affairs; which done, they should retire themselves to their proper Garrisons.

This Truce and the heads thereof published, the Lords departed towards *Strive-ling*, leaving *John Willock* Minister to serve in the Church of *Edinburgh*. As they departed, the Duke and Earl of *Huntley* met with them at the Quarry-holes, promising if any part of the appointment should be violated, to joyn all their forces for expulging the French out of the Realm: and indeed the Queen was then more careful than in former times she had been to see that no breach should be made; howbeit many ways she went about to re-establish the Mass, and bring the favours of Religion in contempt. In *Edinburgh* she employed the Duke, the Earl of *Huntley*, and Lord *Seaton*, to deal with the Magistrates and Council of the Town, that they would appoint some other Church than *S. Giles* where their Minister might preach, reserving that Church to her use, and for the exercise of the Mass. The Magistrates answered, *That S. Giles Church had been the ordinary place of their meeting to Sermon and other Religious Exercises, and could not be taken from them without a manifest breach of the Truce; seeing by one of the Articles it was provided, that the Preachers of the Congregation should not be molested in any thing they possessed at the making of the appointment.* *Huntley* replying, That the Queen meant to keep all Conditions, and desired this only of their favour; or if they would not change the place of their preaching, that at least they would permit Mass to be said either before or after Sermon in the Church of *S. Giles*: they answered, *That they were in possession of that Church, and would never consent that Idolatry should be there again erected; or if men would do it violently, they behoved to suffer, and would use the next remedy.*

This being refused, another device was invented, that the French Captains with their souldiers should in time of Sermon and Prayers keep their walks in the Church, and trouble the exercise so much as they could. This they thought would enforce them to make choice of a more retired place for their Sermons, or then irritate the people, and breed an occasion of some disorder, so as the breach of the peace should proceed from them. The insolence was great they committed in this kind, for they did laugh and talk so loud all the time as the preacher could not be heard; yet was it patiently digested, knowing that an occasion of trouble was only sought. In other places their behaviour was no better, for at *Leith* they did cut in pieces the Pulpit erected for the Preachers, and set up the Mass, which had been suppressed before in that Town. The like they did in the Abbey-Church, forcibly abolishing the service of Common Prayers, which there was ordinarily used. And in what place soever they came, some one disturbance or other they wrought to the professors of the Truth. Herewith a rumour was dispersed amongst the vulgar, *That it was not Religion, as the Congregation pretended, but an open Rebellion they went about; and that their purpose was to disinherit their lawful Queen, and set up Lord James her base brother in her place:* which by divers was apprehended as truth, and wrought a great alienation of minds from the cause.

About the same time came Monsieur *Crook* a French Gentleman with Letters from the Queen and King *Francis* her husband to Lord *James*, full of exprobrations and menacings, as appeareth by the Copies here insert.

FRANCIS

An. 1559.

FRANCIS King of France, to James Prior of S. Andrews.

A Letter to
Lord James
from King
Francis.

Cousin, when I understood as well by Letters as common report the Tumults raised at this time in Scotland, I was much commoved, especially when it was said that you, to whom my dear wife, my father deceased, and my self have given so many benefices, should be the head and principal fosterer of the same. That you should be so forgetful of our love, and of the duty you have at all times professed unto the Queen, I would not believe; or if it was so as the same commonly reporteth, I did think that you were induced by the promises and flattering persuasions of others to take the fault upon you whereof they were the cause, supposing the offence would be esteemed either none or very small in your person. This my conceit of you, if it be true, shall be as joyful to me as that which should be most joyful; for I should wish by this mean some part of my displeasure mitigated into which you are worthily fallen, having deceived the hope which I had of your Piety towards God, and your faithful service towards my self. Therefore since nothing can be more acceptable to me than to hear that controversies are composed, and all things compacted without tumult, according to Law and good order; and since I am perswaded this may be easily done by your credit, I thought meet to advertise you by these Letters, and, for the good will I bear you, I do earnestly request, that you will return to the Obedience from which you have foully fallen, that so I may see you carry another mind than that which your foolish actions have manifested. This will appear to be so, if that you apply your diligence to bring those things which now are out of order in those parts back again to the ancient and sound form of Obedience, which you know is due to God and me. Otherwise I would have you, and all those that adhere unto you perswaded, that ere it be long I shall take such punishment of you and them as your wickedness deserveth, which I have given the Bearer charge to make known unto you at more length, whom I will you to credit as my self, praying God, my Cousin, to have you in his protection. Paris the 17 day of July. 1559.

The Letter sent by the Queen, was of the tenor following.
MARY, Queen of Scotland and France, to James Prior
of the Monastery of S. Andrews.

Another Letter
from the
Queen of Scots
to Lord James.

I Cannot, my Cousin, wonder enough how you, that are nighest us in blood, and greatly benefited by our liberality, as your self knoweth, should be so presumptuous and wickedly disposed, as by one and the same fact to violate the Majesty of God, and the Authority belonging to me and my Husband; for to me it is a wonder that you, who being with me did complain of the Duke of Châtellerauld and divers others for dismissing my Authority, should now be the leader of a Faction in matters of greatest weight, wherein not only the Honour of God is touched, but my Authority utterly taken away: which I would have more easily believed of any other of my subjects than of you, for I had a special hope of your fidelity, and am not a little grieved that you should have deceived me. Though yet I can scarce be perswaded that you are gone so far from Truth, and Reason, as to be carried away with such blind Errors which I wish were not, as any in the world else; beseeching God to illuminate you with his light, that returning into the right way you may shew your self (by doing things contrary to that you have already performed) a good man, and obedient to our Laws: whereof by these Letters I thought good to admonish you, and withal earnestly to intreat you to amend your by-gone faults with better deeds in time coming, that the anger which I and my Husband have conceived against you may by that means be mitigated. Otherwise I would have you understand that we will take such punishment of you, that you shall ever remember us, which shall be to me a most grievous thing. God I beseech to keep you from all danger.

Paris the 24th of July. 1559.

Lord

An. 1559.
The answer
given by Lord
James.

Lord James having perused the Letters, and conferred a space with the Gentleman, who was commanded to say unto him, *That the King would rather spend the Crown of France, than not to be revenged of the seditious Tumults raised in Scotland,* made answer in writing as followeth. That he was no way conscious to himself of any undutifulness either in word or deed against his Sovereign's Laws. That it was true he had joyned himself with these of the Nobility who went about the reforming of Religion, and would not deny it; but this he did not esteem a fault against the King or Queen, for thereby nothing is sought but the advancement of God's honour and the Gospel of Jesus Christ, from which if he should desist it were in effect to renounce his Lord and Saviour. Then this cause only excepted, he and the rest who were charged with the crime of Rebellion should in all other things be most obsequent. This writing he delivered to Monsieur Crook, who gave it to the Queen Regent. She opening the same and reading it, said, *That such a proud and rebellious Answer was never given to a King and Queen.*

Some few days after this arrived a French Captain called *Ossavian* with a Regiment of souldiers, who brought with him great sums of money, and other necessary provisions for war. But the Queen did incontinent send him back, to intreat the French King for other four companies to make up the number of twenty Ensigns, with an hundred horsemen, and four ships well appointed, to keep the Haven of *Leith*; trusting therewith, as she said, and with the assistance she promised her self in the Countrey, to daunt all the Rebels, and bring them to obedience. Meanwhile she began to fortifie the Town of *Isith*, as being a Port fit to receive fresh supplies, and a place that might serve the French companies for a refuge, if they should happen to be redacted to any necessity.

The Lords of the Congregation kept at that time a Convention in *Striveling*, and thither came the Earl of *Arran*, (the Duke his eldest son) having left France upon this occasion. Being one day in conference with the Duke of *Guise*, (who then ruled all things in the French Court) and falling in speech of those that professed the Reformed Religion, he did utter his mind too freely in their favours; which was so ill taken, as it was resolved to call him in question. Of this, and other speeches that had escaped the Cardinal of *Lorain* in the Court of Parliament, he was advertised, and thereupon retired quickly from Court, and went to *Geneva*. There he became acquainted with Mr. *Randolph* an English-man, (who was afterwards employed in many honourable Legations to Scotland) and came with him into England, where he was much graced by Queen *Elizabeth*, and by her persuasions induced to promise, that at his return he should joyn himself with those that sought to expel the French forth of Scotland, and move his Father, so far as in him lay, to take part in that cause. Both which he truly performed; for immediately upon his return he came to the Noblemen at *Striveling*, and made offer of his assistance in the common quarrel both of Religion and the liberty of the Countrey. Then going to visit his Father at *Hamilton*, he won him to their side, and reconciling some old grudges betwixt his Father and certain Noblemen, brought them all to meet together at *Hamilton*, and to write a common Letter to the Queen Regent, which was to this effect. That it was to them a marvel how she, not provoked by any injury, could go so soon from the late appointment, as to expulse the ancient inhabitants of the Town of *Isith*, and place therein a Colony of strangers, as minding to keep the Countrey under a Tyrannical subjection. This they said was against her promise, against the publick weal, and against the Laws and liberties of the Kingdom. Wherefore they intreated her to desist from that course, and not to drive them into a necessity of seeking the concurrence of the Subjects for resisting the mischief intended against the whole. This Letter dated at *Hamilton* the 29 of September, was subscribed by the Duke of *Châtellerauld*, the Earls of *Arran*, *Argile*, *Glen-carn* and *Mentith*, the Lords *Ruthven*, *Boyd* and *Ochiltree*, and divers other Barons and Gentlemen.

A French Cap-
tain, called
Ossavian, ar-
rived with a
regiment of
souldiers.The Queen
maketh to
fortifie *Isith*.The Earl of
Arran joyns
with the
Lords at *Striveling*.A Letter di-
rected to the
Queen from
the Lords.

They

An. 1559.
A Letter sent
by them to
the Lord
Ereskin.

They wrote also to the Lord *Ereskin* keeper of the Castles of *Edinburgh* and *Striveling*; 'Desiring him, as a Nobleman and a Member with them of the same Commonwealth, to look circumspectly to his own person, and to the strengths committed to his trust, and not to suffer himself to be abused with the promises and policies which they knew would be used. Hereof they did think it needful, as they said, to give him warning, not that they stood in doubt of his fidelity, but that they esteemed it their duty to advertise him of the common danger, and to assure him, if by violence any should go about to bereave him of those Forts, their assistance should not be lacking.

Sir Robert
Carnegie and
Mr. David
Borthwick di-
rected to the
Duke.

The Queen Regent not liking to make an answer to the Lords in writing, sent Sir Robert Carnegie and Mr. David Borthwick with a Letter of credit to the Duke. That which they had in credit to say was, *That she wondred much at his joyning with the Lords, or that he should have permitted the Earl of Arrane his son take that course; and to advise him to come and stay with her at Court; or if they could not obtain that point, that they should dissuade him from taking part with them.* The Duke asking what the Queen meant, to do concerning the Fortification at *Leith*, and dispatch of the French-men; they said, *If all things were put in the Queens will, she would be gracious enough. Whereupon he replied, That both he and the rest of the Lords would most willingly serve her, so as she would be ruled by the counsel of natural Scottish-men; but so long as she kept about her strangers, who were a trouble and great burthen to the Country, he believed no wise man would give either him or them advice to put themselves in her hands.*

A Proclama-
tion given forth
by the Queen.

This answer reported to the Queen, because she perceived the arriving of the French souldiers to be generally ill taken, she gave forth a Proclamation: 'Wherein complaining of the Calumnies dispersed against her by wicked people, especially that she had broken the Appointment made with the Congregation at *Leith*, (which she said was only to entertain division in the Realm) by receiving of French forces, which they aggregated so far against all reason, it not being an Article of the Appointment; That albeit for every French-man that was in *Scotland* there were a hundred at her command, there should not a jot that was promised be broken, nor the least alteration be made in any thing, if the Congregation did in like manner faithfully keep their part. Therefore willed all good subjects not to give ear to such informations, nor suffer themselves to be led thereby from their due obedience, assuring them that they should ever find with her truth in promise, and a motherly love towards all loyal subjects.

The Queen
seeketh to
disunite the
Lords.

The perswa-
sions used.

Besides the Proclamation, whereof this was the substance, she employed in the Country some whom she especially trusted, to inform the Subjects of her good meaning: the principals were, Mr. James Balfoure Official of *Lothian*, Mr. Thomas and Mr. William Scot, sons to the Laird of *Balwery*, Sir Robert Carnagy and some others. Neither did she omit to deal with the specials of the Congregation, sending Sir John Bannatyne Justice Clerk to the Lord *Ruthven*, with many liberal promises if he would leave the Faction, and Mr. John Spence of *Condy* to Lord James with a Letter bearing this effect; 'That having understood the cause of his departing from her to be the love he bare to Religion, albeit she did dislike the same, yet knowing his mind and the minds of other Noblemen to be so far bent that way as there was no possibility to reclaim them, she had now resolved to tolerate their Profession, and at their own sights to grant such liberty as might stand with the common policy of the Realm and their Sovereign's honour. As for the men of War and Fortification at *Leith* so much complained of, she said, that some had given her to understand, that it was not the advancement of Religion which was sought, but that the same was made a pretext to overthrow the Authority of his Sister, (whereof she believed he would never be participant) and this was the true cause of inbringing the said forces; whereas, if Suspensions and Jealousie could be removed, she would be well pleased to dimitt them: for it grieved her much to see the Troubles that were in the Country, neither desired she any thing more than a perfect Peace and Reconciliation, wherein she requested his assistance; praying him to keep faith and kindness to his Sister, (who trusted more in

'him than any man living) and to shew her what he desired for his own Particular, and the would faithfully promise the same should be performed to his contentment.

An. 1559.
Lord James
his Answer.

By such policies as these she laboured to disunite the Lords: but the love of the cause, and their own safeties, which they apprehended to consist in their fastness and fidelity to others, kept them together. The many breaches they had also found begat in them such a distrust, as nothing, though never so truly meant, could be believed. His answer therefore was; 'That in the matter proponed to him he could say nothing by himself, for they had all taken oath to have no private dealing with her, or to make any several address for themselves, which for his own part he would keep unviolate: and how soon the Noblemen were convened, he would shew what was written unto him, and leave nothing undone that served to establish Peace in the Realm, provided the glory of God was not interested: neither doubted he, if she were found as tractable as by her Letter she professed, but she would obtain of the rest that which might in reason content her. Farther he said, that he had communicated to her servant some things that disliked him in her proceedings, with a true heart, which he wished of God she and all men knew.

A Proclama-
tion by the
Queen, decla-
ring her pur-
pose in the
fortifying of
Leith.

When as the Queen Regent perceived these means could not divide them, she gave forth a new Proclamation of this tenor: 'That whereas the Duke of *Chattellerault* had directed his missives unto all the parts of the Realm, informing that the French-men lately arrived were begun to plant in *Leith* for the ruine of the Commonwealth, and that the Fortification made there was a purpose devised in *France* to bring the subjects under servitude, which he and his partakers could not patiently endure, she esteemed it needful for the manifestation of her proceeding since the last appointment, to make the Declaration following. First, that divers of the Congregation, and those not of the meanest sort, had violated the said Appointment in sundry heads; yet she, in hope that they would have returned to their duties, did connive at many things, and took no notice of their doings, till of late (having perceived by their frequent messages to and from *England*, and by the defection of many great personages from her obedience, that there was some other purpose in hand than the establishing of Religion) she was forced to have her recourse to the law of Nature, and as a bird that is pursued will provide a nest for her self, and for her followers: for which cause she had made choice of the town of *Leith* as a place most convenient, being her Daughter's property, whereunto no person could lay claim; a place fortified of old, and such as made best for her safety. Farther she said, that it was not Religion that they sought, but a mere Rebellion they were entered into against their Sovereigns, as appeared by many evidences. First, by the taking of *Broughty Castle*, and expelling the keepers thereof, by some of the Congregation. Next, by the contempt of the offer made by her self unto the Lord Duke, when he complained of the Fortification of *Leith*, that if they would cause amend the wrongs committed against the Laws of the Realm, she would do what in reason they could require. Thirdly, by the charges he had sent to the free Burghs, to chuse such Magistrates as they thought would assist them in their purpose. And fourthly, by the withholding of provision, against all humanity, from Her and from her Family. All which things, to those that had any eyes, made more than manifest that it was no other but a plain Usurpation of Authority they went about; the particulars whereof she had certainly understood, it being detected unto her, that the Earl of *Arrane* had joyned with the congregation for no other end, and that the Crown was promised by them unto him: yet she no way doubting of the subjects good affection, and that they would when need should be stand in defence of their Sovereign's right against all pretenders, thought meet to give them warning of these practices, and prohibit the Leiges to put themselves in Arms, or take part with the Duke and his assistants, &c.

Monsieur Pellenche, Bishop of *Amiens*, (he was afterwards Archbishop of *Sens*, and created Cardinal) arrived about this time at *Leith*, accompanied with three Doctors of *Sorbon*, Doctor *Furmer*, Doctor *Brochet* and Doctor *Feretier*. Monsieur *le Broche* a French Knight gave them the convoy with two thousand foot. The Doctors gave out, that they were come to dispute with the Preachers of the Congregation.

The Bishop of
Amiens and
some Doctors
of *Sorbon* ar-
rive at *Leith*.

An. 1559.

A Declaration
published by
the Lords.

tion. The other two pretended a Legation, and sent to some of the Nobility resident at that time in *Edinburgh*, to desire a hearing. It was answered, *That they came not as Ambassadors, but as enemies, to brag and threaten them with Arms, otherwise they needed not have brought so many armed souldiers in their company. If they meant to treat with weapons in their hands they would likewise fortifie themselves, and make it seen that they were not moved to anything by compulsion, but guided by Reason: nor would they have them think they were so rude and ignorant as to fall in reasoning with adversaries, that might force them to Conditions at their pleasure. Wherefore if they desired Peace and quietness, as was pretended, it should be fittest to dimit these foreign souldiers, and seek to have matters composed according to Reason and Justice.* This answer given, there was no more heard of the Legation, nor of the Doctors Disputes.

The Lords in the mean time published a Declaration, answering the other lately made by the Queen Regent, wherein first they declared, 'That as they had often complained of the inbringing of *French* souldiers, and the manifold oppressions done by them, so they could not but seek redress thereof by all means, in regard the same tended to an open Conquest of the Countrey, and the laying upon their necks an intolerable Servitude: for whereas the Queen did pretend the defection of divers great personages from her obedience, and the frequent messages to and from *England*, to be the cause of their inbringing; it is well known that before the arrival of these strangers there was no such defection, but all lived peaceable and obedient, according to the Appointment made by her self. And for the Messages to *England*, time will make manifest that the support craved was to no other end but to maintain Religion, and suppress Idolatry; wherein they think they have done nothing against their duties, it being lawful for them, where their own power faileth, to seek help and assistance wheresoever they may have it. Next, touching the convenience of *Leith* for a place of Fortification; they grant it is a Port very fit to receive strangers: but had the Queen intended no more than her own security, *Dumbar*, *Blackness*, and other Forts already built, would have better served to that use. And where she called *Leith* her Daughters property, they answered that it was not ours, the sums payed to the Laird of *Restalrig* Superior of *Leith* were disbursed by the inhabitants, and a large Taxation given to her self upon promise that their Town should be erected into a Burgh-royal; in place of which, some of the indwellers were expelled from their own houses, others robbed of their substance, and all that chused to remain there kept in such fear and terrour, as in effect they esteemed nothing their own. Neither was this only done to those that professed themselves Reformed, but to all the inhabitants indifferently; which shew clearly, that the *French* did mind nothing less than to subdue the whole Nation, if it lay in their power. And where it was said, that the Town of *Leith* was fortified of old; the same was never done without the consent of the Nobility and Estates of the Realm, whereas the present fortification was made expressly against their wills signified to her in writing. Concerning the Earl of *Arrane*, and their purpose to place him in Authority, they took God to witness, that the same never entered into their hearts; and that neither the said Earl, nor any appertaining unto him, did ever move them in such a matter: which if they had done, they were not so foolish as to promise that which afterwards they must needs have repented. Then for the particulars adduced to qualifie their intended Rebellion, they answered, that the taking of *Broughty* was to prevent the danger that might have ensued, if the *French* should have planted in that place as they had done at *Leith*, whereof the conjectures were not obscure. As to the Duke's misregard of her offer, they did remit the truth of that to the report of the persons employed by her self. Farther it was said, that they had directed charges to the free Burghs to elect Magistrates at their appetites: The truth was, that some Towns ask'd their advice in this business, and that the answer given them was, that if they elected such as feared God, and loved equity and justice, they could not err in their choice. But that she should object, this seemed strange, seeing it was known, that she her self did force the Town of *Edinburgh* to take Magistrates of her appointment, and against their own liking. Lastly, for the impeding of necessary

An. 1559.

The Lords
come to *Edinburgh*,
and
write unto the
Queen.The Duke pur-
geeth himself
and his Son of
any aspiring.The Herald
directed to
the Lords.The credit
given to the
Herald by the
Queen.

cessary provisions to her and her Family, they utterly denied the same; only they had taken order to stay the furnishing of strangers (that oppressed the Country) with victuals, and did forthink the same was not sooner and more strictly done: concluding, that seeing nature did oblige them to love their Country, and the oath they had given to be true to the Commonwealth forced them to hazard whatsoever God had given them in defence thereof; they, being Counsellors of the Realm by birth, could not forbear to seek that by force of Arms which hitherto had been denied them. Therefore required all natural *Scottishmen* to judge between the Queen and them, and not to abstract their just and dutiful support from their native Country in so needful a time; assuring them who did otherwise, that they should be esteemed betrayers of the Kingdom into the hands of strangers.

This Declaration made, the Lords assembling their forces came to *Edinburgh* the eighteenth of *October*, and on the same day the Queen Regent by the counsel of the *Frenchmen* entered into *Leith*, with the Bishops of *S. Andrews*, *Glasgow*, *Dunkeld*, the Lord *Seaton* and some others. The day following they sent a Letter to the Queen declaring how they were convened to see a redress made of the great disorders that were in the Realm, especially to have the Town of *Leith* made patent for the free traffick of the Subjects; and desiring her to command all the strangers and mercenary souldiers to depart forth of the same, and to cause the Forts to be demolished which were newly erected; otherwise they would take it for an argument that her meaning was to bring the Kingdom into servitude, against which mischief they would provide by the best means they could. The messenger who carried this Letter, after he had been detained a whole day, was dismissed without answer.

Meanwhile the rumour increasing of the Duke his Usurpation of the Authority, he thought it necessary to make a publick purgation, as he did at the Market-Cross of *Edinburgh*, by sound of Trumpet, protesting both for himself, and for his son the Earl of *Arrane*, that none of them did seek any preeminence, nor meant to usurp the Authority Royal, but that they were convened with the rest of the Nobility to maintain the cause of Religion, and Liberty of their native Country invaded by Strangers; which he desired all men to believe, and not to be carried with the false and malicious reports of enemies, devised only to withdraw the hearts of natural *Scottishmen* from the succor they owed to their oppressed Country.

Two days after *Robert Forman*, Lion Herald, was directed by the Queen Regent to the Lords with this writing: *After commendations, we received your letter of the date at Edinburgh the 19 of this instant, which to us appeareth rather to have come from a Prince to his subjects, than from subjects to those that bear the Authority. For answer whereof we have sent unto you this bearer, the Lion Herald King of Arms, sufficiently instructed with our mind, to whom you shall give credit. At Leith, the 21 of October, 1559.*

The credit, as the Herald related the same, was this. First, he shewed the Queen did think it strange there should be any other to command within the Realm besides her Daughter and her Husband: in former times had been given just causes of suspicion, so now she perceived clearly by the contents of the last Letters, that they did not acknowledge any Authority superior to themselves in the Kingdom. Next he was desired to ask the Duke of *Chattellerauld* how his doings did agree with his words and writing, whereby he promised not only to obey the King himself, but also to keep his Son the Earl of *Arrane* from meddling with the present Broils and Tumults of the Countrey. Thirdly, in answer to their Letters, he was willed to say, *That it never came in her mind to overthrow the Liberty and Laws of the Realm, much less to make a conquest of it; for to whom should she seek the same, it being her Daughters by right, and she already possessed thereof; nor could they think her so unnatural as to bereave her own Child of the Crown, and acquire it to another. As to the Fortification of Leith and entertaining of Strangers, he was bidden ask if any thing in that kind was by her attempted before they did shew themselves manifest contemners of the Authority, by surprising Towns, and making Bonds both amongst themselves and with the ancient enemies of the Kingdom; and to omit other things, Could they think it lawful to them to keep an Army at Edinburgh, for pursuing her who was*

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their Regent, and her Council, and that it should not be lawful to her to entertain a few Companies at Leith for her own safety? Belike they would have her to flee from place to place, as hitherto she hath done, declining their fury. In their whole Letters was there a word sounding to obedience, any overture of Peace, or so much as an intimation of willingness in them to have debates composed, and all things reduced to their former estate? They might cover it as they pleased with the pretexes of the Commonwealth, and their care of the good and quiet thereof, but nothing less was meant by them. For if they desired Peace, she hath often shewed the way unto it. Neither could they be ignorant, that the French souldiers would long before that time have been recalled by the command of their King, if they themselves had not been a let and hinderance thereto. Farther he was required to say, That if as yet they would live obedient to their Sovereigns, she for her own part would refuse no means of Concord, nor should she omit any thing that made for the good of the Commonwealth. Neither was this her mind alone, but the mind likewise of their Sovereigns, who had sent two chief men, one of the Church estate, and the other an honourable Knight, to signifie so much unto them; whom they so far despised, as they would not vouchsafe them either answer or audience. Lastly, the said Herald, as he was enjoined, did charge the Duke, the Noblemen and others their assistants and partakers, to depart forth of the Town of Edinburgh, and dissolve their forces, under the pain of lese Majestie.

The Lords deliberate upon discharging the Queen of her Regency.

The opinion of the Preachers required.

Master Willock his opinion.

The Herald having in this sort delivered his credit, the Lords convened in Council with a number of Barons and Burgeses, whom they called to assist. In this meeting the Lord Ruthven presiding, declared how the Queen had refused their Petitions, and that there was no expectation of the yielding up the Town of Leith, or dimitting the French Companies by a peaceable treaty, so as now they were to think of the next course. The reverence of Authority (which as yet was in the person of the Queen Regent) deterred many at first from uttering their minds; yet after some short silence, they began to speak of discharging the Queen of her Regencie. The motion seemed dangerous to some, as wanting example, at least for a long time. The like, they said, had been sometimes done, but it was always carried under the shew of Authority; they in whose hands the King was at that time taking upon them in his name to suspend the present Government: But that the Nobility and Estates without, and against, the Princes consent should assume that power to themselves, was never heard, and would be thought strange. Others held, That she being a Regent only, might very well be prohibited to use the name of the King and Queen for authorising of her proceedings, especially when they were known to be hurtful and pernicious to the whole Kingdom. In this variation of judgments it was thought meet to take the opinion of the Preachers; and to that effect Mr. John Willock and John Knox being called, they delivered their minds one after another in this sort. Mr. John Willock first speaking, said,

That albeit Magistracy be Gods Ordinance, that they who bear rule have their authority from him, yet their power is not so largely extended, but that the same is bounded and limited by God in his Word. And albeit God had appointed Magistrates his Lieutenants on earth, honoring them with his own title, and calling them Gods; yet did he never so establish any, but for just causes they might be deprived: For even as Subjects, said he, are commanded to obey their Magistrates, so Magistrates have directions given them for their behavior towards those they rule; and God in his Word hath defined the Duties both of the one and the other. In deposing Princes and those that have born Authority, God did not always use his immediate power, but sometimes he used other means, such as in his wisdom he thought good. As by Aza he removed Maacha his own Mother from the honor and authority which before she did exercise; by Jehu he destroyed Joram and the whole posterity of Achab; and by divers others he deposed from the Government those whom he established before by his own word. Of these ensamples he inferred, That since the Queen Regent had denied her chief Duty to the Subjects of the Realm, which was to minister Justice indifferently, to preserve them from the invasion of Strangers, and to suffer the Word of God to be freely preached; seeing also she was a maintainer of Superstition, and despised the counsel of the Nobility; he did think they might justly deprive her from all Regiment and Authority over them.

John

John Knox being next desired to speak, after he had approved all which his brother had said, did add this more; That the iniquity of the Queen Regent ought not to withdraw their hearts from the obedience due to their Sovereign; nor did he wish any such sentence to be pronounced against her, but that when she should change her course, and submit her self to good counsel, there should be place left unto her of recompense to the same honors, from which for just causes she ought now to be deprived.

It had been a better and wiser part in these Preachers, to have excused themselves from giving any opinion in these matters, for they might be sure to have it cast in their teeth, to the scandal of their Profession. Neither was the opinion they gave sound in it self, nor had it any warrant in the Word of God: for howbeit the power of the Magistrates be limited, and their office prescribed by God, and that they may likewise fall into great offences; yet it is no where permitted to Subjects to call their Princes in question, or to make insurrections against them, God having reserved the punishment of Princes to himself.

And for the ensamples they alledged, they are nothing to the purpose. For Aza was King of Judah, and in possession of the Crown, and Maacha, though in nature his Mother, was by condition his Subject, and might lawfully be discharged from the Authority (which by his favor she enjoyed) after the fell to the erecting and worshipping of Idols. As to the ensample of Jehu, it is nothing better, seeing what he did was by Gods expresse commandment, who giveth and taketh away kingdoms as he pleaseth; but no man hath this power, and they that presume otherwise go expressly against the Commandment of God, and the duty of Christian profession.

Always the Lords and others then assembled, as having now their determination sufficiently warranted, fell to gather the voices of such as were present, who all uniformly consented to her Deprivation. So by an Act and Decree of Council, (wherein were reckoned out all the Enormities alledged to have been committed by the Queen Regent; namely the pursuing of the Barons and Burgeses of the Realm with open Hostility, no process nor order of Law being first used, nor they called and convicted of any crime in lawful judgment; the thrusting in of Magistrates upon people within the Burghs against their liking, and without any order of election: the inbringing of Foreigners into the Realm, without the advice and counsel of the Nobility; the laying of Garrisons in some Towns, to the oppression of peaceable subjects; the coyning of base Mony, to the impoverishing of the Country; the placing of a stranger in one of the greatest offices within the Realm, as the office of Chancellery, which she had conferred to Monsieur Rubie a Frenchman; the sending of the great seal forth of the Realm, against the advice of the Council; the altering of the Laws and Customs of the Realm, especially in Graces and Pardons granted to the Lieges, and the obstinate refusing of the Nobility and Barons their request, when they sought redress of these evils) they in name and by the authority of their Sovereigns did suspend the Commission granted to the Queen Regent, discharging her of all Authority until the next Parliament that should be called by their advice and consent: Prohibiting likewise the officers and others serving her, under colour of the said Authority, to exercise their offices from henceforth, and to coyn either gold or silver, without expresse consent of the Council and Nobility, conform to the Laws of the Realm. This Act, ordained to be published in all the head Burghs of the Kingdom, was subscribed in this manner, *By us the Nobility and Commons of the Protestants of the Church of Scotland.*

As soon as this Act was by sound of Trumpet proclaimed, the Herald, whom they had detained two daies, was dismissed with an answer conceived in this form: 'By the Letters and Instructions you have sent by the Herald unto us, we take up how ill you are set against Gods Truth, the Liberty of this our native Country, and the common good of all. To defend these, as in duty we are bound, we in the name of our Sovereign Lord and Lady suspend your Commission, and all Administration publick which you thereby may pretend, as being assured that your proceedings are direct contrary to their minds, which we know are inclined to the weal and common good of the Country. And seeing you refuse us

N 3

who

An. 1559.
John Knox his
sentence.

The Preachers ought not to have mediated in that business.

The examples they brought did not warrant their opinion.

Act depriving the Queen Regent of her Government.

The Herald dimitted, and the Act intimated to the Queen by Letters from the Lords.

An. 1559. 'who are natural born subjects of the Realm to be your Counsellors, we will no longer acknowledge you for our Regent and lawful Magistrate, considering the Authority (if any you have committed unto you by our Sovereigns) is for most just and weighty reasons suspended by us in their name, whose Counsellors we are by birth, in these matters chiefly that concern the safety of the Commonwealth.

'And howbeit we have determined with the hazard of our lives to set that Town at liberty wherein you have most unjustly planted your mercenary souldiers and strangers, yet for the reverence we bear unto you, as being the Mother of our Queen, we earnestly beseech you to depart thence at this time, when we constrained by publick necessity are by force of Arms to recover it. We farther request you to bring forth of the Town with your self all that carry themselves as Ambassadors, and are come unto the Country either for taking up of controversies, or assisting the government of publick affairs, within the space of Twenty four hours; and to cause the Captains, Lieutenants and souldiers (whose blood we would gladly spare, because of the old amity and friendship betwixt us and the Realm of France, which the marriage of our Sovereign Lady to that King ought rather to encrease than diminish) to remove themselves within the same space. This Letter was subscribed, *By all the Nobility and Barons present the twenty third of October, 1559.*

The 25 day of the same moneth was the Town summoned, and all the Scots and French-men, of whatsoever state and degree, commanded to leave the same within the space of 12 hours. This denied, and defiance given on both sides, there followed some light skirmishes, without any great slaughter. The Lords had resolved to enter the Town by scalade, and were preparing Ladders for that use, which being dressed in S. Giles Church, did impede the ordinary meetings to Sermon and Prayer, to the great offence of the Preachers, who in their Sermons did sharply reprove that intermission of Religious exercises, foretelling that *the enterprise could have no good success, which brought with it in the beginning such a neglect of God his service.* And so indeed it proved, for upon the sudden they became so terrified, as not only was that purpose of the scalade broken, but very nigh they were to have utterly forsaken the cause. The Duke grew fearful by the falling away of some to the Queen, the souldiers mutinied in default of their pay; they found their most secret counsels also disclosed, and had lately intercepted Letters with a servant of James Balfour, as he was going to Leith, giving intelligence of all their purposes. These things with some others more did cast them in a great diffidence one of another.

But such as were of better courage, taking counsel how to remedy those evils, made it their first care to content the souldiers. And because there was no way to do this but by present money, it was devised that a Collection should be made amongst the Lords and Barons; by whom, some being unprovided, others niggardly disposed, the sum could not be made up which was required. Thereupon it was agreed that every Nobleman should give his silver-plate to be coined for supply of the present necessity. But when that came to be done, the Irons and instruments of the Mint-house could not be found. This failing, their only hope of relief was from England, and that they considered would not come in due time; whereupon they resolved to use their private credit with Sir Ralph Sadler and Sir James Crofts (who had the charge of the Town of Barwick) and borrow of them some moneys.

In this business Sir John Cockburn of Ormston was employed, whose journey was not so closely carried, but the Queen had notice both of it and his errand. Thereupon the dealeth with the Earl of Bothwell to lie in Ormston his way, and surprise him with the money at his return. The Earl had but a few daies before sworn solemnly to be no enemy to the Lords, and had given hopes to joyn with them, so as no danger was suspected from him: yet, not regarding his oath, he came upon the Gentleman at unawares, and after some wounds given him took him prisoner, and robbed him of four thousand Crowns, which he had received in loan. The rumor

The Town of Leith summoned.

Monys failing, they sent to borrow from England.

The Laird of Ormston surprised by Bothwell, and spoiled of his money.

more hereof coming to the Lords, the Earl of Arrane and Lord James taking some companies of horse with them, made towards Creichton, whither Bothwell (as they were advertised) was gone. But finding that he was escap'd, they seized upon the House, and gave it in keeping to Captain Forbes.

The same day that this happened, the Provost of Dundee with the Townsmen and a few mercenary souldiers went down towards Leith, carrying with them some pieces of Artillery, which he planted on a hill near unto the Town. The French had warning that most of the horsemen were gone about other business, and knowing the footmen to be few, made a salley upon them with some Companies. The Townsmen of Dundee sustained the fight for a while, trusting to be seconded by the souldiers; but they turning backs in the very beginning of the conflict, the Townsmen were forced to retire, keeping still their ranks, till a cry was raised that the French were entering by Leith Winde to cut them off from the Town. This caused such a perturbation, as every man took the way he held best for his safety; and in the flight (as commonly it falleth) one hindring another, many were overthrowen, some ten souldiers were killed, Captain Mowat taken prisoner, and Mr. Charles Geddes, servant to the Master of Maxwell. The flight held to the midst of the Canon-gate, where the Earl of Argyle and Lord Robert Abbot of Halirudhouse turned the Chase, and pursuing the French, made them flee as fast as they followed. This little advantage of the French, made Bothwell so insolent, as he simply refused to restore the monys he had taken. And thus all hopes of money failing, and the souldiers refusing to serve, some not of the meanest sort stole away secretly; the few that remained were distracted in opinions among themselves, and grew doubtful what to do.

The fifth of November, upon advertisement that the French were issued forth of Leith, to intercept the provision that was carrying to Edinburgh, the Earl of Arrane and Lord James, with their domesticks, went out to defend the Careers, and were followed with divers of the Citizens: these giving the onset upon the French with more courage than foresight, advanced so far, as they were almost encompassed by the enemy, and cut off from the Town. For the French had divided their companies in two: one part took the way directly from Leith to Halirudhouse, the other marched somewhat more Eastward and nearer the Sea. The Lords, who were gone as far as Restalrig, beholding the French to march towards Edinburgh, returned with expedition, fearing the case of the Citizens, and that they themselves should be cut off; which in all appearance had been done, if the Laird of Grange and Alexander Whitlaw with a few horsemen had not kept them in skirmish for a little time. The other French Companies that came by Restalrig, beholding the Lords retire, made after them and pursued so hotly, as the Earl of Arrane, and Lord James were forced to quit their horses for safety of the foot, who were in great disorder, Captain Alexander Halyburton, a man of good spirit, and forward in the cause of Religion, staying behind to hold off the French, received divers wounds, whereof the same night he died. In this conflict there fell some 25 or 30 men. The Master of Buchan, with the Lairds of Pitmilley, Fairnay, and some others of smaller note, were taken prisoners.

A little before this time William Maitland of Lethington, Secretary to the Queen perceiving that he was hated of the French for the freedom he used in his counsel, did secretly withdraw himself, and joyned with the Lords. He was earnest to have them abide together, laying before them the dangers that might ensue upon their dissolving. But few or none consenting, conclusion was taken to leave the Town, and after midnight to depart towards Striveling.

The day after the Lords departing, the French went up to Edinburgh, and took possession of the Town. All that professed the Religion were compelled to flee, and seek their refuge in other places. Mr. Willock the Minister went unto England, and immediately was the Roman Service restored. The Church of S. Giles (as infected with some contagion by Sermons preached therein) was of new hallowed by the Bishop of Amiens, with a number of Ceremonies; and such triumphing was amongst the Popish sort, as they thought the game to be theirs. The Queen sent

An. 1559. The house of Creichton taken.

The Provost of Dundee put to flight by the souldiers at Leith.

A Conflict betwixt the Scots and French.

Secretary Lethington forsake the Queen Regent.

The Lords leave Edinburgh, and the French possess the Town.

An. 1559.
The Queen
sendeth for
new forces
from France.

sent advertisement to *France*, requiring new forces with expedition to make the Victory absolute. Whereupon the Marquess *D'Elbeuf* and Count *Martiques* a young Nobleman were directed with some Companies both of foot and horse; but they imbarcking at *Deip* were dispersed by tempest, 18 Ensigns cast away up on the coast of *Holland*, and the rest driven back into *France*. A while after the Marquess putting to Sea arrived at *Leith* about the beginning of the Spring, with a thousand foot and some few horsemen.

The Lords
send to Eng-
land for a sup-
ply.

The Lords at their coming to *Striveling* were in great heaviness, and doubtful what course to take, till encouraged by a Sermon that *John Knox* made unto them they gathered new spirits, resolving to send unto *England* for supply, and till answer should come to divide their Companies. The Duke and Earl of *Glencarne*, with the Lords *Boyde*, *Ochiltry*, and their friends, were appointed to remain at *Glasgow*; the Earls of *Arrane* and *Roths*, Lord *James*, the Master of *Lindesay*, and their friendship, to stay together in *Fife*: and for making intelligence one to the other, Mr. *Henry Balnaves* was ordained to attend the Noblemen at *Glasgow*, and *John Knox* these of *Fife*.

Altars and
Images demo-
lished at *Glas-
gow*.
The Bishop
recovereth
the Castle.

The Duke at his coming to *Glasgow* caused all the Images and Altars to be pulled down, and took the Castle pertaining to the Bishop. Upon the report of this, the Bishop taking with him a number of *Frenchmen*, and assisted by the Lords *Semple*, *Seaton* and *Rosse*, marched hastily thither, recovered the Castle (for the Lords advertised of their coming had left the Town) and staying there one only night returned to *Edinburgh*. In *Fife* there was more quietness, all things continuing peaceable, till a little before Christmas, at which time answer was returned from *England*, and hopes given of support from thence.

Commissions
sent unto Eng-
land.

William Maitland younger of *Lethington*, and *Robert Melvil* brother of the Laird of *Raith*, had been intrusted with that business. They at their coming to the Court of *England* did inform the Queen of the Troubles of the Country, the difficulties whereunto it was reduced, and the danger that *England* should fall into if *Scotland* were once subdued by the *French*, entreating her aid and assistance for their expulsion. She remitting the matter to the Council, it was long debated whether or no any supply should be granted: some maintaining that it was a thing of ill example to assist the subjects of another Prince in their Rebellion, and that the same might draw upon themselves a dangerous War; others holding that they were obliged in Conscience to defend their neighbours from the oppression of Strangers, and that to suffer the *French*, who were naturally enemies to the *English*, fortifie themselves in *Scotland*, would prove a hurtful and preposterous course. In end the Queen inclining that way, it was concluded that a supply should be granted, and the Duke of *Norfolk* sent to *Berwick* to treat of the conditions with the Commissioners of the *Scottish* Nobility.

A supply granted,
and the
Duke of *Nor-
folk* sent to
treat of the
conditions.

The *French* advertised of this conclusion taken, resolved to make an end of the War before the *English* support could be in readiness, and to begin with the Lords residing at *Fife*. Thereupon taking their journey to *Striveling*, they spoiled *Linlithgow* in the way, with the lands of *Kinneil*, and all that they understood belonged to the Duke in those parts. The like pillage they made in *Striveling*, and passing the Bridge they kept the side of the River, robbing all the Villages and Coast-towns which were in their way. It was their purpose to have kept the coast still till they came to *S. Andrews*, and then to have fortified the Castle and City: but the Earl of *Arrane* and Lord *James* hearing that they were past *Striveling*, sent some forces under the charge of the Lord *Ruthven*, a Nobleman of good experience and courage, to withstand their attempts. In his company was the Earl of *Sutherland*, who was come to the Lords some daies before, directed, as he gave out, by the Earl of *Huntley* to make offer of his assistance; howbeit his principal Commission was unto the Queen Regent, as afterwards was known.

The *French* re-
solve to make
an end of the
War before
the *English* be
prepared.

The first encounter with the *French* was at *Pitticurre* (so they call the Haven on the West of *Kingorne*) by occasion of some small vessels that were espied to come from *Leith*, which as the Lord *Ruthven* did stop from landing, the *French* that were farther advanced than he supposed did charge him on the back, and forced him to

An encounter
with the
French at *Pit-
ticurre*.

flie.

flie. Six or seven souldiers were killed in this conflict, and a *Dutchman* called *Paul Lambird*, with a *French* boy, taken and hanged upon the Steeple of *Kingorne*. The Earl of *Sutherland*, wounded a little in the Arm with the shot of an Harquebuse, returned the same day to *Conper*.

An. 1559.

The Lords, to stay the farther progress of the *French*, drew all the forces they could make in these parts to the Town of *Dysert*, where they remained 20 days together, keeping the *French* souldiers (that were numbered to be 4000) in such work, that the Country was generally saved from spoil, and the hurt and damage that was done falling for the greatest part upon their friends and confederates: For of all that were professed enemies to the *French*, the Laird of *Grange* only had his house blown up with Gunpowder; whereas the Laird of *Weimes*, *Seafeld*, *Balmuto*, *Balmery*, *Balgony*, *Dury* and others of the *French* faction; were forced to furnish them with corns, cattel, and what else they stood in need of; or if the souldiers lacked any thing, the readiest goods upon their ground were taken to provide them. Hereof divers complaints being made to the *French* Captains, the poor owners were scornfully answered, that their goods were of the Congregation: and if they made faith that the same were their own proper goods, they were railed upon, and called cowards and unworthy niggards, that made more account of their goods than of their friends. Such as professed Religion, and expected the worst, putting their goods out of the way, or standing to their defence, were in a much better condition; and *Grange*, who had his house cast down as I have said, avenged himself sufficiently a few days after.

The Lords
came to *Dy-
sert*, to stay
the progress of
the *French*.

For knowing that the *French* used to send forth some souldiers into the country every day to bring in provision, he laid an Ambush near to *Kingorne*, and as Captain *le Batu* with an hundred souldiers came forth, after they were passed a mile from the Town, he brake upon them with a number that he had selected to that purpose; the Captain with his souldiers retiring to a little country house, defended themselves a while with their shot, and dangerously wounded *David Kircaldy* brother to the Laird of *Grange*, and a Gentleman called *Robert Hamilton*, who were both at first supposed to be slain. The *French* had the advantage, for they were within ditches, and *le Batu* having taken a little house, kept the gate with some Harquebuses. *Grange* and his company carried spears only, yet in that heat of valour, which ordinarily at such occasions he shewed, he rushed in upon the *French*, and was followed by the Master of *Lindesay* and others whom his example did animate. The Captain refusing to render himself with fifty of his company was slain; the rest were all taken and sent prisoners to *Dundy*.

The Laird of
Grange defend-
ed as
a company of
the *French*.

By this time the Lords that remained in the West parts being advertised of the answer returned from *England*, and how the Duke of *Norfolk* was coming to *Berwick* to attend the *Scottish* Commissioners that should be chosen to treat of the conditions of the supply, they sent of their number some to assist the Noblemen of *Fife* in making that choice. The meeting was at *Conper*, where by common consent choice was made of Lord *James*, the Lord *Ruthven*, the Masters of *Maxwel* and *Lindesay*, the Laird *Lethington* younger, and Laird of *Pittarrow*, and Mr. *Henry Balnaves*; and power given them by the Duke and remnant Lords to contract and agree with the Queen of *England* and her Lieutenant upon all such things as might serve for the good and conjunction of the two Kingdoms, and particularly for expelling the *French* souldiers out of the Realm of *Scotland*. These taking journey by Sea came about the middest of *February* to *Berwick*, and after some short Treaty, a Contract was formed betwixt *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, Earl *Marshal* of *England*, and Lieutenant to the Queens Majesty in the North, in name and behalf of her Highness on the one part, and Lord *James* *Stewart*, *Patrick* Lord *Ruthven*, Sir *John Maxwel* of *Torreglis* Knight, *William Maitland* of *Lethington* younger, *John Wisheart* of *Pittarrow*, and Mr. *Henry Balnaves* of *Halhil*, in name and behalf of the noble and mighty Prince *James* Duke of *Chattellerauld*, second person of the Realm of *Scotland*, and the remnant Lords joyned with him for maintenance and defence of the ancient Rights and Liberties of the Country, on the other part, to the effect following.

Commission-
ers sent to
treat with
Norfolk.

'1. That

An. 1559.
The Contract
with England.

1. 'That the Queens Majesty having sufficiently understood, as well by information from the Nobility of *Scotland*, as by the proceedings of the *French*, that they did intend to conquer the Realm of *Scotland*, suppress the Nobility thereof, and unite the same to the Crown of *France* perpetually, contrary to the Laws of the same Realm, and the pactions, oaths and promises of *France*; and being most humbly and earnestly requested by the said Nobility, for and in the name of the whole Realm, to receive the Kingdom of *Scotland*, the Duke of *Chattellerault*, declared Heir to the Crown thereof, with the Nobility and other subjects, into her protection and maintenance, only for preservation of the *Scots* in their own Freedoms and Liberties, during the time that the Marriage did continue betwixt the Queen of *Scots* and the *French* King, and a year after; should employ her best means for and in their defence.

1. 'That her Majesty should send with all convenient diligence into *Scotland* a sufficient aid of men of War, horse and foot, with artillery, munition, and other instruments of war, as well by sea as by land, to joyn with the forces of *Scotland*, for the expelling the *French* forces presently within that Realm, and stopping so far as may be all others to enter therein in time coming.

3. 'That her Majesty should continue her aid to the Nobility and Subjects of *Scotland*, until such time as the *French* (enemies to the said Realm) should be utterly expelled thence, and should not tranfact, agree, nor conclude any League with the *French*, except the *Scots* and *French* should be also agreed, and the Realm of *Scotland* left in freedom; neither should she leave the maintenance of the said Nobility and other subjects, whereby they might fall as a prey into their enemies hands, so long as they did acknowledge their Sovereign Lady and Queen, and should endeavour themselves to maintain their own Liberty, and the estate of the Crown of *Scotland*.

4. 'If in case any Forts or Strengths within the Realm shall be recovered out of the hands of the *French* by her Majesties aid, the same should be immediately demolished, or delivered to the Duke of *Chattellerault* and his partakers at their election; neither should the power of *England* fortifie within the ground of *Scotland*, but by the advice of the said Duke, Nobility and Estates of *Scotland*.

5. 'That the said Duke and Nobility, as well such as be already joyned, as such as hereafter shall joyn with him for defence of the Liberty of the Realm, should to the uttermost of their power aid and support her Majesties Army against the *French* and their assistants with horse and foot, and all manner of other aid they possibly can make, and shall provide victuals to the Army by land and sea, and continue so doing, during the time her Majesties Army shall remain in *Scotland*.

6. 'That they should be enemies to all such *Scottishmen* and *French* as shall in any ways shew themselves enemies to the Realm of *England*, for the aiding and supporting of the said Duke and Nobility, and should never assent nor permit the Realm of *Scotland* to be conquered or otherwise united to the Crown of *France* than it is at the present, only by the marriage of the Queen their Sovereign to the *French* King, and as the Laws and Liberties of the Realm do allow.

7. 'That if it should happen the *Frenchmen* at any time thereafter to invade or cause the Realm of *England* to be invaded, they should furnish the number of 1000 Horsemen and 2000 Footmen at least, or such part of either of them as should be required, at the charge of the Queen of *England*, and should conduct the same to any part of the Realm of *England* that should be appointed, upon the charges always of the Queen of *England*. And in case the Invasion should be made on the North part of *England*, either upon the North of the water of *Tine* towards *Scotland*, or against *Berwick* on the North-side of the water of *Twede*, they should convene and gather their whole forces upon their own charges, and should joyn with the *English* power and continue in an earnest pursuit of the quarrel of *England* during the space of 30 days, or so much longer, as they are accustomed to abide in the fields for defence of *Scotland*.

8. 'That the Earl of *Argile*, Lord Justice of *Scotland*, being presently joyned with

with the said Duke, should employ his force and good will, when he should be required by the Queen of *England*, for reducing the North parts of *Ireland* to her obedience, conform to a mutual Contract which should be made betwixt her Majesties Deputy of *Ireland* for the time and the said Earl, wherein should be expressed what each of them should do for support of others, in case either of them had business with *Mac-Oneal*, or any other of the Isles of *Scotland*, or Realm of *Ireland*.

9. 'That the *Scots*, for performance and sure keeping of their part of this Contract, should deliver such Pledges to the Duke of *Norfolk*, before the entry of her Majesties Army in *Scottish* ground, as the said Duke did presently name, who should remain in *England* for the space of six moneths, and be exchanged by deliverance of new Hostages, for six moneths to six moneths, or four moneths to four moneths, at the pleasure of *Scotland*; the Pledges always being of the like or as good condition as the former, and the lawful sons, brethren or heirs of some of the Earls or Barons of the Parliament, and the time of the continuance of the said Hostages should be during the marriage of the Queen of *Scots* to the *French* King, and a year after the dissolution of the same, till farther order may be had betwixt both the Realms for Peace and concord.

10. 'That the Duke and Nobility joyned with him, being Earls and Barons of Parliament, should subscribe and seal these Articles within the space of twenty or thirty days at the farthest after the delivering of the said Hostages; and should procure and persuade all others of the Nobility that should joyn themselves thereafter with the said Duke for the cause above specified, to subscribe and seal the same Articles within the space of twenty days after their conjunction, upon requisition made by them of *England*.

11. 'That the said Duke and Nobility joyned with him, certainly understanding that the Queens Majesty of *England* was moved to grant the present support only upon respect of Princely honour and neighbourhood, for defence of the Freedom of *Scotland* from Conquest, and not of any sinister intent, did by these presents testify and declare, that neither they nor any of them do mean by this Contract to withdraw their due obedience from their Sovereign Lady the Queen, or yet to withstand the *French* King her Husband in any lawful thing which tendeth not to the subversion of the just and ancient Liberties of *Scotland*, for the preservation whereof they acknowledge themselves bound to spend their goods, lands and lives.

This Contract of the date at *Berwick* the 27 of February 1559 was confirmed by the Queen of *England*, and a Patent thereof delivered under the great Seal of *England* to the Duke and Nobility: the Lords of *Scotland* did in like manner ratifie the same by their Subscriptions at the Camp before *Leith* the tenth of May following.

How soon the *French* heard that the Lords were removed from *Dysert*, they marched forward according to their first purpose towards *S. Andrews*, and kept the Coast, partly because of the ships which carried their victuals, partly by reason of a great snow which then was fallen, and made the nearest ways unpassable. After that they had crossed the water of *Leven*, and were come unto *Kincraig*, they espied a fleet of ships bearing up the *Firth*, which they did apprehend to be a supply sent unto them: but when they saw them fall upon the ships that carried their victuals, they became doubtful, and shortly after were assured by a boat which had spoken them, that it was an *English* Navy sent to the support of the Congregation, and that a land Army was also prepared to come into *Scotland*. These news troubled them, not a little, and made them doubtful what course to take; for to return by *Striveling* was a long way, and to transport the souldiers to the other coast, there were no vessels; so as they feared to be kept from joyning with their fellows at *Leith*. Their resolution therefore was to make the longer journeys, as they did; and setting to the way the same night, they came on the third day to *Leith*, having lost divers of their company by the way.

Fife thus delivered from their oppressions, publick thanks were given to God in the Church of *S. Andrews*. This done, the Lords took purpose to besiege the Houses of

The *French* souldiers upon sight of the Navy return to *Leith*.

Divers Houses in *Fife* taken by the Lords.

An. 1560.

The Cathedral of Aberdeen saved by the Earl of Huntley.

Pledges sent to the Admiral of England.

The English forces enter into Scotland.

The Queen Regent entereth into the Castle of Edinburgh.

A Letter from the Lords to the Queen Regent.

of Weimes, Slafield, Balgony and Dury, which were taken without resistance, and the Lords thereof made prisoners; but shortly after they were dimitted, and the Houses restored, upon condition not to assist the French any more. The Earl of Huntley at the same time being advertised that the Barons of Mernis were come to Aberdeen to make reformation in that City, hastened thither to withstand their proceedings, and by his coming saved the Cathedral Church; the houses of the Dominicans, Carmelites and other Religious being already demolished and cast down. Yet when he heard that the English forces were advancing, he sent to the Lords, and made offer to joyn with them. A meeting to this effect was appointed at Perth, whither he came, and staying some three days, departed homewards upon promise to return unto the Army in the beginning of April; for Proclamations were gone through the Country, charging all the subjects to meet in Arms at Linlithgow the last of March, and from thence to pass forwards in pursuit of the French that had fortified at Leith.

For fulfilling the Article whereby the Lords were tied to send pledges unto England, Colin Campbel Cousin to the Earl of Argile, Robert Douglas brother to the Laird of Lochleven, and . . . Ruthven son to the Lord Ruthven, were delivered to the English Admiral, and by sea conveyed to the Town of Newcastle.

After which the English forces, consisting of 2000 horse and six thousand foot, entered into Scotland, conducted by the Lord Gray, under whom commanded the Lord Scroop, Sir James Crofts, Sir Henry Percy and Sir Francis Lake. The Scottish Army joynd with them at Preston the fourth of April, whereof the principal leaders were the Duke of Chatterault, the Earls of Argile, Glencarn and Menteith, Lord James, the Lords Ruthven, Boyd and Ochilry, who were assisted by all the Barons and Gentlemen professing Religion in Lothian, Fife, Angus, Mernis and the West countries. The same day the Queen Regent removed her family to the Castle of Edinburgh, and was received by the Lord Areskin, a Nobleman of approved honesty and wisdom. He was not ignorant of the Queen's intentions, and the desire he had to have the French Masters of that strength; yet he would not at that time deny her entry, but used such circumspection, as she and the House both were still in his power.

The Noblemen resolving to fall presently to work, did yet think to move the Queen of new for dismissing the French Companies, and to that effect they directed a Letter of this tenor. *Madam, We have before this time by Letters and Messages been instant with you to remove the French souldiers out of the Realm, who now the space of a year and more have oppressed the poor people with evils intolerable, and threaten to bring this Kingdom under a miserable servitude. But seeing we could not prevail by our lawful requests, we were forced to mean our estate to the Queen of England our nearest neighbour, and intreat her support for expulsiing these strangers by Arms, (if otherwise we cannot obtain it.) And now albeit she pitying our distresses hath taken us and our cause in her protection, yet for the duty we owe unto you as the Mother of our Queen, and the desire we have to eschew the shedding of Christian blood, we have advised once again to intreat the dismissal of these French-men with their Captains & Commanders, for whose commodious transport the Queen of England will be pleased to lend her Navy, and give to others of them a safe passage by land. If this condition shall be rejected, we take God and men to record, that it is not malice nor hatred which moveth us to take Arms, but that we are driven by necessity to use extreme remedies for preserving the Commonwealth, and saving our selves, our estates and posterities from utter ruine: neither shall we for any peril that can happen (howsoever we suffer many wrongs and indignities, and are daily in expectation of worse) for sake that dutiful obedience which we owe to our Queen, or yet resist the King her Husband, in any thing that shall not tend to the subversion of the ancient Liberties of this Kingdom. Therefore, most gracious Queen, we beseech you again and again to weigh the equity of our Petition, the inconveniences of war, & to consider how needful it is that this your Daughters afflicted Kingdom should be put to some rest & quietness. If so you do, you shall give to all nations a testimony of your moderation, & procure the peace of the greatest part of Christendom.*

This Letter, dated at Dalkeith the fifth of April, was subscribed by all the Noblemen

blemen that were present. The English General did in like manner direct Sir George Howard and Sir James Crofts to make offer, that if the French would peaceably depart forth of Scotland, they likewise should return into their Country without molesting any person. Her answer was, that she would think of what was propounded, and give answer the next day. But the Army not liking to admit these delays, advanced the next day, which was Saturday, towards Leith, keeping along the sea-coast, till they came to Restalrig. The French issuing forth of Leith to the number of 1300, or thereby, and planting themselves upon a little hill called the Hawkhill (where they knew the English Army would encamp) for the space of five hours continued in fight, the one striving to make good the place, the other to carry it. At last the Scottish horsemen did charge the French with such a fury, that they, not able to maintain it any longer, took the flight and retired to the Town, from which they had been quite cut off, if the English horse had seconded the Scots, as was appointed. In this conflict three hundred of the French were killed, and some few of the English.

Then begun the Army of England to place their Pavilions betwixt the Town of Leith and Restalrig. The Lord Gray lodging in the Deans house in Restalrig, and the most part of his horsemen in the same village, the foot lay all in the tents, upon the South and South-east side of Leith; and near unto them were the Scots Noblemen encamped, trenches cast, and a little mount erected, which was called Mount Pellain, from the name of the Captain, whereupon eight Cannons were placed to play upon S. Antonies Steeple, on which the French had planted some Ordinance. These thundering night and day battered the Steeple, and forced the French to dismount their artillery. The English after this growing negligent, and supposing the French would make no more sallies, followed their sports, some of the Captains going to Edinburgh, and the souldiers falling to play at Dice and Cards, as though there had been no enemies to fear: whereof the French getting intelligence, they issued forth, and entering the English trenches before they were perceived, put many to the sword. The slaughter was great, and esteemed to exceed the loss of the French in the first encounter.

This accident taught them to be more watchful all the time that the siege continued; and because their numbers were so few for besieging the Town in all parts, they devised to raise certain mounts in every quarter, and to remove the Cannon to the West side of the water of Leith, more near the walls than before. The last of April a sudden fire kindling within the Town, burnt all that night, which destroyed many houses, and consumed a great part of the souldiers provision. During this burning, the English playing continually with the Cannon upon the places where they saw the flames rising, to stop the quenching of the fire, and entering the ditches, did in the mean time measure the height of the walls, to provide ladders for the scaling which they intended.

The seventh of May having resolved to give an assault, they brought the ladders a little before day towards the walls; but they proved too short, and so that purpose failed. The English lost 160 at this enterprise. Such as were affected to the French did hereupon take courage, trusting the siege would rise, and the English Army depart: but the accident did no way dismay either the English or Scots, every man animating another to constancy and continuance; and about the time came Letters from the Duke of Norfolk, which greatly confirmed their minds. Thereby he charged them not to break up the siege by any means, assuring they should not lack men, so long as any could be had between Twede and Trent (for in those bounds he commanded as Lieutenant) and giving hopes to come in person to the Camp, he caused his Pavilion to be set up, and sent thither his officers and provision. Shortly after a fresh supply came from England of 2000 men, which made all former losses to be forgotten. The French for some daies made divers sallies, but were ever put to the worst; for all the hurt which fell either to Scottish or English from that time until the rendring of the Town, was only the loss of two men, Robert Colvill of Cleish, Master household to Lord James, a Gentleman much commended both for wisdom and valour (he was wounded in the thigh by the shot of a great piece from the

An. 1560.

The English General intreateth the Queen to dimitt the French.

The first Conflict of the siege of Leith.

The situation of the Scottish and English Camp.

The French entered into the English trenches where divers were killed.

A fire in the town of Leith.

The English thinking to scale the walls are repulsed.

An. 1560.

The offer of
the French King
to the Queen of
England.The Queens
answer.Sir William Cecil
and Doctor Wotton
sent to mediate an Agreement.The Queen Regent
sicketh and dieth.
She conferreth
with the Lords
before her
death.The Queen Regent
her just
commendations.The malice of
the Author of
the story called
John Knox his
History.

the Town, and died of it within two hours) and Alexander Lokhart, brother to the Laird of Barre, who lying too open in the Trenches was discovered by the enemy, and shot in the head.

The French King hearing in what distress the companies at Leith were, and by reason of other affairs not able to supply them in time, sent Count Randon and Monsieur Monluck Bishop of Valence Ambassadors to the Queen of England, desiring her to retire her Army out of Scotland, with offers to restore the Town of Calais if she would call them back. Her answer was, *that she did not value that fisher-Town so much, as to hazard for it the state of Britain.* The French perceiving that Peace could not otherwise be made but by calling back the French Souldiers, and thinking it dishonorable for the King and Queen of France to treat with their own subjects, they intreated the Queen of England to send her Ambassadors to mediate an Agreement: which was easily assented unto, and Mr. William Cecil principal Secretary of England, with Doctor Wotton Dean of Canterbury and York, appointed to go with the French Ambassadors into Scotland, and use their best means for pacifying the present Troubles.

Whilest they were in their journey, the Queen Regent, partly out of sickness, and partly of displeasure, died in the Castle of Edinburgh the tenth of June 1560. Before her death she desired to speak with the Duke of Châtellerauld, the Earls of Argile, Glencarn, Marshall, and Lord James; to whom she expressed her grief for the Troubles of the Realm, commending earnestly the study of Peace unto them, advising them to send both French and English forth of the Country, and beseeching them to continue in the obedience of the Queen their Sovereign, and to entertain the old amity with the King and Realm of France. After some speeches to this purpose, bursting forth in tears she asked pardon of them all whom any way she had offended, professing that she did forgive those who had injured her in any sort, and embracing all the Nobles one by one, kissing them, she took her farewell. To others of meaner sort that stood by she gave her hand, and so they departed. Afterwards, disposing her self for another world, she sent for John Willock the Preacher, who was then returned from England, and conferring with him a reasonable space, openly professed, *that she did trust to be saved only by the death and merits of Jesus Christ:* and thus ended her life most Christianly.

She was a Lady of honest and honorable conditions, of singular judgment, and full of humanity, a great lover of justice, helpful to the poor, especially to those that she knew to be indigent, but for shame could not beg; compassionate of women in travel, whom she did often visit in her own person, and help both with her skill and counsel. In her Court she kept a wonderful gravity, tolerating no licentiousness; her maids were always busied in some vertuous exercise, and to them she was an example every way of modesty, chastity, and the best Vertues. A great dexterity she had in Government, which appeared in the composing the Tumults in the North, and in pacifying the Isles, which by her wisdom were reduced to perfect obedience. As to those Wars which afflicted the Kingdom in her last days, it is not to be doubted but the same happened much against her will; neither had they fallen out at all, if affairs had been carried according to her mind. But she was to govern by direction, and in all matters of weight must needs attend responses from the French Court, which were the Oracles whereby all affairs at those times were framed. This made her in matters of Religion more severe than of her own nature she was, and led her into many errors of State, neglecting the Natives and born Noblemen of the Country, and following the counsels of the French that attended her, who making no conscience of their promises, and minding nothing but the bringing of Scotland in subjection to France, as they conceived things to serve unto their ends, moved her to follow courses unsure and dishonorable. Otherwise she was of a most mild disposition, and was heard often to say, *That if her own counsel might take place, she doubted nothing to compose all the Dissensions within the Realm, and settle the same upon good conditions in a perfect tranquillity.* The Author of the Story ascribed to John Knox in his whole discourse sheweth a bitter and hateful spite against her, forging dishonest things, which was never

so

so much as suspected by any, setting down his own conjectures as certain truths, and misinterpreting all her words and actions; yea the least syllable that did escape her in passion, he maketh it an argument of her cruel and inhumane disposition: but when he cometh to speak of her end, he will have all her Sickness and Death (though in none of the two there was any thing extraordinary) to be the Judgment of God inflicted upon her, as if Death and the ordinary visitations which bring death were not common to Princes as well as others. Then for her Burial, because by direction of her friends, and (as some say) at her own desire, order was taken to carry her Corps to the Abbey of Rhemes in Campagne, where her sister was Abbess, which of all necessity required a protraction of time; he construed the delay to be the punishment of her inhumanity, and the want of sepulchre in this Kingdom a prognostick of the short continuance of her race and the Guisain blood (as he speaks) in this Realm. Pardon me good Reader, for this digression. To detract from the fame of Princes, and miscensure their words and actions, savour-eth of malice, and no way becometh a Christian, much less a Minister of Christ.

Shortly after the death of the Queen Regent Truce was taken for hearing the Ambassadors sent from France and England, who coming to Edinburgh, entered into consultation first amongst themselves upon the best and easiest means to compose the present Quarrels. Then calling to them certain of the Scottish Nobility, began to treat of the sending of the French Souldiers forth of the Realm. Wherein two difficulties occurred. One was, that the Commissioners of France did urge the retaining of a number of men of war in some Forts of the Country for the King and Queen, after Peace was concluded. The other, that the Companies that should be broken might depart unchallenged with all their baggage. The Scottish Noblemen did oppose these desires, esteeming it unreasonable that they should be suffered to depart before they gave satisfaction to those they had wronged; and to place strangers in Forts, they thought it could not but breed trouble, and occasion a new War more dangerous than the present. This contention held some days; at last both parties wearying, they were brought to agree upon the Conditions following.

1. That the Frenchmen of war in the Town of Leith should be sent home within the space of twenty days with bag and baggage; and, for their better transport, should be furnished with Ships of England, they giving pledges for the safe return of the same.

2. That Leith being rendred to the Lords of Scotland, the walls thereof should be demolished, as likewise the Fortifications of Dumbar, if so it should seem good to the Lords, after they had viewed the same; and that the King and Queen should make no new Forts within the Realm, nor augment those that were already made, nor yet repair these that were demolished, without counsel and consent of the Estates.

3. That a Garrison of threecore Frenchmen should be permitted to remain in the Castle of Dumbar, and as many in the Isle of Inchkeith, until the Estates should find means to maintain the said Forts upon their own charges from all peril of foreign invasion; the said souldiers in the mean time living obedient to the Laws of the Realm, and taking nothing from the subjects without payment of ready money.

4. That an Act of Oblivion should be made for abolishing the memory of all injuries and wrongs attempted or committed against the Laws of the Realm, since the sixth day of March 1558, until the first of August 1560. which Act should be ratified in the next Parliament, and confirmed by the Queen with consent of her Husband.

5. That a general Peace and Reconciliation should be made amongst the Lords and subjects of the Realm, so as they who were called of the Congregation, and they who were not of the same, should bear no quarrel to others for any thing done since the sixth of March, 1558.

6. That the King and Queen should not pursue revenge, or suffer to be revenged, any violence or injury that had been done since the said time, nor should deprive or seek any color to dispossess the subjects, or any of them, of the benefices, houses,

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and

An. 1560.

A truce taken
upon the death
of the Queen
Regent.Conditions of
the Peace.

An. 1560.

and estates which they have enjoyed before, they alwaies continuing in the due obedience of their Sovereigns. And that it might be known that the King and Queen were not willing to keep any remembrance of the Troubles past, it was accorded the Duke of *Chattellerault* and all other Noblemen of *Scotland* should be repossessed in their livings and benefices within *France*, after the manner that they did enjoy the same before the said sixth day of *March*; and that all Capitulations agreed upon in times past should be observed as well for the part of their Majesties, as the part of the Nobility and people of *Scotland*.

7. That where any Bishops, Abbots, or other Churchmen, should alledge themselves to have received any injuries either in their persons or goods, the same should be considered by the Estates of Parliament, and redress made according to reason; and in the mean time, that no man should stop them to enjoy their rents, nor do any hurt or violence to their persons: and if any should do contrary to this Article, he should be pursued by the Lords as a perturber of the Commonwealth.

8. That in time coming the King and Queen should depute no strangers in the administration of Civil and Common Justice, nor bestow the Offices of Chancellery, Thesaurer, Comptrollary, and the like upon others than born subjects of the Realm: as likewise that it should not be lawful to give the office of Thesaurary or Comptrollary to any Church-men or other person that is not able to administer the same. Farther, that the Thesaurer and Comptroller appointed by them, and intrusted with sufficient commission, should do nothing in disposing of casualties without the consent of the Council, to the effect all things may be done for the profit of the King and Queen: yet should it not be thought that this Article did either bind the King or Queen, but that they may give where and when they should think expedient.

9. That the Estates of the Realm should convene and hold a Parliament in the month of *August* next, for which a Commission should be sent from the French King and the Queen of *Scotland*, and that the said Convention should be as lawful in all respects, as if the same had been ordained by the expresse Commandment of their Majesties: providing all Tumults of war be discharged, and they who ought by their places to be present may come without fear.

10. That for the better government of this Realm, choice should be made of a Council which should consist of twelve worthy men of the Kingdom, of which number the Queen should chuse seven and the Estates five; which twelve in their Majesties absence should take order with the affairs of Government, and without their authority and consent nothing should be done in the administration of public business. And that the said Council should convene as oft as they might conveniently, but no fewer than six together; or if any matter of importance occurred, they should all be called, or the most part of them: providing it should not be prejudicial to the King and Queen, and to the Rights of the Crown.

11. That the King and Queen should neither make Peace nor War in these parts but by the counsel and advice of the Estates, according to the custome of the Country, as it was observed by their predecessors.

12. That none of the Lords of the Nobility of *Scotland* should make convocation of men of war, except in ordinary cases approved by the Laws and custome of the Realm, nor should any of them cause men of war strangers to come into these parts, much less attempt to do any thing against the King and Queen, or against the authority of the Council, and other Magistrates of the Realm: and in case any of them had occasion to take Arms, the same being first communicated to the Council, their Majesties likewise should be made acquainted therewith, and nothing to be done by them that ought not to be done by good and faithful subjects, that love the quietness of the Realm, and will abide in the obedience of their Sovereigns.

13. That Lord *David* Son to the Duke of *Chattellerault*, detained prisoner at *Bois de Vincennes*, should be put to liberty, and suffered to return into *Scotland* at his pleasure.

14. That with the *Frenchmen* no Artillery should be transported forth of the Realm,

Realm, but those which were sent and brought in since the decease of *Francis*: the First; and that all other Artillery and Munition, especially that which hath the Arms of *Scotland*, should be put into the places out of which they were taken.

15. That the Army of *England* should return home immediately after the embarking of the *French*, and that all the *Scottish* men of war should be broken, and licensed to depart.

16. That for the Articles concerning Religion presented for the part of the Nobility and people of *Scotland* (which the Commissioners would not touch, but referred to their Majesties) it was promised that a certain number of Noblemen should be chosen in the next Convention and Parliament to be sent to their Majesties, to expone unto them the things that should be thought needful for the estate thereof; and for the Articles presently decided, they should carry with them the Ratification of the same by the Estates, and return a Confirmation thereof from their Majesties.

Lastly, that the Queen of *Scotland* and King of *France* should not hereafter usurp the Titles of *England* and *Ireland*, and should delete the Arms of *England* and *Ireland* out of their scutcheons and whole household-stuff.

This Accord made, the *French* prepared to depart; and for returning the Ships of *England* that were lent to transport them, the Bishop of *Amiens* and *Monsieur le Broche* remained Hostages. On the sixteenth day of *July* the *French* embarked, and the same day did the *English* Army depart towards *Bermick*. The third day after their parting, a solemn Thanksgiving was kept in the Church of *S. Giles* by the Lords and others professing true Religion, and then were the Ministers by common advice distributed among the Burghs. *John Knox* was appointed to serve at *Edinburgh*, *Christopher Goodman* at *S. Andrews*, *Adam Heriote* at *Aberdene*, *John Row* at *Perth*, *William Christeson* at *Dundy*, *David Ferguson* at *Dunfermlin*, *Paul Methuen* at *Jedburgh*, and *Mr. David Lindesay* at *Leith*. Besides these they did nominate for the direction of Church-affairs some to be Superintendents, as *Mr. John Spotswood* for *Lothian* and *Mers*, *Mr. John Winram* for *Fife*, and *John Areskin* of *Dun* for *Angus* and *Mernis*, *Mr. John Willock* for *Glasgow*, and *Mr. John Kerfwel* for *Argile* and *Isles*. With this small number was the plantation of the Church at first undertaken.

The time appointed for the Parliament approaching, warning was made to all such as by Law or ancient Custome had any voice therein to be present, and at the day the meeting was frequent. In the beginning there was great altercation. Divers holding that no Parliament could be kept, seeing their Sovereigns had sent no Commission, nor authorized any to represent their persons. Others (alleging that Article of the Peace whereby it was agreed, That a Parliament should be kept in the month of *August*, and that the same should be as lawful in all respects, as if it were ordained by the expresse commandments of their Majesties) maintained that the said Article was a warrant sufficient for their present meeting: and this opinion by voices prevailed. So after some eight days spent in these contentions, they began to treat of affairs; but as they had no Commission, so the solemnities accustomed of Crown, Scepter and Sword, which are in use to be carried at these times, were neglected. There were present of the Spiritual Estate, the Archbishop of *S. Andrews*, the Bishops of *Dunkeld*, *Dumblane*, *Galloway*, *Argile*, and *Isles*, the Prior of *S. Andrews*, the Abbots of *Couper*, *Lundors*, *Culross*, *S. Colmes Inch*, *Newbottle*, *Halirudhoufe*, *Kinlose*, *Deire* and *New-Abby*, with the Priors of *Coldingham* and *S. Mary Isle*; of the Nobility, the Lord Duke, the Earls of *Arrane*, *Argile*, *Marshall*, *Cassils*, *Cathnes*, *Athol*, *Glencarne*, *Morton*, and *Rother*; the Lords *Ruthven*, *Glammis*, *Areskin*, *Boyd*, *Ochiltree*, *Cathcart*, *Levingston*, *Ogilvy*, and *Somervil*, with many of the inferior Barons; and of the Commissioners of Burghs none were absent. In electing the Lords of the Articles, the Noblemen that had the nomination of the Clergy, passing by such amongst them as they knew to be Popishly affected, made choice of the Bishops of *Galloway* and *Argile*, the Prior of *S. Andrews*, the Abbots of *Abberbrothock*, *Kilwinning*, *Lundors*, *Newbottle*, and *Culross*: at which the Prelates stormed mightily, alledging that some of them were mere Laicks, and all of them Apo-

An. 1560.

The French embarked, and the Army of England departed.

The Ministers distributed amongst the Burghs.

A Parliament, and the lawfulness thereof questioned.

The Clergy offended with the election of the Lords of the Articles.

An. 1560.

Petitions proposed in favor of the Reformers.

states (for they had openly renounced Popery, and joyned themselves with the Professors of the Truth:) but there was no remedy, the course was changed; and now it behoved them to take law, who formerly had given it to others.

The first thing they moved in the Articles was a Supplication of the Barons, Gentlemen, Burghesses and other Subjects concerning Religion; wherein three things were petitioned. First, *That the Doctrine of the Roman Church, professed and tyrannously maintained by the Clergy, should be condemned, and by Act of Parliament abolished.* Some particulars they named, such as *the Doctrine of Transubstantiation, the Adoration of Christs Body under the form of Bread, the Merit of Works, Papiſtical Indulgences, Purgatory, Pilgrimage, and praying to Saints departed.* These they reckoned to be pestilent Errors, such as could not but bring damnation to the Souls of those who were therewith infected: therefore desired a punishment to be appointed for the Teachers and maintainers of such Doctrines. Next, *That a remedy should be found against the prophaning the holy Sacraments by men of that profession, and the true Discipline of the ancient Church revived and restored.* Thirdly, *That the Pope of Rome his usurped Authority should be discharged, and the Patrimony of the Church employed to the sustentation of the Ministry, the provision of schools, and intertainment of the poor, of a long time neglected.*

This last clause was not very pleasing to divers of the Nobility, who, though they liked well to have the Pope his Authority and Doctrine condemned, had no will to quit the Church Patrimony, wherewith in that stirring time they had possessed themselves. So making no answer to the last Point, the Ministers were desired to draw into several heads the sum of the Doctrine they craved to be established, that the same might be seen and considered by the Parliament. This accordingly was done, and the fourth day after (which was the 17. of August) exhibited to the Estates under this Title (*The Confession of the Faith and Doctrine believed and professed by the Protestants of Scotland.*) It is the same Confession word by word that you have registred in the first Parliament of King James the Sixth, which (that the Story may on with an uninterrupted delivery) I thought it not needful here to insert.

The Confession of Faith put in form and presented.

The Confession approved.

The Confession read in open Parliament and put to voices, the Earl of Athol, the Lords Sommervill and Borthwick only of all the Temporal Estate dissented, saying, *They would believe as their fathers before them had believed.* The Popish Prelates were silent, and answered nothing: whereupon the Earl Marshal brake forth into these speeches, *It is long since I carried some favour unto the Truth, and was somewhat jealous of the Roman Religion; but this day hath fully resolved me of the truth of the one, and falshood of the other: for seeing my Lords the Bishops (who by their learning can, and for the zeal they should have to the Truth would, as I suppose, gain say any thing repugnant unto it) say nothing against the Confession we have heard, I cannot think but it is the very Truth of God, and the contrary of it false and deceiveable Doctrine.* Thus was the Confession of Faith approved, and by publick voices of the Estates authorized. At the same time there passed three other Acts in favour of the Professors; One for abolishing the Popes Jurisdiction and Authority within the Realm; a Second annulling all Statutes made in preceding times for maintenance of Idolatry; and a Third for punishment of the sayers and hearers of Mass.

The Popes Authority abolished.

The Lord Torpichen directed to France.

With these Acts Sir James Sandelands Knight of Rhodes, a Gentleman of good account (who had carried himself as neuter in all these Broils) was directed to France, for obtaining a Ratification of the same from the Queen and the King her Husband; and therewith was desired to clear the Noblemen and other Subjects from imputations of Disloyalty cast upon them, and to pacifie the minds of their Sovereigns (whom they understood to be much exasperated) by all the good ways he could use. But he found his Ambassage and himself both contemned; the Guisards (who were the only men then in account with the King) checking him bitterly at his first Audience, for that he, being a Knight of the holy Order, should have taken a Commission from Rebels to sollicite a ratification of execrable Heresies. The Gentleman did what he could to mitigate their wrath, but nothing could avail. So was he dismissed without answer; whereof the Archbishop of Glasgow, the

the Abbot of Dunfermlin, and the Lord Seaton, who went from Leith with the company of French, were generally blamed.

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The cold entertainment he found in that Court was soon advertised; which troubled greatly the minds of the Professors, for they were sensible of their own weakness, and doubtful of support from England, if France should again invade, because of the loss the English had received in the late Expedition: neither had the Earls of Morton and Glencarn (who upon the breaking up of the Parliament were sent into England to render thanks to the Queen, and to intreat the continuance of her favor) given any advertisement of their acceptance. But whilest they stood thus fearful, news was brought of the French Kings death, which raised their hearts not a little, neither were they more glad than the French faction were forrowful.

The Earls Morton and Glencarn sent into England.

The French King dieth.

These meeting in the most secret manner they could, took counsel to send Mr. John Lesley (afterwards Bishop of Ross) with Letters to the Queen, intreating her to return into Scotland; withal to shew her that the best course she could take was to land at Aberdene, where she should be honorably received, and find such assistance of the Noblemen in these quarters, as at her first coming she might re-establish the Catholick Religion. He was also desired to warn the Queen not to give ear to the Counsels of her Brother, who (as they said) was of an aspiring mind, and aimed at no less than the Government of the Realm; whom she should do wisely to cause be detained in France, till matters at home were fully settled. The Letter he carried was subscribed by the Archbishop of S. Andrews, the Bishops of Aberdene, Murray and Ross, the Earls of Huntley, Crawford, Athol, Sutherland, and Cathness.

Mr. John Lesley sent from the French Faction to persuade the Queens return.

On the other side, the Noblemen that had assisted the expulsion of the French, how soon they heard of the death of King Francis, convened at Edinburgh, and after counsel taken directed Lord James to the Queen, to persuade her in like manner to return. But Lesley using greater diligence came to her some days before him, and finding her at Vitrie in Champaigne (whither she was gone to seek a secret place for her sorrow) delivered the Letters and credit he was trusted with. The Queen hearing all, answered, that the Prelates and Noblemen by whom he was employed should rest assured of her favour, willing him to advertise so much, and to attend till she could resolve upon her return. Incontinent after Lesley's coming the Queens Uncles did enter in deliberation what course was best for her to take, and whether or not she should return to Scotland; for they conceived the passage by Sea would be dangerous (she not being assured of the Queen of Englands friendship) and in her own Kingdom the late Troubles not being fully appeased, they considered her peril would be great, and that she should be cast into many difficulties: yet finding her own mind to incline that way, and hoping to have her more subject to their counsels whilest she lived at home than if she remained in France, they resolved to give way to her return, and to provide a Fleet for her safe transport. Lord James at his coming, though he was advertised of the conclusion taken, yet dissembling his knowledge thereof, did signify the great desire that the subjects had to enjoy her presence, and their longing for her return, using the best reasons he could to persuade her unto it. Hereby she was much confirmed in her purpose; and after a day or two imparting to him her resolution, willed him to return with diligence, and making advertisement of her journey, take care that nothing should be attempted against the Pacification made at Leith before her coming.

Lord James by the Noblemen of the Reformation to the same end.

The Queen resolved to return.

In March following there arrived at Leith one Noalins, a Senator of Bordeaux, bringing a Commission from the King that had now succeeded his Brother, whereby three things were craved. 1. *That the old League betwixt France and Scotland should be renewed.* 2. *That the late confederacy with England should be dissolved.* 3. *That the Church-men should be restored to their places from which they had been thrust.* The Council not willing to meddle with matters of that importance delayed his answer to the Convention appointed in May, at which time Lord James returned. He had audience, and answer given him to this effect: *That the Scots were no way conscious to themselves of any breach of the ancient League, but contrariwise*

An Ambassage from France.

The answer of the Convention.

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the French had broken to them, seeking of late to deprive them of their ancient Liberties, and under the profession of friendship to bring them into a miserable servitude. That they could not violate the Contract made with England, except they would be accounted of all men living the most ingrate; for having received the greatest kindness and benefit at the hands of the English which one neighbor Nation could possibly do unto another, if they should requite them with such ingratitude they would bring upon themselves a perpetual and everlasting shame. And for the repairing the Church men in their places, they said that they did not acknowledge those whom they so styled to be Office-bearers in the Church, and that Scotland, having renounced the Pope, would maintain no longer his Priests and vassals.

Morton and
Glencarn return
from England.

Noahus dismissed with this answer, the Earls of Morton and Glencarn, who a little before this time were returned from England, did relate the good acceptance they received from the Queen, and the promises she made to assist them in the defence of the Liberties of the Kingdom, if they should stand in need at any time of her help; which was heard with great content. They had been trusted with a more private business; this was to try if the Queen might be pleased to take the Earl of Arrane to her Husband, and that way to unite the Kingdoms in a more firm amity. But to this she did in fair terms answer, *That she was not as yet wearied of the single life, and professing her self adepte to the Noblemans good affection, said that if he should try her kindness in any other matter, he should find his love not ill bestowed.* The Earl took the repulse more patiently because of the French Kings death, and trusting he should gain the favour of his own Queen, whom he greatly affected: but of this he was likewise disappointed, as we will hear.

A form of
Church-policy.

IN the Convention kept at Edinburgh in January preceding a Form of Church-policy was presented, and desired to be ratified. Because this will fall to be often mentioned, and serveth to the clearing of many questions which were afterward agitated in the Church; I thought meet word by word here to insert the same, that the Reader may see what were the Grounds laid down at first for the Government of the Church, so we shall the better discern of the Changes that followed.

The First Head, of Doctrine.

SEeing that Christ Jesus is he whom God the Father hath commended only to be heard and followed of his Sheep; we judge it necessary that his Gospel be truly and openly preached in every Church and Assembly of this Realm, and that all Doctrine repugning to the same be utterly suppressed as damnable to mans Salvation.

The Explication of the First Head.

Left that upon this our Generality ungodly men take occasion to cavil, this we add for Explication. By *preaching of the Gospel* we understand not only the Scriptures of the New Testament, but also the Old; to wit, the Law, the Prophets and Histories, in which Christ Jesus is no less contained in Figure, than we have him now expressed in Virtue: And therefore with the Apostle we affirm, that *all Scripture inspired of God is profitable to instruct, to reprove, and to exhort.* In which Books of Old and New Testaments we affirm that all things necessary for the instruction of the Church, and to make the man of God perfect, are contained and sufficiently expressed.

By the *contrary Doctrine* we understand whatsoever men by Laws, Councils or Constitutions have imposed upon the Consciences of men without the express commandment of Gods Word. Such as are the Vows of Chastity, Forswearing of Marriage, binding of men and women to a several and disguised Apparel, to the superstitious

perfitious observing of Fasting-days, Difference of Meats for conscience sake, Prayer for the dead, and keeping of Holy-days of certain Saints commanded by man; such as be all these the Papists have invented, as the Feasts (so as they term them) of the Apostles; Martyrs, Virgins; of Christmas, Circumcision, Epiphany, Purification, and other said Feasts of our Lady: which things because in the Scriptures of God they neither have commandment, nor assurance, we judge them utterly to be abolished from this Realm. Affirming farther, that the obstinate maintainers and teachers of such abominations ought not to escape the punishment of the Civil Magistrate.

The Second head, of Sacraments.

TO Christ Jesus his holy Gospel truly preached of necessity it is that his holy Sacraments be annexed and truly ministred, as Seals and visible Confirmations of the spiritual Promises contained in the words. These Sacraments are two, to wit, Baptism, and the holy Supper of the Lord Jesus; which are then rightly ministred, when by a lawful Minister the people before the administration of the same are plainly instructed and put in mind of Gods free Grace and mercy offered unto the penitent in Christ Jesus, when Gods Promises are rehearsed, the end and use of the Sacraments preached and declared in such a language as the people do understand; when also to them nothing is added, and from them nothing diminished, and in their administration all things done according to the institution of the Lord Jesus, and practice of his holy Apostles. And albeit the order of Geneva, which now is used in some of our Churches, is sufficient to instruct the diligent Reader how that both these Sacraments may be rightly ministred; yet for an Uniformity to be kept, we thought good to add this as superabundant.

In Baptism we acknowledge nothing to be used except the element of Water only, and that the word and declaration of the Promises (as we said before) ought to precede: therefore whosoever presumeth in Baptism to use oyl, salt, wax, spittle, conjuration and crossing, as they accuse the institution of Christ of imperfection, (for it was void of all these inventions) so for altering Christs perfect Ordinance they ought to be severely punished.

The Table of the Lord is then most rightly ministred, when it approacheth most nigh to Christs own action. But plain it is that at the Supper Christ Jesus sate with his Disciples, and therefore do we judge that sitting at Table is most convenient to that holy action; that Bread and Wine ought to be given, distribution of the same made, that the Bread should be taken and eaten, and likewise that all should drink of the Cup, with declaration what both the one and the other is. For touching the damnable error of the Papists, who defraud the people of the Cup of the Lords Blood, their error is so manifest as it needeth no confutation.

That the Minister break the Bread, and distribute the same to those that be next unto him, commanding the rest every one with reverence and sobriety to break with other, we think it nearest to Christs action, and to the perfect practice of the Apostles, as we read in Saint Paul. During which action we think it necessary that some comfortable places of Scripture be read, which may bring in mind the Death of the Lord Jesus; and the benefit of the same: for seeing in that Action we ought chiefly to remember the Lords Death, we judge the Scriptures making mention of the same most apt to stir up our dull minds then, and at all times. The Ministers at their discretion may appoint the places to be read as they think good; but what times we think most convenient for ministration of the one and other Sacrament, shall be declared when we come to the Policy of the Church.

The Third Head, touching the abolishing of Idolatry.

AS we require Christ Jesus to be truly preached, and his holy Sacraments rightly ministred; so we cannot cease to require Idolatry, with all Monuments and places of the same, as Abbeyes, Chappels, Monkeries, Frieries, Nunneries, Chantryes, Cathedral-

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Cathedral-Churches, Canonries, Colleges, other than presently are Parishes, Churches or Schools, to be utterly suppressed in all places of this Realm; Palaces, Mansions and dwelling-houses, with their Orchards and Gardens, only excepted. As also we desire that no persons, of what estate or condition soever they be, be permitted to use idolatrous Service; for that wheresoever Idolatry is maintained, if so it may be suppressed, the wrath of God shall reign both upon the blind and obstinate idolaters, and those that negligently suffer the same.

By Idolatry we understand the Mass, Invocation of Saints, Adoration of Images, and the keeping and retaining of the same; finally, all honouring of God not contained in his holy Word.

The Fourth Head, concerning Ministers and their lawful Election.

IN a Church reformed or tending to Reformation none ought to presume either to preach, or yet minister the Sacraments, until they be called orderly to the same. Ordinary Vocation consisteth in Election, Examination and Admission; and because the Election of Ministers in Papistry hath been altogether abused, we think expedient to intreat of it more largely.

It appertaineth to the People and to every several Congregation to elect their Minister, and in case they be found negligent therein the space of forty days, the best reformed Church, to wit, the Church of the Superintendent with his Council, may present unto them a man that they judge apt to feed the flock of Christ Jesus, who must be examined as well in life and manners, as in Doctrine and knowledge.

That this may be done with more exact diligence, the persons who are to be examined must be commanded to appear before men of soundest judgement, remaining in some principal Town next adjacent unto them. As they that be in *Fife*, *Angus*, *Mernis*, or *Stratberne*, to present themselves in *S. Andrews*; those that be in *Lothian*, *Mers*, or *Triveddale*, in *Edinburgh*; and likewise those that be in other Countries, must resort to the best reformed Cities and Towns, that is, to the Town of the Superintendent, where first in the Schools, or failing thereof in open Assembly and before the Congregation, they must give declaration of their Gifts, utterance and knowledge by interpreting some place of Scripture to be appointed by the Ministry; which being ended, the person that is presented, or that offereth himself to the service of the Church, must be examined by the Ministers and Elders of the Church openly before all that list to hear, in all the chief Points that be now in controversy betwixt us and the *Papists*, *Anabaptists*, *Arrians*, and other such enemies to the Christian Religion: in which if he be found and able to persuade by wholesome Doctrine, and to convince the gain-sayers, then must he be directed to the Church and Congregation where he would serve; that there in open audience of the flock he may preach and deliver his knowledge in the Article of Justification, the Offices of Christ Jesus, the number, effect and use of the Sacraments, and, finally, the whole Religion which heretofore hath been corrupted by Papists.

If his Doctrine be found wholesome and able to instruct the simple, and if the Church can justly reprehend nothing in his life, doctrine or utterance, then we judge the Church, which before was destitute, unreasonable if they refuse him whom the Church doth offer, and that they should be compelled by the censure of the Council and Church to receive the person appointed and approved by the judgment of the Godly and Learned; unless that the same Church hath presented a man better or as well qualified to examination, before that the foresaid trial was taken of the person presented by the Council of the whole Church. As for example, The Council of the Church presents a man unto a Church to be their Minister, not knowing that they are otherwise provided; in the mean time the Church hath another sufficient in their judgment for that charge, whom they present to the learned Ministers, and next reformed Church to be examined. In this case the presentation of the people to whom he should be appointed Pastor must be preferred to the Presentation of the Council or greater Church, unless the person presented

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presented by the inferior Church be judged unable for the regiment by the learned. For this is alwaies to be avoided, that no man be intruded or thrust in upon any Congregation: but this liberty with all care must be reserved for every several Church, to have their voices and suffrages in election of their Ministers. Yet we do not call that violent intrusion, when the Council of the Church in the fear of God, regarding only the Salvation of the people, offereth unto them a man sufficient to instruct them, whom they shall not be forced to admit before just examination, as is aforesaid.

What may unable any Person that he may not be admitted to the Ministry of the Church.

It is to be observed, that no person noted with publick infamy, or being unable to edify the Church by wholesome Doctrine, or being known of corrupt judgement, be either promoted to the regiment of the Church, or yet retained in Ecclesiastical administration.

Explication.

By *publick infamy* we understand not common sins and offences which any hath committed in time of blindness by frailty, if he have declared himself truly penitent thereof by a more sober and better conversation; but such capital crimes as the Civil sword ought and may punish with death by the word of God: for besides that the Apostle requireth the life of Ministers to be *irreprehensible*, that they may have a good testimony from those who be without; we esteem it a thing unseemly and dangerous, that he shall have publick authority to preach to others everlasting life, from whom the Civil Magistrate may take the life temporal for a crime publickly committed. And if any will object, that the Prince hath pardoned his offence, and that he hath publickly repented the same; we say, that neither doth repentance take away the temporal punishment of the Law, nor the pardon of the Prince remove the infamy before.

That the life and conversation of the person presented or to be elected may be more clearly known, publick Edicts may be directed to all parts, at least to those parts where he hath been most conversant, as where he was educated in Letters, or continued since the years of his infancy and childhood were passed. Strict commandment would also be given, that if any capital crime hath been committed by him, the same should be notified; and if he hath committed wilful Murder and Adultery, if he hath been a common Fornicator, Thief, Drunkard, Fighter, a Brawler or contentious person; these Edicts ought to be published in the chief Cities, with declaration that such as conceal his known sins, do so far as in them lieth deceive and betray the Church of God, and communicate with the sins of the wicked person.

Admission.

The Admission of Ministers to their Offices must consist in the consent of the people and Church whereunto they shall be appointed, and in the approbation of the learned Ministers appointed for their Examination.

We judge it expedient that the admission of Ministers be in open audience, where some special Minister shall make a Sermon touching the duty and office of Ministers, their manners, conversation and life, as also touching the obedience which the Church oweth to their Ministers; and warning made to the Minister that he attend carefully upon the flock over which he is placed, and walk in the presence of God so sincerely, as the Graces of the holy Spirit may be multiplied upon him, and in the presence of men so soberly and uprightly, that by his exemplary life the word which he teacheth may be confirmed. The people likewise ought to be exhorted to reverence and honour the Minister as the *Servant* and *Ambassador* of the Lord Jesus, obeying the Doctrine delivered by him out of the Word, even

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as they would obey God himself. For whosoever heareth the Minister of Christ, heareth himself; and whosoever receiveth him and despiseth his Ministry, rejecteth and despiseth Christ Jesus.

Other Ceremonies than the publick approbation of the people, and the Declaration of the chief Minister, that the person there presented is appointed to serve that Church, we cannot approve: for albeit the Apostles used the Imposition of hands, yet seeing the Miracle is ceased, the using of the Ceremony we judge not to be necessary.

The Minister once publickly admitted may not leave the flock at his pleasure, to which he hath promised his fidelity and labors: nor yet may the Flock reject and change him at their appetite, unless they be able to convict him of such crimes as deserve Deposition. We mean not but that the whole Church, or most part thereof, for just considerations, may translate a Minister from one Church to another; neither yet mean we that men who serve now as it were of benevolence, may not be appointed to other places: but they being once solemnly admitted, we think they should not change at their own pleasure.

We are not ignorant that the rarity of learned and godly men will seem a just reason to some, why that so strict and sharp Examination should not be taken universally; for so it would appear that the most part of Churches shall have no Minister at all. But let these men understand, that the lack of able men will not excuse us before God, if by our consent unable men be placed over the Flock of Christ. As also that amongst the Gentiles godly and learned men were as rare as they be now amongst us, when the Apostles gave the same rule of examining Ministers, which we now follow.

Lastly, let them understand, that it is alike to have no Minister at all, and to have an Idol in the place of a true Minister, yea in some sort it is worse; for they that be utterly destitute of Ministers will make diligent search for them, but such as have a vain shadow content themselves commonly with the same, without any farther care, and they remain deceived, thinking that they have a Minister, when in very deed they have none: for he is not to be thought a Minister, that cannot break the Bread of Life to fainting and hungry Souls; neither can the Sacraments be rightly ministered by him in whose mouth God hath not put the word of Exhortation.

The chiefest remedy in this rarity of true Ministers is fervent Prayer unto God, that it may please him to thrust forth faithful laborers into this his harvest. Next, the Council of their authority compel such men as have Gifts and Graces able to edifie the Church of God, to bestow them where greatest necessity is known. For no man may be permitted to live idle, nor as themselves list, but must be appointed to travel where the Church and Council shall think it most expedient. We cannot prescribe certain Rules how the Ministers should be distributed, and such learned men as God hath already sent unto us: But of this we are assured, that it greatly hindreth the progress of Christs Gospel within this poor Realm, that some altogether abstract their labors from the Church, and others remain altogether in one place, the most part of them being idle. And therefore think that the Council should compel all men to whom God hath given any Talent to persuade by wholesome doctrine, to bestow the same, if they be called by the Church, to the advancement of Christs glory, and to the comfort of his troubled Flock; and that with consent of the Church not only Towns may be assigned for the chiefest workmen to remain in, but also Provinces; that by their faithful labors Churches may be erected, and order established where none is at the present.

For Readers.

To the Church that cannot presently be furnished with Ministers men must be appointed that can distinctly read the *Common-Prayers* and *Scriptures*, for the exercise both of themselves & of the Church, until they grow unto a greater perfection. Because he who is now a Reader, may in process of time attain to a farther degree, and be admitted to the holy Ministry. Some we know that of long time have

professed

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professed Christ Jesus, whose honest conversation deserveth praise of all good men, and whose knowledge might greatly help the simple and ignorant people; notwithstanding the same persons content themselves with reading: These must be animated and encouraged to take upon them the Function of the Ministry. But if in no measure they be qualified for Preaching, they must abstain from administration of the Sacraments till they attain unto farther knowledge; and such as take upon them the office of Preachers, who shall not be found qualified therefore by the Superintendent, are by him to be placed Readers.

The Fifth Head, concerning the Provision of Ministers, and distribution of the Rents and Possessions justly pertaining to the Church.

Scripture and Reason do both teach, that *the labourer is worthy of his hire*, and that *the mouth of the Ox that treadeth forth the corn ought not to be muzzled*. Therefore of necessity it is that honest provision be made for Ministers: which we require to be such, that they neither have occasion of solicitude, nor yet of idleness and wantonness. And this provision must be made not only for their own sustentation during their lives, but also for their wives and children after them: for it is against godliness, reason and equity, that the widow and children of him who did faithfully serve the Church of God in his life, and for that cause was not careful in providing for his family, should after his death be left comfortless.

It is difficult to appoint the several Stipends of every Minister, because the charges of necessity of all will not be alike: for some will be resident in one place, some will be compelled to travel and change their dwelling, especially if they have charge of divers Churches; some will be burthened with wife and children, and one with more than another; some perchance will live a single life; and if equal stipends should be appointed to all these who are in charge so unequal, one would suffer penury, and another have superfluity. Therefore we judge that every Minister should have sufficient wherewith to keep an house, and be sustained honestly in all things necessary, forth of the Rents of the Church which he serveth, conform to his quality and the necessity of time: wherein it is thought that every Minister shall have forty bolls meal, and twenty bolls malt, with money to buy other provision to his house, and serve his other necessities; the modification whereof is to be referred to the judgment of the Church; which shall be made every year at the chusing of the Elders and Deacons: providing always, that there be advanced to every Minister provision for a quarter of a year beforehand of all things.

To the Superintendents, who travel from place to place for establishing of the Church, a farther consideration must be given; therefore we think that to each of them should be appointed six chalders beer, nine chalders meal, and three chalders oats for provand to his horse, with 500 Marks of money, which may be augmented and diminished at the discretion of the Prince and Council of the Realm.

The children of the Ministers must be Free men of the Cities next adjacent, where their Fathers laboured faithfully; they must also have the privileges of Schools and Burfaries in Colleges freely granted unto them, if they be found apt for learning; or failing thereof, they must be put to some handicraft and virtuous industry, whereby they may be profitable instruments in the Commonwealth. Their daughters likewise would be virtuously brought up and honestly educated, when they come to maturity of years, at the discretion of the Church. And this we require not so much for ourselves or any that pertaineth to us, as for the increase of vertue and learning, and for the profit of the posterity to come. For it is not to be supposed that a man will dedicate his children to serve in a calling where no worldly commodity is expected; and naturally men are provoked to follow vertue, where they see honor and profit attending the same; as by the contrary, many despise vertue when they see vertuous and godly men live unrespected; and we should be sorry to know any to be discouraged from following the studies of Learning, whereby they may be made able to profit the Church of Christ.

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Of the Stipend of the Readers we have spoken nothing, because if they can do nothing but read, they cannot be esteemed true Ministers, and regard must be had of their labors, but so as they may be spurred forward to virtue; therefore to a Reader that is lately entred, we think forty Marks, more or less, as the Parishioners can agree, sufficient: providing that he teach the children of the Parish, which he must do besides the reading of the Common Prayer and the books of Old and New Testament. If from reading he proceed to exhort and explain the Scriptures, then ought his stipend to be augmented, till he come to the degree of a Minister. But if after two years service he be found unable to edifie the Church by preaching, he must be removed from that office, and discharged of all stipend that another may be put in place, who to the Church may be more profitable.

No child nor person within the age of one and twenty years may be admitted to the office of a Reader, but such must be chosen and admitted by the Superintendent as for their gravity and discretion may grace the function that they are called unto. These Readers who have some gift of Exhortation, and have long continued in the course of godliness, we think may have 100 Marks or more, at the discretion of the Church appointed for them; yet a difference must always be kept betwixt them and the Ministers that labor in word and ministrations of the Sacraments.

Rests two sorts of people who must be provided for of that which is called the Patrimony of the Church; to wit, the Poor, and the Teachers of the youth. The Poor must be provided for in ever Parish, for it is a shameful thing that they should be so universally contemned and despised. Not that we are Patrons to stubborn and idle beggars, who running from place to place make a craft of begging; for those we think must be compelled to work, or then punished by the Civil Magistrate. But the poor widows, the fatherless, the impotent maimed persons, the aged, and every one that may not work, or such persons as are fallen by occasion into decay, ought to be provided, and have their necessities supplied by the Parish where they were born, or have remained for any long space.

Of Superintendents.

Because it is found expedient for the erecting and planting of Churches and appointing of Ministers, that at this time there be selected ten or twelve Superintendents, we have thought good to design their bounds, set down their office, the manner of their Election, and causes which may deserve Deposition from their charge.

The Diocese of the Superintendent, and place of their Residence.

The Country of *Orkney* shall have a Superintendent, and for his Diocese the Isles of *Orkney*, with the Countries of *Cathnes* and *Strathnaver*: his Residence to be in the Town of *Kirkwall*.

The Superintendent of *Ross* his Diocese shall comprehend *Ross*, *Southerland*, *Murray*, with the North Isles of *Sky* and *Lewis*, and their adjacents: his Residence should be in the *Chanory* of *Ross*.

The Superintendent of *Argyle* shall have for his Diocese *Argile*, *Cantire* *Lorne*, the South Isles of *Arrane* and *Boote*; with the Isles adjacent, and the country of *Loghquaber*: his Residence to be in *Argile*.

The Superintendent of *Aberdene*, his Diocese shall comprehend all betwixt *Dye* and *Spey*, that is, the Sheriffdom of *Aberdene* and *Banff*: his Residence to be in old *Aberdene*.

The Superintendent of *Brichen* shall have for his Diocese the Sheriffdoms of *Mernis*, *Angus*, and the Bray of *Marre* unto *Dee*, and keep his Residence at *Briichen*.

The Superintendent of *Fife* shall have for his Diocese the Sheriffdoms of *Fife*, *Clackmannan*, and *Perth* unto *Striveling*: his Residence shall be in *S. Andrews*.

The Superintendent of *Lothian* his Diocese shall comprehend the Sheriffdoms of *Lothian*

Lothian, *Striveling*, *Mert*, *Lawtherdale*, and *Stow of Twaddale*: his Residence to be in *Edinburgh*. An. 1560.

The Superintendent of *Jedburgh* shall have for his Diocese *Teviotdale*, *Tmeddale*, and the Forrest of *Attrick*: his Residence to be in *Jedburgh*.

The Superintendent of *Glasgow* his Diocese shall comprehend *Clyddisdale*, *Ranfrew*, *Monteith*, *Kile*, and *Cunningham*: his Residence to be at *Glasgow*.

The Superintendent of *Dunfreis* shall have for his Diocese *Galloway*, *Carrick*, *Niddisdale*, and *Annandale*, with the rest of the Dales in the West; his Residence to be at *Dunfreis*.

These men must not be suffered to live idle, as the Bishops had done heretofore, neither must they remain where gladly they would, but they must be Preachers themselves, and remain in one place above three or four months: after which they must enter in visitation of their whole bounds, preach thrice a week at least, and not to rest till the Churches be wholly planted, and provided of Ministers, or at the least of Readers.

In their Visitation they must try the life, diligence and behaviour of the Ministers, the order of their Churches, and the manners of their people, how the poor are provided, and how the youth is instructed; they must admonish where admonition needeth, and dress all things that by good counsel they are able to compose; finally they must take note of all heinous crimes, that the same may be corrected by the Censures of the Church.

Of the Election of Superintendents.

Such is the present necessity, that the Examination and Admission of the Superintendents cannot be so strict as afterwards it must: for the present therefore we think it sufficient, that the Council nominate so many as may serve the Provinces above written, or then give Commission to men of best knowledge, who have the fear of God to do the same. The Gentlemen and Burgeses of Towns within the Diocese being always made privy at this time to the Election; as well to bring the Church in practice of her liberty, as to make the Pastor better favoured of the Flock whom themselves have chosen.

If so many able men cannot be found at the present as necessity requireth, it is better that those Provinces wait till God provide, than that men unable to edifie and govern the Church be suddenly placed in the Charge: experience having taught what ills have been engendered in the Church by men unable to discharge their offices.

If any Superintendent shall depart this life, or happen to be deposed, the Minister of the chief Town within that Province, with the Magistrate and Council, the Elders and Deacons of the said Town, shall nominate to the Superintendents of two or three Provinces next adjacent, within the space of twenty days, two or three of the most godly and learned Ministers within the Realm, that from among them with publick consent one may be elected to the office then vacant. The twenty days expired, and no man presented, three of the next adjacent Provinces, with consent of their Superintendents, Ministers and Elders, shall enter into the right and privileged of the chief Town, and shall present one or two, if they list, to be examined according to the order; and it shall be lawful for all the Churches within the Diocese, within the same time, to nominate such persons as they esteem worthy election.

After the Nomination made, publick edicts must be sent forth, warning all men that have any objections against the persons nominated, or against any one of them, to appear in the chief Town at the day affixed, which we think should be thirty days after the Nomination, and declare what they have to say against the Election of any one of them.

The day appointed for the Election being come, the Ministers of the Province, with the Superintendents next adjacent, shall examine the learning, manners, prudence and ability to govern the Church, of the whole persons nominated, and cause them publickly to preach, to the end he that is most worthy may be burdened

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thened with the Charge; and then they shall give their voices according to conscience, and not out of affection. It must be considered, whether the objection be made of malice, or out of a zeal to Gods glory and the weal of the Church. Other Ceremonies than this Examination, the approbation of Ministers and Superintendents, with the publick consent of Elders and people, we do not admit.

The Superintendent so elected must be subject to the censure and correction of the Ministers and Elders of his chief Town and whole Province over which he is appointed: and if he be found negligent in any of the chief points of his office, especially if he be found negligent in Preaching the Word, or in Visitation of his Churches, and if he be convicted of any of these crimes which in a common Minister are condemned, he must be deposed without any respect to his person or office.

If his offence be publick, and the Ministers and Elders of the Province negligent in correcting him; then the next one or two Superintendents, with their Ministers and Elders, may convene him, providing the same be within his own Province or chief Town, and inflict the censure that his offence deserveth.

No Superintendent may be translated at the pleasure or request of any one Province, without the Council of the whole Church, and that for grave causes and considerations.

After the Church shall be established, and three years are past, no man shall be called to the office of a Superintendent who hath not two years at least given a proof of his faithful labours in the ministry of some Church.

Of Schools, and the necessity of them.

Seeing men now adays are not miraculously gifted, as in the time of the Apostles, for the continuance of Knowledge and Learning to the generations following, especially for the profit and comfort of Christs Church; it is necessary that care be had of the virtuous and godly education of youth: wherefore we judge that in every Parish there should be a Schoolmaster, such a one as is able at least to teach the Grammar and *Latine* tongue, where the Town is of any reputation. But in Landwart, where people convene to Doctrine only once in the week, then must either the Reader or the Minister take care of the youth of the Parish, to instruct them in their Rudiments, especially in the Catechism of *Geneva*.

In every notable Town, chiefly in the Town of the Superintendent, we think that a College should be erected, wherein at least the Arts of Logick and Rhetorick, with the Tongues, should be taught by sufficient Masters, for whom honest stipends must be appointed. And that provision should be made for such youths as are poor, and cannot be brought up in letters by their friends: the commodity whereof will be great, when the children are brought up in the presence of their friends, by whose good attendance their necessities may be supplied, and many inconveniences avoided, that youth commonly runneth into when they are sent to strange and unknown places. The exercise likewise of children in the Church cannot but serve greatly to the instruction of the aged and unlearned.

The great Schools called Universities should be replenished with those that be apt for Learning; for no Father, of what condition or estate soever he be, ought to use his children after his own fantasie, especially in their youth; but all must be compelled to bring them up in knowledge and vertue. The rich must be exhorted and by the censure of the Church compelled, to dedicate their sons to the profit of the Church and Commonwealth, training them up in godly exercises upon their own expences; and the children of the poor must be sustained upon the charge of the Church, till it be tried whether they be apt for letters and learning or not.

If they be found to be docile, and have good ingenies, they may not be permitted to reject learning, but charged to follow their studies, that the Commonwealth may reap some comfort by them: and for this purpose the Minister and Elders, with the best learned in every Town, must be appointed to examine at the end of every quarter the youths, and see how they do profit.

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A certain time must be appointed to reading and learning of the Catechism, a certain time to the Grammar and *Latin* tongue, a certain time to Arts and Philosophy, and a certain time to the other Tongues and Studies which they intend to learn. That time expired, some craft and profitable exercise; providing always they have learned first the Commandments, the Articles of the Belief, the right form to pray unto God, the number, use and effect of the Sacraments; and that they may be instructed touching the Natures and Offices of *Jesus* Christ, and other such Points as without the knowledge of them they neither deserve to be called Christians, nor ought to be admitted to the Participation of the Lords Table.

The time appointed to every course.

Two years we hold more than sufficient for learning to read perfectly, to answer to the Catechism, and get some entrance in the Rudiments of Grammar. Three or four years more we allow for attaining to the perfection of Grammar. To the Arts, that is, Logick, Rhetorick, and the *Greek* tongue, we allow other four years; and the rest of 24. years to be spent in that study wherein they intend to serve the Church or Commonwealth, be it in the Laws, Physick, or Divinity. After which time of 24. years being spent in the Schools, they must be removed to serve the Church or Commonwealth, unless they be found necessary Professors for the College or University.

The erection of Universities.

We think it necessary that there be three Universities in the Realm; one in *S. Andrews*, another in *Glasgow*, and the third at *Aberdene*. In the first and principal University, which is *S. Andrews*, that there be three Colleges; and in the first College there be four Classes: the first for new Suppots, to whom Dialectick only shall be taught; the next Class shall have the Metaphysicks only read; the third Physick; and the fourth Medicine. In the Second College shall be two Classes; whereof the first shall be for Moral Philosophy, and the second for the Laws. In the third College likewise two Classes; the first for the *Greek* and *Hebrew* Tongues, and the second for Divinity.

Of Professors, and of the Degrees of time and Studies.

In the first College and first Class there shall be a reader of Dialectick, who shall compleat his course thereof in one year. In the second Class, a Professor of Mathematicks, who shall read to the Students Arithmetick, Geometry, Cosmography and Astrology, the space of another year. In the third Class, a Professor of Natural Philosophy, who shall accomplish his course likewise in one year. After which three years, those that shall be found by trial sufficiently grounded in the foresaid Sciences shall be Laureat and Graduate in Philosophy. In the fourth Class there shall be a Reader of Medicine, who shall compleat his course in five years: After the study whereof, such as are found sufficient upon examination shall be a Graduate in Medicine.

In the second College and first Class thereof a Reader of Ethicks, Oeconomics and Politicks, whose course shall end in one year. In the second Class shall be two Readers of the Municipal and *Roman* Laws, who shall finish their course in four years. After which time, those that are found sufficient shall be Graduate in the Laws.

In the third College and first Class, a Reader of the *Hebrew* and another of the *Greek* Tongue, who shall compleat the Grammars thereof in half a year. The rest of the year the Reader of the *Hebrew* shall interpret some Books of *Moses*, of the Prophets or Psalms, so that his course shall continue one year. The Reader of the *Greek* shall interpret some Book of *Plato*; together with some Book of the New Testament, and shall finish his course the same year. In the second Class there

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shall be two Readers of Divinity, one of the New Testament, and another of the Old, who shall finish their course in five years. After which time, those that are found sufficient shall be Graduate in Divinity.

None shall be admitted into the first College, and be made Support of the University, unless he have from the Master of the School and Minister of the Town where he was instructed in the Latin tongue, a testimony of his learning, docility, age and parentage.

Those that have been taught in the Dialectick shall be examined by the Rector and principals; and being found to have profited therein, shall be promoted to the Class of the Mathematicks.

None shall be admitted to the Class of Medicine, but he that shall be known to have spent his time well in Dialectick, Mathematick and Physick, and shall have a testimonial of his docility in the last.

None admitted to the Class of Laws, but he that shall have a testimonial of his time well spent in Dialectick, Mathematick, Ethick, Oeconomicks, Politicks, and of his docility in the last.

And to the Class of Divines they only shall be admitted that bring a sufficient Testimonial of their time well spent in Dialectick, Mathematick, Physick, Ethick, Oeconomick and Politick Philosophy, the knowledge of the Hebrew tongue, and his docility in Divinity.

Such as will apply themselves to hear the Laws shall not be compelled to hear Medicine; neither shall such as apply themselves to hear Divinity be compelled either to hear Medicine or the Laws.

The second University at *Glasgow* shall have two Colleges. In the first whereof shall be three Classes; one for Dialectick, another for Mathematick, and a third for Physick. And in the second College shall be four Classes; one for Moral Philosophy, Ethicks, Oeconomicks and Politicks; another for the Municipal and Roman Laws; the third for the Hebrew Tongue; and the last for Divinity to be ordered according to the University of *S. Andrews*.

The third University at *Aberdene* shall be conform to the University of *Glasgow* in all points.

Unto every College there must be elected forth of the Body of the University a Principal, who must be a man of learning, discretion and diligence. He shall receive the whole Rents of the College, and distribute the same according to the erection of the College, adjoining to himself weekly one of the Professors: he shall hearken daily the Diet-compts, and oversee the policy and buildings of the House, attend that the Professors be diligent in their several readings to the youth, and shall weekly keep a meeting with the whole Members of the College, for punishment of faults that shall happen to be committed, and shall yearly be countable to the superintendent Rector and rest of the Principals, who shall convene to that effect the first of *November*.

The election of the Principal shall be in this sort. Within eight days after the place falleth void, the members of the College being sworn to follow their conscience shall nominate three of the most sufficient men of the University, not being Principals already, who shall be publickly propounded through the whole University: This done, the Superintendent by himself, or his special Procurators, with the Rector and the rest of the Principals, shall convene within eight days after, and chuse one of the three whom they think most sufficient, being sworn before to do the same without favor or partial affection.

There shall be in every College a Steward, Cook, Gardiner and Porter, who shall be subject to the Principal, as are the rest.

Every University shall have a Beddale, who shall be subject to serve at all times the University at the direction of the Rector and Principal.

There shall likewise a Rector be chosen in every University from year to year in this manner. The principals of the Colleges with the whole Regents chapterly convened shall be sworn to nominate, every man speaking in his own Room, such a one as in his Conscience he thinketh to be most sufficient for that charge and dignity;

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dignity; and of those who shall be most often nominated three shall be put in lite 15 days before *Michaelmas*; and upon the eve of *Michaelmas* the whole Principals, Regents and Supports graduated, or who have studied the Ethicks, Oeconomicks and Politicks, and no others, every nation having protested to follow the dictate of their own Conscience, shall nominate one of the said three; and he unto whom most voices are given shall be confirmed by the Superintendent and Principals, who shall take his oath for lawful administration, and the oath of the rest of the University for their submission and obedience: after which he shall put on a new garment, and be presented to the University. *Insignia Magistratus* being born before him, monthly he shall visit every College, and try how the exercises of Reading be kept. His Assessors shall be a Lawyer and Theologue, by whose advice he shall decide all civil questions betwixt the Members of the University. If any without the University pursue a Member thereof, or be pursued by any Member of the same, he shall assist the Provost and Bailies and other Judges competent to see justice ministred, and that as well in civil as criminal causes.

We think it expedient that in every College of the whole Universities there be 24 Bursars or Scholars divided equally in the Classes above specified; that is, in *S. Andrews* 72 Bursars, in *Glasgow* 48, in *Aberdene* as many. These shall be sustained only in meat upon the charges of the College, and not be admitted but upon trial taken by the Ministry of the Town, and Principals of the University, as well touching their own docility, as if their parents be able to entertain them or not.

Of Stipends, and the Expences necessary.

The summs needful for the ordinary charges, we judge may be as followeth.

Imprimis, for the stipend of the Professors of Dialectick, Mathematick, Physick and Moral Philosophy, for each of those 100 *l. Scots*. *Item*, for the Professor of Medicine and Laws, 200 marks. *Item*, to the Reader of the Hebrew and Greek Tongues, and Divinity, 200 *l. Item*, to every Principal, 200 *l. Item*, to every Steward for his fee, 16 *l. Item*, to every Gardiner, Cook and Porter, 10 marks. *Item*, to the sustentation of every Bursar, that is not in the Class of Theology or Medicine 20 *l. Item*, to the Bursars in these Classes, 24 *l. Summa* of the yearly and ordinary expences in the University of *S. Andrews*, extendeth to 3796 *l. Summa* of the yearly and ordinary expences of *Glasgow* extends to 2922 *l. Summa* of *Aberdene*, 2922 *l. Summa* of the whole ordinary charges is 9640 *l.*

For the payment of these summs we think the Temporalties of Bishopricks and Churches Collegiat ought to be destinated, so far at least as the same charges do require.

The Beddall shall have for his stipend 2 *s. Scots*, of every Intransit and Support of the University, of every Graduate in Philosophy 3 *s.* of the Graduate in Medicine 4 *s.* and 5 *s.* of the Graduate in Theology, Bursars in these studies only excepted.

For upholding the fabrick this order would be taken, that every Earls son at his entry shall give 40 *s.* with so much at his graduation; every Lords son, 30 *s.*; the son of a Baron, 20 *s.* the son of a Burges or substantial Gentleman, 10 *s.*; and the sons of all others, Bursars excepted, 5 *s.* These monys being collected shall be put in a common Box, and committed to the keeping of the Principal, and upon the 15 day of *November* yearly, in the presence of the Superintendent, Rector and whole Principals, the same shall be opened, the moneys counted, and by their consents reserved, or employed upon building or repairing, as the necessity of the Fabrick shall require.

Of the Privilege of the University.

Seeing Innocency should rather defend us than Privilege, we think that every person should answer before the Provost and Bailies of the Town where the University is, upon all actions they are called for, so as the Rector be Assessor to the

An. 1560. the Magistrates therein. If the question be betwixt members of the Univerſity, the party called is not held to answer but before the Rector and his Assessors: in all other causes of civil pursuit, the general Rule of Law is to be observed, *Actor sequatur forum rei.*

The Rector and all inferior members of the Univerſity must be exempted from all taxes, imposts, charges of war, or any other burthens that may abstract them from attending the youth, such as Tutor, Curatory, Executory, and the like.

As for other things that may concern the Students and Masters, such as the choice of Books to be read in every Class, and such other particulars, they are to be left to the discretion of the Principal and Regents, and their Council.

The Sixth Head, of the Rents and Patrimony of the Church.

TWO sorts of men, that is, the Preachers of the Word and the Poor, besides the Schools, must be sustained upon the Rents of the Church; wherefore it would be considered how and of what the same is to be raised. For to our grief we hear that some Gentlemen are now more rigorous in exacting the Tithes and other Duties paid before to the Church, than ever the Papists were, and so the tyranny of Priests is turned into the tyranny of Lords and Lairds. For this we require, that the Gentlemen, Barons, Lords, Earls and others, be content to live upon their own Rents, and suffer the Church to be restored to her right and liberty, that by her restitution the poor that heretofore have been oppressed may now receive some comfort and relaxation.

It is a thing most reasonable that every man have the use of his own Tithes, providing that he answer the Deacons and Treasurer of the Church of that which shall be reasonably appointed unto him, and that the uppermost cloth, the Corpreſent, the Clerkmail, the Paſche-offerings, Tith-ale, and other the like exactions be discharged for ever. And because not only the Ministers but also the poor and Schools must be sustained upon the Tithes, we think it more expedient, that Deacons and common Treasurers of the Church be appointed to receive the whole Rents appertaining thereto, than the Ministers themselves: And that commandment may be given that no man either receive or intromit with any thing belonging to the sustentation of the foresaid persons, but such as shall be appointed thereto by the Church.

If any shall think this prejudicial to those that possess the Tithes by virtue of leases, we would have them know that unjust possession is no possession before God; and that those of whom they acquired their right were thieves and murderers, and had no power to alienate the Patrimony and common good of the Church: yet do we wish recompence to be made to such as have debursed sums of money to these unjust possessors, so that the same had not been given of late, in prejudice of the Church, or no collusion used. For which purpose we think it expedient, that whosoever have the tithes of any Church in part or whole, be warned to produce his right, that, cognition being taken thereof, a reasonable recompence may be given them, before the years that are to run, the profits of years past deduced and considered, so that the Church in end may receive her liberty and freedom.

The Tithes that we think must be lifted for the use of the Church, are the Tithes of Hay, Hemp, Lint, Cheese, Fish, Calf, Veal, Lamb, Wool, and all sorts of Corn. But because these will not suffice to discharge the necessities of the Church, we think that all things doate to hospitality in times past, with all annual rents both to Burgh and Land, pertaining to Priests, Chanteries, Colleges, Chaplanries, and Friars of all Orders, to the sisters of the Seynes, and all other of that sort, be retained to the use of the Church or Churches within the Towns or Parishes where they were founded: likewise the whole Revenues of the Temporalities of Bishops, Deans and Archdeacons; with all Rents of lands pertaining to Cathedral Churches which must be applied to the entertainment of Superintendents and Universities. And farther, we think that Merchants and Craftsmen in free Burghs, who have nothing

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to do with manuring the ground, ought to make some provision in their Cities and Towns and dwelling-places for the support of the Church, and necessities thereof. *An. 1560.*

The Ministers, and, failing of them, the Readers must be restored to their Manſes and Gleibs, without which they cannot serve nor attend their Flocks; and where any Gleib exceedeth six acres of land, that which is more shall remain with the possessor, till farther order be taken.

The Deacons or Treasurers appointed to collect these Rents must be chosen yearly in every Parish by the common consent of the Church; they may not distribute any part of that which is collected but by the command of the Ministers and Elders, who must not command any thing to be delivered but as the Church hath before determined. That is, the Ministers to be first paid either quarterly, or from half year to half year, of the sums allowed to them, the Schoolmasters, Readers, and Hospitals, if any be.

If any extraordinary sums must be disbursed, then the Ministers, Elders and Deacons are to consult whether the same stands with the profit of the Church or not; and if they do agree, they may do as best seemeth unto them. But if there be controversy amongst themselves, the whole Church must be made privy, and the reasons heard; their judgment with the Ministers consent shall prevail.

The Deacons shall make their Accompts to the Minister and Elders of that which they have received, and the Elders when they are changed (which must be every year) shall clear their Accompts before such Auditors as the Church shall appoint. And both the Deacons and Elders being changed, shall deliver to them that are newly elected all sums of money, corns, or other profits resting in their hands; the tickets whereof must be delivered to the Superintendents in their Visitations, and by them to the great Council of the Church, that as well the indigence as abundance of every Church may be known, and so a reasonable equality may be kept through the whole Realm.

The Seventh Head, concerning the Censuring of Offenders.

AS no Commonwealth can flourish or long endure without good Laws and sharp execution of the same: so cannot the Church of God be purged, or yet retained in purity, without the order of Ecclesiastical Discipline. This standeth in reproving and correcting those faults which the Civil sword doth either neglect, or may not punish.

Blasphemy, Adultery, Murther, Perjury, and such capital crimes fall not properly under the censure of the Church, because such open transgressors of Gods Law should be taken away by the Civil sword. But Drunkenness, Excess, whether in apparel or in meat and drink, Fornication, Oppression of the poor by exactions, Deceit in buying and selling, by wrong mete and measure, wanton words and licentious living tending to slander, do properly appertain to the Censure of the Church; which in the order and cases following we judge shall be observed.

If the offence be secret and known by few, and be rather surmised than that it be manifestly proved, the offender ought to be privately admonished, and if he promise to amend, the Censure shall not proceed any further.

If he contemn the Admonition that is given him, or after promise walk as un-circumspectly as before, the Minister ought to call and rebuke him, and if he be disobedient, proceed according to the rule of Christ.

In faults publick and hainous, such as Fornication, Drunkenness, Fighting, common Swearing and Execration, the offender must be called before the Minister, Elders and Deacons, and have his sin laid out before him; whereof if he shew himself penitent, and require to be admitted to publick satisfaction, a day should be appointed for his appearance before the whole Church, to testify the repentance which before he professed; which if he accept, and with reverence perform, he ought to be received again in the society of the Church: for the Church of God must not be more rigorous than God declareth himself to be, who witnesseth, that

whensoever

An. 1560. *whensoever a sinner doth unfeignedly repent and turn from his wickedness, that he will not remember his iniquity any more.*

If the offender be obstinate, and shew no signs of repentance, he must be dismissed with an Exhortation to consider his dangerous estate, and assured that, if he do not shew tokens of amendment, a more severe course will be taken. If within a certain space he manifest his repentance to the Minister, he may be presented before the Congregation, and received in manner aforesaid. But if he shall continue in his impiety, then it must be signified to the congregation that such offences are fallen out amongst them, the committer thereof rebuked and desired to repent, whereof as yet no tokens are given, and they requested to call unto God for touching the heart of the offender (whose fault ought to be expressed, but not his name) with remorse that he may truly and earnestly be converted.

If he notwithstanding continue in his contempt, his name must the next day of the publick meeting be notified to the Congregation, and the most discreet and nearest of his friends or acquaintance entreated to deal with him earnestly, that he may be brought to the knowledge of the fault, and solemn prayers made for his Conversion to God.

The third Sunday the Minister shall require if the impenitent hath declared any signs of his repentance; and it being found that he hath done the same, a day shall be affixed to him for appearing before the Consistory, where if he shew himself penitent as well of the crime, as of his long contempt, he shall be received upon publick satisfaction in manner before prescribed.

But if no man signify his repentance, then the Minister by consent of the Elders and Deacons, and at commandment of the Church, shall pronounce the offender excommunicated from God and from the society of his Church. After which sentence no person may have any kind of conversation with him (his wife and family only excepted) in eating, drinking, buying, selling, saluting, or conforming with him, unless the same be licensed by the Ministry; that he, finding himself abhorred of the faithful and godly, may take occasion to repent, and so be saved.

This Sentence as being the most heavy Censure which can be inflicted by the Church, ought not to be rashly used, but for great causes, and due process of time kept, but being pronounced, ought with all severity to be maintained, and intimation thereof made through the whole Realm, lest any should pretend ignorance of the same.

His children begotten or born after the sentence and before his repentance, may not be admitted to Baptism, till either they be of age to require it, or else the mother, or some of his special friends members of the Church, present and offer the child, abhorring and damning the iniquity of his parent. If any do think it rigorous thus to punish the child for the fathers offence, let them understand that the Sacraments appertain only to the faithful and their seed; and that such as condemn the admonitions of the Church, and obstinately continue in their iniquity, cannot be reckoned amongst the faithful.

Murderers, Man-slayers, Adulterers, and committers of the like horrible crimes, whom the Civil sword ought to punish with death, if they shall be permitted to live, shall be holden excommunicate and accursed in their fact; the offenders being first called, and the order of the Church used against them in the same manner as the persons who for their obstinacy are publicly excommunicated: So the obstinate impenitent after the sentence of Excommunication, and the Murderer or Adulterer shall stand in one case as concerning the judgment of the Church, and neither of both admitted to Prayers or Sacraments (howbeit they may be present at the Preaching of the Word) till first they offer themselves to the Minister and Elders, requesting humbly their prayers, and desiring them to intercede with the Church for their admission to publick repentance.

Upon this humble request signification shall be given to the Church of the same the first day of publick Preaching, and the Congregation exhorted to pray unto God, that he will perform the work which he appeareth to have begun in the heart of the offender, by granting him unfeigned repentance of his sin, with a

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fence and feeling of his mercy. Thereafter a day shall be publicly assigned unto him to make open confession of his crime and contempt. At which time he must appear in presence of the Congregation, and confessing the same desire mercy of God, and intreat them to accept him in their society.

The Minister shall try diligently if he find in him an hatred and displeasure of his impiety committed, and as he findeth, so to comfort him in the hope of Gods mercies; but especially is to see that he be instructed in the knowledge of *Jesus* Christ, in the article of Justification, and Offices of Christ: for it were a mocking of God to receive him to repentance who knoweth not wherein his remedy standeth, when he is grieved for sin.

If he shall perceive him to be reasonably instructed and humbly disposed, then shall he demand of the Congregation, if they be willing to receive that creature of God (whom Satan had before drawn in his snare) into their society; which they yielding unto (as justly they may not deny the same) then ought the Minister to crave the assistance of the Churches prayers in behalf of the penitent, and prayer ended, exhort them to receive him again in their favours; in token whereof the Elders and one or two of the Congregation shall take him by the hand, and embrace him in the name of the whole Church.

This done, the Minister shall exhort him who is received to walk circumspectly in time coming, lest Satan catch him again in his snares, advertising him how that enemy will not cease to try all means possible for bringing him from the obedience that he hath given to God and his Ordinance. And after the exhortation shall give again publick thanks to God for the Conversion of that their brother, and pray for increase and continuance of his Grace to him and the whole Congregation.

Unto this Discipline the whole estates of the Realm, as well the Rulers as they that are ruled, and the Preachers themselves, as well as the poorest within the Church, must be subject; the Ministers especial, because they as the eye and mouth of the Church should be most irreprehensible.

The Eighth Head, concerning Elders and Deacons.

MEN of best knowledge, of purest life, and most honest conversation that can be found in every Church, must be nominated for these Offices, and their names publicly read unto the Congregation, that from amongst those some may be chosen to serve as Elders and Deacons. If any be nominated who is noted with publick infamy, he must be repelled; for it is not seemly that the servant of corruption should have authority to judge in the Church of God: or if any man know others that are of better qualities within the Church than those who are nominated, the same shall be joyned to the others, that the Church may have the choice. If the Churches be few in number, so as Elders and Deacons cannot conveniently be had, the same Church may be joyned to the next adjacent; for the plurality of Churches without Ministers and order doth rather hurt than edifie.

The election of Elders and Deacons ought to be made every year once, which we judge most convenient to be done the first of *August* yearly, lest men by long continuance in those Offices presume upon the liberty of the Church. And yet it hurteth not if a man be retained in office more years than one, so as he be appointed yearly thereto by common and free election. Providing always that the Deacons and Thesaurers of the Church be not compelled to receive again the same Office for the space of three years. How the suffrages shall be given and received, every several Church may take the order that seemeth best to them.

The Elders being elected must be admonished of their Office, which is to assist the Minister in all publick affairs of the Church; to wit, in judging and discerning of causes, in giving admonition to licentious livers, and having an eye upon the manners and conversation of all men within their charge: for by the gravity of the Elders the loose and dissolute manners of other men ought to be restrained and corrected. The Elders ought also to take heed to the life, manners, diligence

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and study of their Ministers: and if he be worthy of admonition, they must admonish him; if of correction, they must correct him; and if he be worthy of deposition, they with the consent of the Church and Superintendent may depose him.

The Office of Deacons is to receive the Rents and gather the Alms of the Church, to keep and distribute the same as they shall be appointed by the Ministry and the Church: yet they may also assist in judgment the Minister and Elders, and be admitted to read in publick Assemblies, if they be called, required and able thereto.

The Elders and Deacons, with their wives and families, must be subject to the same Censure that Ministers are subject unto; for they are Judges to the manners of others, and therefore they must be sober, humble, entertainers of concord and peace amongst neighbors, and, finally, an ensample of godliness to the rest of the Flock: whereof if the contrary appear, they must be admonished by the Minister or some of their brethren, if the fault be secret; but if it be open and known, they must be openly rebuked, and the same order kept with them that is prescribed against Ministers offending. We think it not necessary that any publick stipend be appointed either to the Elders or Deacons, because their travel continueth but for a year; as also because they are not so occupied with the affairs of the Church, but that they may have leisure to attend their private business.

Of the Censure and Deposition of Ministers.

If a Minister be of a loose conversation, negligent in his study, and one that waiteth not on his Charge and Flock, or one that proponeth not fruitful Doctrine to his people, he ought to be admonished by the Elders; and if he amend not, the Elders may complain to the Ministry, till his repentance appear: but if any Minister be dehended of any notable crime, as whoredom, adultery, murder, manslaughter, perjury, heresie, or any such as deserveth death, or any infer the note of infamy, he ought to be deposed for ever. By Heresie we understand pernicious Doctrine plainly taught and obstinately defended against the foundation and principal grounds of Christian Faith. Such a crime we judge to deserve perpetual Deposition from the Ministry, knowing it to be a thing most dangerous to commit a Flock unto a man infected with Heresie.

Some faults deserve deposition for a time: as if a Minister be dehended drunken, if he be a brawler or fighter, an open slanderer, a defamer of his neighbors, factious and a sower of discord, till he declare himself penitent, and give some assurance of better conversation, upon which the Congregation shall attend the space of twenty days or longer, as they shall think expedient, before they proceed to a new Election.

Every inferiour Church should notifie by one of their Elders and one of their Deacons to their Superintendent, the life, manners, study and diligence of their Ministers, that the discretion of some may correct the levity of others. Neither must the life and manners only of their Ministers come under censure, but also of their wives, children and family.

It must likewise be adverted, that the Minister neither live riotously nor avariciously, and a respect had how he spendeth his Stipend: for if a reasonable Stipend be appointed him, he must live accordingly; because avariciousness and solicitude of money is no less to be damned in Christs servants, especially those who are fed at the charge of the Church, than is excess and superfluity.

We judge it unseemly for Ministers to live in common Ale-houses or Taverns; neither must a Minister be permitted to frequent the Court, unless it be for a time, when he is either employed by the Church, or called by the Authority to give his counsel and judgment in any matter: Neither yet must he be one of the Council in Civil affairs, be he judged never so apt for the purpose; but either must he cease from the Ministry (which at his own pleasure he may not do) or else in bearing charge in Civil affairs, except it be to assist the Parliament when the same is called.

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The Ninth Head, concerning the Policy of the Church.

WE call the Policy of the Church the exercise of Religion in such things as may help to bring the ignorant to knowledge, or else promote in them that are more learned a farther growth of Grace, or otherwise such things as are appointed for keeping things in good order within the Church; whereof there be two sorts: the one utterly necessary; as that the Word may be truly preached, the Sacraments rightly administered, common Prayers publickly made, children and simple persons instructed in the chief points of Religion, and offences corrected and punished. These things we say are so necessary, that without the same there cannot be any face of a visible Church.

The other sort is profitable, but not merely necessary; as that Psalms be sung, and certain places of Scripture read when there is no Sermon; or that the Church should convene this or that day in the week to hear Sermons. Of these and the like we see not how a certain Order can be established: For in some Churches the Psalms may be conveniently sung, in other perhaps they cannot; some Churches may convene every day, some twice or thrice in the week, and some it may be but once. In these and the like every particular Church may appoint their own policy themselves. Yet in great Towns we think expedient, that every day there be either Sermon or Common-Prayer, with some exercise of reading the Scriptures. The day of publick Sermon we do not think the common Prayers needful to be used, lest we should foster the people in Superstition, who come to the Prayers as they come to the Mass, or give them occasion to think that those are no Prayers which are conceived before and after Sermon.

In every famous Town we require that one day besides the Sunday be appointed for Sermon, during the time whereof men must abstain from all exercise of trade and labour, the servant as well as the master. In smaller Towns such order must be kept as the Churches within the same shall appoint; but the Sunday in all Towns must precisely be observed, before and after noon. Before noon the Word must be preached, Sacraments administered, and Marriage solemnized when occasion doth offer. After noon the Catechism must be taught, and the young children examined thereupon, in audience of all the people: In doing whereof the Minister must have care to cause the people understand the Questions propounded, with the Answers and Doctrine that may be collected thereof.

What order shall be kept in teaching the Catechism, and how much thereof every Sunday shall be handled, the distinctions of the Catechism it self, which is the most perfect that ever was yet used in any Church, do shew. Where there is neither Preaching nor Catechism upon Sundays at after noon, the common Prayers ought to be used.

It appertaineth to every Church to appoint the times when the Sacraments should be ministered. Baptism may be ministered whensoever the Word is preached, but we think it more expedient that the same be ministered upon Sunday; and when occasion is offered of great travel before noon, the same may be ministered in the afternoon; upon the week days only after the Sermon, partly to remove that gross error which may hold that Children dying without Baptism are damned, partly that the people may assist the ministration of the Sacrament with greater reverence than commonly they do.

Four times in the year we think sufficient for Administration of the Lords Table, which we desire to be so distinguished that the superstitious observation of times may be avoided so far as may be: for it is known how superstitiously people run unto that action upon Easter, as if time gave virtue to the Sacraments, whereas the rest of the whole year they are careless and negligent, as though it belonged not unto them but at that time only. Therefore we think it expedient that the first Sunday of March yearly be kept for one day to that service, the first Sunday of June for another, the first Sunday of September for the third, and the first Sunday of December for the fourth.

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Albeit we deny not, but every Church for reasonable causes may change the time, and minister the same oftener; yet we think the Sacrament of the Supper ought never to be ministered without Examination preceding, chiefly of those who are known or suspect to be ignorant; and that none ought to be admitted to that holy Mystery who cannot formally say the Lords Prayer, the Articles of the Belief, declare the sum of the Law, and understandeth the use and virtue of that holy Sacrament.

We also think necessary that every Church have a Bible in *English*; and that the people convene to hear the Scriptures read and interpreted, that by frequent reading and hearing the gross ignorance of the people may be removed. And we judge it most expedient that the Scriptures be read in order; that is, that some one Book of the New and Old Testament be begun and followed forth to the end. The like we esteem of Preaching, if the Minister remain for the most part at one place. For the divagation from one place of Scripture to another, whether it be in reading or preaching, we account not so profitable for the Church, as the continual following of one Text.

The Masters of Families must be commanded to instruct, or cause to be instructed, their children and servants in the Principles of Christian Religion, without the knowledge whereof they may not be admitted to the Table of the Lord: wherefore we think it needful that every year at least the Ministers take trial, by publick examination, of the knowledge of every person within the Church; and that every Master and Mistress present themselves, and so many of their family as are come to mature age, before the Minister and Elders, to give confession of their Faith, rehearse the Commandments of the Law, with the Lords Prayer, and declare what is their understanding in those things. If any shall suffer their children or servants to remain in wilful ignorance, the Censures of the Church must be used against them unto Excommunication, and then the person referred to the Civil Magistrate. For seeing the just man liveth by his own Faith, and that Christ *Jesus* justifieth by knowledge of himself, it is intolerable that any should be permitted to live as Members of the Church of God, and yet to continue in ignorance.

Moreover, all persons would be exhorted to exercise themselves in the Psalms, that when the Church conveneth, and the Psalms be sung, they may be the more able with common heart and voice to praise God. In private houses it were expedient that the most grave and discreet person of the family should use Common-Prayers at morning and night.

Of the exercise of Prophecyng or Interpretation of the Scriptures.

It was a custom in the Church of *Corinth* at some times when they did assemble and meet together, to read a place of Scripture, whereupon one first gave his judgment for the instruction and consolation of the Auditors; after whom another did either confirm what the former had said, or add that which he had omitted, or correct and explain more properly the place or text. Liberty was also given to a third man to speak, if the whole truth had not been revealed by the former; and above the number of *three*, it seemeth, none were allowed to speak, as we read in the *1 Cor.* 14. 29. where we have these words, *Let the Prophets speak two or three, and let the other judge. And if anything be revealed to another that sitteth by, let the first hold his peace: for ye may all prophesse one by one, that all may learn, and all may have comfort. And the Spirits of the Prophets are subject to the Prophets.* This exercise we think to be most necessary for the Church this day in *Scotland*, because thereby the Church may have trial of the knowledge, gifts and utterance of every man within their own body. The simple and those who have somewhat profited shall be encouraged to proceed in their studies, and the whole Church shall be edified, every man that list to hear and learn, being permitted to declare his mind and knowledge for the comfort of the rest.

But lest this exercise that is so profitable might turn into debate or strife, these Rules must be observed.

1. All

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1. All curious and unprofitable questions must be avoided.
2. All Interpretations that are against the Analogy of Faith and against charity, or that seem to contain an open contradiction to other manifest places of Scripture, are to be rejected.
3. The Interpreter may not take to himself the liberty of a Preacher (although he be appointed and received a Minister) but he must keep him to his Text, and not break out by digression into Common places.
4. He may use no invectives in the exercise, unless it be in confuting of Heresies.
5. He must be short in his Admonitions and Exhortations, and spend the time allowed him in opening the mind of the holy Ghost in that place, shewing the dependence of the Text, and observing such notes as may edifie the auditor.
6. Neither he that interpreteth or any of the Assembly ought to move any question in open audience, which he doth not presently resolve without disputing with another; but every man must shew his own judgment, and utter it to the edification of the Church.
7. If any be noted of curiosity, or bringing in of strange Doctrines, he must be admonished by the Ministers and Elders, after the Interpretation is ended.
8. The whole Ministers, with those that are of the Assembly, ought to convene and judge how the persons have interpreted the Text, and how they have handled and intreated the matter; during which time the person should be removed, till every man hath given his censure. After which the persons being called in, they should be gently admonished of their escapes, if any they have made; and then should all questions and doubts be resolved amongst them, without any contention.

The exercise would be kept in every Town, where Schools and repair of learned men are, upon a certain day of the week; which, together with the Books of Scripture that they shall think most profitable to be intreated, we refer to the judgment of the Ministers and Elders of the particular Church where they convene. The Ministers to Landward and Readers, so as they have gift of Interpretation, lying within six miles of the Town, must assist and be present at the exercise, that either they may learn themselves, or others may learn by them.

Moreover, whosoever are esteemed to have any gifts that may edifie the Church, must be charged by the Ministers and Elders to joyn themselves with that company of Interpreters, to the end the Church may know whether they be able to serve in the vocation of the Ministry or not. And if any be found disobedient, and unwilling to communicate their gifts with their brethren, the censures of the Church should be used against such, providing that the consent and authority of the Civil Magistrate be interponed thereto: for no man should be permitted to live as it pleaseth him within the Church, but constrained to bestow their labors where it is thought they may serve to the edification of others.

Of Marriage.

Marriage ought not to be contracted amongst persons that lack judgment to chuse. Therefore we think that children and infants cannot be lawfully married in their less age, that is, if the man be within 13 years of age, and the woman within 12 at least.

If any have been married within those years, and kept their bodies pure and unconjoyned with others, we think not that such can be compelled to adhere as man and wife by reason of any former promise; but if after the years of judgment they have embraced one another by virtue of the last consent, having ratified the promise made by others for them in their youth, the same should be held as married persons.

Publick inhibitions should be made, that no persons under the power and obedience of Fathers, Tutors and Curators, either men or women, contract Marriage privately,

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privately, and without the knowledge of those to whom they live subject under the power of the Church censure; for if any son or daughter be moved towards a match, they are obliged to ask the counsel and assistance of their Parents for performing the same. And though the Father, notwithstanding their desires, have no other cause than the common sort of men have, to wit, lack of money, or because they are not perhaps of a lineage and birth as they require; yet must not the parties make any Covenant till the Ministry or civil Magistrate be acquainted therewith, and interpose their request for the Parents consent: which if they cannot obtain, finding no just cause why their Marriage ought not to proceed, in that case they sustaining the Place of the Parent may consent to the parties, and admit them to marry; for the work of God ought not to be hindered by the corrupt affections of worldly men. We call that the work of God, when two hearts (without filthiness before committed) are so joyned, that they are content to live together in the holy band of Matrimony.

If any commit Fornication with the woman whom he requireth in marriage, then both of them do lose the foresaid benefit, as well of the Church as of the Magistrate; for neither of them ought to be intercessors for filthy Fornicators.

The Father or nearest friend, whose daughter being a virgin is deflowred, may by the Law of God compel the man who hath done the injury to marry his daughter: yet if the Father by reason of the offence will not consent unto the marriage, he may in that case require the dowry of his daughter; which if the offender be not able to pay, he ought to be punished in his body by the Magistrate, with some other punishment.

In a reformed Church Marriage ought not to be privately used, but in open face and presence of the Church: Also for avoiding dangers, we think it expedient that the Banes be proclaimed three Sundays, unless the persons be well known, and that no suspicion of peril can arise, and then may the Proclamation be shortened at the discretion of the Minister. But in no ways can we admit Marriage to be secretly used, how honorable soever the persons be; and therefore esteem Sunday before Sermon the most convenient time for celebration of Marriage, and that it ought not to be used upon any day else, without the consent of the Ministry.

Marriage once lawfully contracted may not be dissolved at mans pleasure (as our Saviour doth witness) unless Adultery be committed; which being sufficiently proved in the presence of the Civil Magistrate, the innocent party (if they require it) ought to be declared free, and the offender put to death, as God hath commanded. But if the life of the offender be spared, yet may not the Church be negligent in their duty, which is to excommunicate the wicked, and pronounce the innocent party free. And notwithstanding, if the offender shew any fruits of penitency, and earnestly desire to be reconciled to the Church, he may be received to the participation of the Sacraments, and other benefits of the same.

If any shall demand, whether the offender after reconciliation may again marry or not; we answer, that if they cannot live continent, and if the necessity be such, as that they fear to fall of new into the offence of God, we cannot deny them the remedy appointed. If the party offended may be reconciled to the offender, then in no case we judge it lawful to the offender to marry another, and the solemnization of their marriage must be of new in the face of the Church, but without the Proclamation of the Banes. This we offer as the best counsel that God giveth us in so doubtful a case; howbeit we judge the best reformation were to prefer Gods Commandment, and punish those crimes, as he requireth, with death.

OF Burial.

Burial hath been had in estimation in all ages, to signify that the body which is committed to the earth shall not utterly perish, but rise again in the last day. But this we would have done without vain and superstitious rites, devised for making gain

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gain and advantage; such as singing of Masses, Diriges, and all other prayers for the dead; which custom is plainly repugnant to the Scriptures of God, for it is manifest, that they who depart in the faith of Christ *Jesus* rest from their labors, and so go from death to life; as, on the other side, they who depart in unbelief shall never see life, but the wrath of God abideth upon them. For avoiding all inconveni-ents, we judge it best that neither singing nor reading be at the Burial; for albeit these things may admonish the living to prepare themselves for death, yet superstitious and ignorant persons may think that some profit thereby cometh to the dead. Herefore we think it most expedient, that the dead be accompanied to the place of burial with some honest neighbors, without either singing or reading, and without all kind of Ceremonies formerly used; so that the bodies be committed to the Grave in such decent and seemly manner, as they who are present may be warned to fear the judgments of God, and to hate sin which is the cause of death: yet we are not so precise in this, but that we are content that particular Churches, with consent of the Minister, do that which they shall find most fitting, as they will answer to God and the Assembly of the Universal Church within the Realm.

We are not ignorant that some require a Sermon at the Burial, or else some places of Scripture to be read for putting the living in mind that they are mortal, and that they likewise must die: but let these men understand, that the Sermons which are daily made serve for that use, which if men despise, funeral Sermons shall rather nourish superstition than bring such persons to a right consideration of their own estate. Farther, the Ministers shall this way be for the most part occupied in preaching funeral Sermons, or else they shall have respect of persons, preaching at the funeral of the rich and honorable, and keeping silence when the poor and despised die; which the Minister with a good conscience cannot do, seeing there is no respect of persons with God: And whatsoever they do to the rich, in respect of their Ministry, the same they are bound to do to the poorest under their charge.

Churches appointed for Preaching and ministration of the Sacraments ought not to be made places of Burial: but for that use some other convenient ground is to be appointed, lying in the most free air, and kept to that use only; which we think should be well walled and fenced about.

For Reparation of Churches.

Left the Word of God and ministration of the Sacraments should come in contempt through the unseemliness of the place where these exercises are used; we think it needful that the Churches where the people publicly convene be repaired with expedition, and repaired in such fashion as may agree with the Majesty of the Word of God, and serve to the ease and commodity of the people. The preparation would be according to the possibility and number of Churches; every Church having close Doors, Windows of glass, Thatch or Slate to defend the people from rain, a Bell to convocate them, a Pulpit, a Bason for baptizing, and a Table for ministration of the Lords Supper. Where the Congregation is great, reparation must be made within the Church for the commodious receiving of the people; and the expenses raised partly of the people, and partly of the Tithes, at the consideration of the Ministry. But because we know the sloth of men in these businesses, and in all other affairs which redound not to their private commodity, strict charge would be given for the reparation aforesaid within a certain day, and penalties inflicted upon the contemners.

For punishment of those that profane the Sacraments.

It hath been the policy of Satan to draw mankind into one of two extremities; either to hold men gazing upon the visible Elements, so as forgetting the end for which they were appointed, they do ascribe unto them a saving virtue and power, which they have not; or then to cause them despise the Ordinance of God, as though there was no profit in the right use thereof, nor any danger in the profanation. In

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time of blindness the holy Sacrament was gazed upon, kneeled unto, carried in procession, and worshipped as Christ himself: and then men stood in such admiration of the idol in the Mass, that none durst have presumed to have said Mass, nor have ministered the Sacraments, but Priests and those of the shaven sort. Now men are so bold as without all vocation to minister the Sacraments in open Assemblies; and some presume to do it in houses without all reverence, where there is neither Minister nor Word preached. Our desire is that some strict punishment be inflicted upon such abusers; which albeit we will not take upon us to prescribe, yet we fear not to say that both of them deserve death. For if he who falsifieth the Seal and subscription of a King be adjudged worthy of death, much more he that falsifieth the Seal of Christ *Jesus*, who is the Prince of all the Kings of the earth. King *Darius* gave out an Edict, that he who did lett the re-edifying of the material Temple in *Jerusalem*, should have some wood taken out of his house, and he himself hanged thereupon: And what shall we think those do merit who manifestly do hinder the building of the spiritual Temple, and the edifying of the Souls of Gods people by the true preaching of the Word, and right administration of the Sacraments?

The Papistical Priests have neither power nor authority to minister the Sacraments of Christ, because in their mouths God hath not put the word of exhortation: And it is not shaving of their Crowns, the crossing of their fingers, the blowing of the dumb dogs, called the Bishops, nor the laying on of their hands, that maketh them true Ministers; but the Spirit of God first moving the heart to enter in the holy Calling, then the Nomination of the people, the Examination taken by the learned, and publick Admission in manner aforesaid, are the things that make men lawful Ministers of the Word and Sacraments. We speak of the ordinary vocation in Churches reformed, and not of the extraordinary, whereby God is pleased sometimes to raise up men by himself for doing his work. Therefore notwithstanding the usurpation they have made in time of ignorance, inhibition would be given them in the strictest manner not to presume upon the like hereafter; as likewise to all others who are not lawfully called to the holy Ministry.

This was the Policy desired to be ratified. It had been framed by *John Knox*, partly in imitation of the Reformed Churches of *Germany*, partly of that which he had seen in *Geneva*. Whence he took that device of annual Deacons for collecting and dispensing the Church-rents, whereof in the sixth Head he speaketh, I cannot say. A Noble man being ask'd his judgment thereof, answered, that it was a devout imagination, wherewith *John Knox* did greatly offend; yet was it no better than a dream, for it could never have taken effect. The Churchmen that went before had been provident enough in these matters, and good it had been for these that succeeded to have kept fast that which they found established to their hand, as the Archbishop of *S. Andrews* did at the same time advise them. For he employing *John Brand*, a Monk of *Halyrudhouse* (who served many years after Minister at the *Canongate*) to go unto *John Knox*, willed him to say from him, *That albeit he had innovated many things, and made Reformation of the Doctrine of the Church, whereof he could not deny but there was some reason; yet he should do wisely to retain the old Policy, which had been the work of many Ages, or then put a better in place thereof, before he did shake the other.* Our Highland-men, he said, have a custome, when they will break young Colts, to fasten them by the head with strong tethers, one of which they keep ever fast till the beast be thoroughly made. The multitude, that Beast with many heads, would just be so dealt with. Master *Knox*, I know, esteemeth me an enemy; but tell him from me, he shall find it true that I speak.

The Estates always, not thinking it meet to enter at that time in examination of the Policy, deferred the same to a more convenient season; only an Act was passed for demolishing Cloisters and Abbey-Churches, such as were not as yet pulled down; the execution whereof was for the West parts committed to the Earls of *Arrane*, *Argile* and *Glencarn*, for the North to Lord *James*, and for the in-Countrys to some Barons that were held most zealous.

Thereupon

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Thereupon ensued a pitiful vastation of Churches and Church-buildings throughout all the parts of the Realm; for every one made bold to put to their hands, the meaner sort imitating the ensample of the greater and those who were in authority. No difference was made, but all the Churches either defaced, or pulled to the ground. The holy Vessels, and whatsoever else men could make gain of, as Timber, Lead, and Bells, were put to sale. The very Sepulchres of the dead were not spared. The Registers of the Church and Bibliothekes cast into the fire. In a word, all was ruined, and what had escaped in the time of the first Tumult, did now undergo the common calamity; which was so much the worse, that the violences committed at this time were coloured with the warrant of publick Authority. Some ill-advised Preachers did likewise animate people in these their barbarous proceedings, crying out, *That the places where Idols had been worshipped ought by the Law of God to be destroyed, and that the sparing of them was the reserving of things execrable*; as if the commandment given to *Israel* for destroying the places where the *Canaanites* did worship their false Gods, had been a warrant for them to do the like. The report also went that *John Knox* (whose sayings were by many esteemed as Oracles) should in one of his Sermons say, *That the sure way to banish the Rooks was to pull down their nests*: which words (if any such did escape him) were to be understood of the Cloisters of Monks and Friars only, according to the Act passed in the Council. But popular fury once armed can keep no measure, nor do any thing with advice and judgment.

After the Convention dissolved, notwithstanding of the answer given concerning the Book of Policy, divers Noblemen and Barons moved by *John Knox* did convene and set their hands to the same. The subscribers were, the Duke of *Chattellerauld*, the Earl of *Arrane*, *Argile*, *Glencarn*, *Marshall*, *Menteith*, *Moreton*, and *Rother*, Lord *James*, the Lord *Tester*, *Boyd*, *Ochiltree*, *Sanguhar*, and *Lindsay*, the Bishop of *Galloway*, the Dean of *Murray*, the Lairds of *Drumlanrigge*, *Lonchivar*, *Garlees*, *Barguenev*, and divers Burgeses; with this provision adjected, *That the Bishops, Abbots, Priors and other beneficed men who had joyned themselves to the Religion, should enjoy the Rents of their Benefices during their lives, they sustaining the Ministers for their parts, as was prescribed in the said Book.* But all this turned to no effect, for the Church-men that were Popish took presently a course to make away all the Manfes, Gleibs, Tithes, and all other Rents possessed by them, to their friends and kinsmen; and most of these that subscribed, getting into their hands the possessions of the Church, could never be induced to part therewith, and turned greater enemies in that point of Church-Patrimony than were the Papists, or any other whatsoever.

THE

The advertisement of the Archbishop of *S. Andrews* sent to *John Knox*.

A direction for demolishing Cloisters and Abbey-Churches.

All the Churches under this pretext spoiled and defaced.

An. 1561.

THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

The Fourth BOOK.

The things that fell out after Queen Mary her coming from France into this Kingdom, unto her Resignation of the Crown to King James her Son.

The Queen
prepareth to
return from
France.

Her Confe-
rence with
the Earl of
Bedford.

Monsieur d'
Oysel sent in-
to England.

The Queen of
England's an-
swer.

THE Queen preparing to return home was taken with the Feaver tertian, and forced to stay at *Janville* some months. In the end of June she came to *Paris*, where *Francis* Earl of *Bedford* (who was sent from *England* to condole King *Francis* his death) did in the name of his Mistris salute her, and after some gratulatory speeches for her recovery, propone the Ratification of the Contract made at *Leith*, entreating the performance of it. The Queen thanking her Sister for her kindness, answered, *That she was not as yet in perfect health, but hoped shortly to be well. Touching the Ratification, she said, that she remembered the business, but could give no resolute answer, till she had the advice of the Nobles and Estates of her own Realm. For though the matter concerned her principally, yet the same did touch them also: and they having shewed themselves displeased in former times, because she did not take their advice in affairs, would now be much more offended, if she should proceed in that matter not having first acquainted them therewith. But, as she trusted, the same should not be long a-doing, seeing she intended to make her voyage shortly home. The Ambassador replying, That there was no cause to doubt of their consents in that particular, the Accord being made by themselves: It was made, said the Queen, by some of them, not by all; and when I come amongst them, it will appear what mind they are of. But I will send Monsieur d'Oysel to my Sister, who shall give her, I trust, good satisfaction; and by him I will signifie that I am to go into Scotland, and will require those favours of her that Princes do one to another in the like cases.*

Soon after this she sent *Monsieur d'Oysel* into *England*, with a direction that after he had done this message unto the Queen, he should go into *Scotland*, and take order that the Garrisons kept in the Castle of *Dumbar* and the Isle of *Inchkeith* should keep those Forts until she were safely arrived. But the Queen of *England* taking ill the delay of the Ratification, answered him in the hearing of all the attendants, *That except the Queen of Scots did confirm the Conditions agreed upon at Leith, wherein she found her self still frustrated, there could be no perfect amity amongst them: and if she would do that, the kindness which became a Queen her Cousin and Neighbour should not be wanting on her part. This she desired him to report, and leave his journey unto Scotland, for that she would not permit the same though her Country.*

The

The Queen of *Scots*, highly offended with this answer, did call *Nicholas Throgmorton*, the Ambassador Legier of *England*, and kept a long Conference with him about these matters, which out of the Ambassadors own Letters sent to the Queen his Mistris I shall relate. Commanding her attendants to go aside, she brake forth in these speeches: 'How great soever my weakness be, I like not to have so many witnesses of it as your Queen of late had, when she talked with *Monsieur d'Oysel*. And now I must tell you, that nothing grieves me more, than that I should have desired a thing of her that I stood in no great need of: having Gods favour, I can return to my Country without her leave, as I came hither against the will of King *Edward* her Brother. Neither do I lack friends that both will and may convey me safely thither; yet I desire rather to try her friendship than any others. Oftentimes you have said, that it were good both for ourselves and for our Kingdoms that we should live friends, and keep kindness one to another; but it seemeth not that she is so minded, otherwise she would never have returned me such an answer. It is like the favoresh my rebellious Subjects more than me; yet she should with reason think that my Subjects who have rebelled against me will never be so trusty and loving to her as I my self. My friends do marvel what her purpose could be in assisting my Subjects against me; and now to hinder my return unto my own Country, being a widow, I know not what it should mean. I work her no trouble, I have no meddling with the affairs of *England*; and yet I know there be numbers in that Country who are not well contented with the present times: I require nothing of her but amity and friendship, And this I cannot have. She objects to me, that I have small experience of the world. It is true, that years bring experience; yet I am of that age that I know how to carry my self towards my friends and well-willers. I will not use many speeches unworthy of her, but let me with her good leave say, that I am a Queen as she is; that I have as good friends and as good a stomach as her self. But comparisons they say are odious, therefore I will contain my self.

For that treaty at *Leith* wherewith she troubleth her self, it was made whilest the King my Husband was alive, to whom according to my duty I was in all things obsequent. That he delayed to ratifie the Accord, it was his fault not mine. After his decease the Council of *France* left me to my own Counsellors, neither would my Uncle meddle in *Scottish* affairs, lest they should offend. The *Scots* that are here with me are not Counsellors, neither can I deliberate with them in weighty matters: as soon as I have consulted with the Estates of my Kingdom, I shall give her a reasonable answer; and that she may have it the sooner, I shall haste my journey homewards. But she perhaps will bely my way, and to impede her own satisfaction; and it may be she desireth no satisfaction of her demands, that there may be always some occasion of jarring and discord amongst us. She casteth often in my teeth, that I am young and unadvised: and so she might justly think me, if I should treat of matters of such importance: but as now I will not reason that point. This I may truly say, that I never did any thing to my Sister which I would not have done to my self. I have always performed the duty of a Kinswoman unto her; but she doth either not believe it, or then despiseth my friendship. Would to God I were as dear to her as I am near of blood, for this were a precious sort of kindred; but God forgive them, if there be any that stirreth up these contentions amongst us. You are her Ambassador, let me know what it is offendeth her, or in what word or action I have wronged her.

Hereunto *Throgmorton* answered, *Madam, I have no Commission to your Majesty but for the Ratification of the Treaty at Leith; yet if you will have me to shew what I think be the cause of my Mistris offence, I will tell it in few words, but not as an Ambassador. How soon the Queen my Mistris was crowned, you usurped the Title and Arms of England, which during Q. Maries reign you never attempted; and a greater injury could not be offered to a Prince than that was. But saith she, My Father-in-law and Husband, who lived both at that time, commanded me so to do: after they were deceased, and since I have been at mine own liberty, I have neither used her Arms nor Titles. And yet I see not what wrong it can be to me, who am a Queen, and had to my Grand-*

An. 1561.
The Queen of
Scots offended
with it.

Her Confe-
rence with
Nicholas
Throgmorton.

The Queen of
Scots reasons
for delaying
the Ratifica-
tion.

Throgmorton's
his answer.

An. 1561. *mother the eldest Sister of King Henry the Eighth, to use the Arms of England, seeing others more remote in blood have done the like. The Marquess of Exeter and Dutcheſs of Suffolk Neece unto Henry the Eighth by his youngest Sister, did bear the Arms of England, with Borders for a difference; and should it be imputed as an injury to me ſo to do? But well I ſee (ſo ſhe concluded) that nothing I do is taken in good part.*

The Queen of England's Letter to the Nobility.

The Queen of England in the mean time falling in ſome jealousie of the Lords of Scotland, becauſe of that which the Queen had ſaid, that *the treaty at Leith was not made by all their conſents, and that when ſhe ſhould be amongſt them, it would appear whether they continued in the ſame mind,* ſent a Letter full of ſharpenes to the Nobility and Council; wherein, after an ample declaration of the friendſhip done to them in the late aid they received againſt the French, ſhe complained of the delays made in the Ratification of the Accord paſt at *Leith*, which, as it ſeemed by their Queens words, was in their default, ſeeing ſhe had ſaid, that *before ſhe gave a reſolute answer in that matter, it behoved her to know their minds,* whereof ſhe could not be ignorant, ſo many of themſelves being with her of late, and meſſengers going daily betwixt them: therefore ſhe deſired to know if they did mind to keep the Peace contracted; and if they continue in that mind, that they ſhould procure the Queen to ratifie it, at leaſt to adverteſe her what ſhe might look for at their own hands.

The Councils answer.

This Letter was ſpeedily answered by the Council, with great atteſtations that it came never in their minds to break the Peace contracted; for in ſo doing they ſhould make themſelves infamous in the world, and ſin highly againſt their conſciences. Of the delay that their Queen made, and the reaſons thereof, they profeſſed to be ignorant. Therefore intreated her Maſteſty to be perſuaded of them, that next to the glory of God they would ſtudy to keep the Peace inviolate, and that there ſhould be no blame in them if the Ratification was not made to her contentment.

Whileſt theſe things paſſed at home, the Queen of Scots ſet forward to *Callais*, attended by the Cardinals of *Lorraine* and *Guiſe*, the Dukes of *Guiſe* and *d' Aumarl*, the grand Prior and the Marquess *d' Elbenſher* Uncles, the Duke of *Nemours*, *Monſieur d' Anville* the Conſtable's ſon, and divers others her friends and kinſmen. At *Abbeville*, which is the way to *Callais*, ſhe ſent for the Engliſh Ambaſſador, and asked him by what means ſhe might ſatiſfie Queen *Elizabeth*. He answered by ratifying the Treaty of *Leith*. To whom ſhe replied, *I have very juſt reaſons to reſuſe it, which ought not to be interpreted as delays. For firſt that Treaty ſhould have been conſirmed by my Husband and me, and cannot now be ratified, unleſs it be concluded in my own name alone, ſeeing the King, then my Husband, is expreſſly named in the accord. Next, the moſt of the Articles are performed, for all preparations of War are ceaſed, and the French called back from Scotland. But the Queen offendeth, ſaith ſhe, that I uſe the Title and Arms of England. This I have not done ſince my Husband's death. And if it be alledged, that the ſame is uſed in Letters Patents given me through France; it is known I cannot hinder that, for they who paſſe thoſe Letters are not my Subjects. And for the Articles concerning Religion, I truſt my own Subjects ſhall have no cauſe to complain of my ſeverity. Thus what I may do I will, to give my Siſter ſatiſfaction. And I pray you, Mounſieur l' Embaſſadeur, do the part of an Ambaſſador, and rather pacifie the Queen, than exaſperate her in any ſort.* So earneſt ſhe was to have all matters of quarrel laid aſide, fearing that the Queen of England ſhould ſeek to intercept her by the way: and indeed a Navy was put to Sea, under colour of ſuppreſſing Pirats, but the taking of one of the Ships wherein were the Earl of *Eglington* and other paſſengers, made it ſuſpected that a worſe thing was meant. Always it fell out ſo, that the Queen of Scots, having a proſperous wind, paſſed by the Engliſh Ships (the weather being foggy) unperceived, and the ſixth day after her embarking, which was the 20 of *Auguſt*, 1561, did ſafely arrive at *Leith*.

The Queen arriveth at Leith.

The Nobility aſſembled to congratulate her return.

The ſame of the Queens coming noiſed abroad, the Nobility from all the parts of the Realm aſſembled to congratulate her return, and beſides them numbers of all ſorts of people convened, as unto a joyful ſpectacle: for they had not ſeen the face of their Sovereign for many years, and after her Marriage with the French King, had ſcarce any hope of a King to reſide amongſt them: which would moſt certainly have

have happened, if any ſucceſſion had followed of that Marriage. For Scotland in that caſe would have been but an acceſſion to France, the mightier Kingdom; as Henry the Seventh foretold of England (and we have ſeen it verified in our days) drawing unto it the weaker and leſſer Crown. That the Queen therefore was now returned, and they delivered of the fears of redacting the Kingdom into a Province, they did juſtly eſteem it one of the greateſt benefits that could happen unto them. Then, when they called to mind the variableneſs of Fortune, how ſhe, left a Pupil of ſix days old only by the death of her Father, was expoſed as a prey to thoſe that were moſt mighty, and partly by civil Seditions at home, partly by the Invaſions of external enemies from abroad, even before ſhe could have any ſenſe of trouble, was forced to forſake her Country, and relegated as it were into exile, having hardly eſcaped the hands of enemies that lay in wait to intercept her, and the violence of tempeſtuous and raging ſeas; and again, when Fortune began to ſmile a little upon her, and ſhe was honoured with a royal Marriage, how theſe joys on the ſuddain came to be changed into extreme ſorrows, being firſt deprived of her Mother, then of her Husband, a new Kingdom loſt, and her ancient Crown which belonged to her by inheritance ſtanding in a ſtate very uncertain; whileſt, I ſay, they called to mind theſe variable fortunes, and therewith conſidered the excellencies that Nature had beſtowed upon her, as the Beauty and comelineſs of her perſon, her mild inclination, and gracious demeanor toward all ſorts of people, it cannot be told what a joy and love this begat in the hearts of all the Subjects.

The beginning of her Government was likewise very gracious; for ſome few days after her arriving, in a Council kept with the Nobility to remove the occaſions of Trouble, ſhe condeſcended that no change nor alteration ſhould be made in the preſent ſtate of Religion; only ſhe would uſe her own Service, as ſhe ſaid, apart with her Family, and have a Maſs in private. This was thought by many a thing not intolerable, conſidering ſhe was the Sovereign Princeſs of the Realm, and educated from her youth in the Roman Faith; from which there was hope, by better inſtruction and humble and courteous behaviour, ſhe might be reclaimed: yet the Preachers in their Sermons did publicly condemn that Toleration as unlawful. And amongſt the Nobility, the Earl of *Arran* did oppoſe it, taking proteſtation that *he did neither agree to private nor publick Maſſes*: which highly diſpleaſed the Queen, and was thought to have alienated her affection, that before ſeemed much inclining towards him.

No change to be made in Religion, and a private Maſs permitted to the Queen.

The Earl of Arran oppoſeth.

There fell out upon this an Accident which was like to have cauſed great trouble. The Queen purpoſing to hear Maſs the next day in her Chappel of *Halirudhouſe*, whileſt the Tapers and other things required to that ſervice were carried through the Court, one of the common ſort invading him that bore the wax-lights, brake them all in pieces, and if by the intervention of ſome more moderate ſpirits the Tumult had not been reſſeſſed, the reſt of the furniture had been wholly ſpoiled, and that days Maſs diſappointed. It was held a proud and inſolent fact, and condemned by many: others ſaid that the patience of men was too far tempted; and ſome maintained that if right were done, the Prieſt, according to Gods Law made againſt Idolaters, ought to ſuffer death. But this ſtir was quickly appeaſed by Lord *James*, much againſt the Earl of *Huntley* his mind, who by this occaſion thought to win credit with the Queen, and in conference with her Uncles bragged, that if the Queen pleaſed to uſe his ſervice, he would reduce all the North-counties to the Roman Profeſſion. But his courſes being ſuſpected, and the Queen miſliking all counſels that tended unto trouble, no heed was given to his offers.

A Tumult in the Abbey.

The month following was ſpent in the entertainment of the French that had accompanied the Q. homewards. They made but ſhort ſtay in the country; for about the middeſt of *September*, Duke *d' Aumarl* returned unto France by Sea; the grand Prior and *Monſieur d' Anville* took their journey through England; the Marquess *d' Elbenſher* of all that company only remained, and abode all the Winter with the Queen.

The Nobles that came from France with the Queen return home.

In this mean time was *William Maitland* of *Leſbington* directed to the Queen of England with Letters both from the Queen and from the Nobility. The Queens Letters were full of kindneſs, tending all to expreſs the love and affection ſhe bare unto

William Maitland directed to England.

An. 1561.

The Queen of
England's an-
swer.

unto her as to her dearest Sister and Kinswoman, and the desire she had to continue in true and sincere friendship with her. The Letters sent by the Nobility were to the same effect; but containing this more, *That the surest way to preserve friendship and true amity amongst them two was, to declare the Queen of Scots her nearest and lawful heir to the Crown of England, in case she should have no issue.* Lethington urging this last point strongly, as he was commanded, after he had used his best persuasions to that effect, was answered by the Queen of England as followeth. *I did expect another message from your Queen than this is which you have brought me, & do marvel that she should forget the promise made before her coming out of France, touching the Ratification of the Treaty of Leith; which was, that how soon she returned to her own Country, she should give me a full & resolute answer. I have long enough, said she, suffered myself to be abused with fair speeches, & now it had been time, if she had regarded her own honour, to have made good her promises.* Lethington replied, that within a few days after the Queen took land he was employed in this Legation, and that she had no leisure to deal in any publick matters, being taken up with admitting the Noblemen that came to welcome her into the Realm, and with the settling of the estate of Religion, which her Majesty understood to be a work of no small weight; neither were all the Noblemen whose advice she must take in matters of that importance come into the Court before his parting from it. Here the Queen interrupting his speech, said, *What need is there of advice or counsel, to do that which by her Subscription and Seal she is bound to perform?* He answered, that no Commission was given him in that matter, nor did his Mistress think that any accompt thereof would have been required of him, but that she might justly excuse her self by the occasions he had mentioned. Then after a few more speeches of that purpose the Queen returning to the chief point of his Legation, said, *I have observed that you have often in your discourse said, that your Queen is descended of the Blood Royal of England, and that I am obliged to love her, as being nearest to me in blood of any other; which I neither will or can deny. Neither have I in any of my actions (as the world knoweth) attempted ought against the safety and tranquillity of her and her Kingdom: yea they that be most inward with me can witness that even when I had just cause of offence given me, by her usurpation of the Titles and Arms of England, I could never be induced to think other than that this was the politick device of some enemies, to breed dissention amongst us. But howsoever that be, I hope so long as I live she shall not bereave me of my Kingdom, nor yet be able, if God shall bless me with children, to impede their Succession. And if it shall happen otherwise that I be taken away, she shall never find that I have prejudged the Right which she claimed to the Kingdom of England. What a right it is I have never been curious to know, nor do I purpose to search and examine it, but will leave the same to the cognition of those whom it concerneth. This your Queen may assuredly expect at my hands, that I shall never wrong her, nor her cause, if it be just, in the least point. And God I take to witness, who heareth this our Conference, that, next my self, I know not any whom I would prefer to her, or who (if the Title should fall to be controverted) might exclude her. You know, saith she, who the Competitors be: but, alas! what power or force have these weak creatures to attempt so great an enterprise? Always the matter it self is weighty and of great importance, which I will take time to think upon.*

A second conference with
Lethington.

After some few days, calling Lethington unto her she said, 'That it seemed 'strange to her, how the Nobility at the Queens first coming should put up such 'a request to her, seeing they knew there was no reparation made of former 'wrongs; and to desire, saith she, that I should gratifie their Queen, having received so great an injury, without any amends made, is it not in effect as much as to 'boast and threaten me? If they will take such a course, I would have them think 'that I am strong enough for them at home, and lack not friends abroad that will 'maintain and defend my right. Hereto he replied, That in his first speech he had clearly discovered the intention of the Noblemen, how partly out of that duty which they owed to their Sovereign and the defence of her honour, partly out of a desire to confirm and assure the Peace begun betwixt the two Realms, they had made this motion; and that the reason why they dealt so plainly with her, was not only

only the experience they had of her favour in times past, but also the respect of their own safety. For if any should oppose the Queens right, and thereupon Wars should arise betwixt the two Kingdoms, they must needs be driven to hazard their lives and estates. Wherefore they thought that their motion was not to be ill taken, seeing it tended to the cutting off the occasions of disagreement, and composing differences by a firm and certain Peace.

True (saith she) if I had attempted any thing to the hurt of your Queens 'right, they might with reason have required me to amend it. But when I am yet 'in health and life, to desire me to prepare mine own winding-sheet, is a thing 'without example, nor hath the like ever been required at the hand of any Prince: 'yet I take in good part the meaning of your Lords, and am glad of the good affection they bear to their Queen, and the care they have to advance her honour. 'I think it likewise wisdom in them to foresee the dangers they may run into, and 'like well that they do abhor the shedding of Christian blood, which I confess 'could not be avoided, if any Faction should arise and lay claim to the Crown. 'But where, or what is the Faction? or what force can they have? Always leaving these things, suppose I had an inclination to satisfy their desire, think you 'that I would rather gratifie your Lords herein than the Queen her self? No, I will 'tell you; I have many other reasons that stay me from taking such a resolution. 'First, I know what a dangerous thing it is to touch this string, and I have ever 'upon great respects abstained from bringing in question the right of the Crown; 'for so often hath the controversy of Marriage lawful and unlawful, of legitimate 'and base-born children, been agitated according as mens affections and humours 'led them, that even in regard of those disceptations I have hitherto forbore to 'match with any Husband. Once at my Coronation I was married to this King- 'dom, whereof always I carry this Ring for a pledge; (pointing to a Ring she wore 'on her finger) and howsoever things go, I shall be Queen of England so long as 'I live: when I am dead, let them succeed who have the best right. If your Queen 'hath it, I shall not wrong her in the least point; and if it belong to another, it 'were not reasonable to desire me to do them an open and manifest wrong. If 'there be any Law which may bar her Title, it is unknown to me, for I do not 'willingly think of these matters; but if there be any such, when I received the 'Crown, I ware to my people that I should not change their Laws.

'Now where you say, that by declaring your Queen my Successor, our affection 'should become more firm; I rather fear that it should be the seed of a most bitter 'hatred. For think you that I will behold willingly the preparation of mine own 'Funerals? It is natural to Princes to be jealous even of the children that by Birth 'right are to succeed them. How did Charles the Seventh of France carry himself 'towards Lewis the Eleventh, and he again towards Charles the Eighth, or King 'Francis of late towards Henry who succeeded him? and is it probable that I should 'be otherwise disposed towards my Cousen, if once she shall be declared Heir unto 'my Crown? No, be sure I shall have the very same mind which Charles the Seventh shewed to Lewis the Eleventh.

'There is another thing which I esteem of an exceeding great weight: I know 'the unconstancy of the people, how they loath always the present Government, 'and have their eyes continually set upon the next Successor; and naturally they 'are more that look, as it is said, to the Sun rising than to the setting of the Sun. 'To omit other examples, this I know by my own experience; when my Sister 'Queen Mary reigned, how earnestly did a number wish to see me placed in her 'Throne? what a desire had they of my advancement? If I had but given my 'countenance to their practices, they would have refused no peril in bringing the 'same to effect. Now it may be the same persons are not of the same mind to- 'wards me: as children that dream that Apples are given them are greatly joyed, 'but in the morning when they are awaked, and find themselves deceived, they 'fall a-weeping; so they who loved me exceedingly when I was but called Eliza- 'beth, and if I perhaps gave them any good countenance, thought with their selves, 'that how soon I was made Queen they should be rewarded rather according to

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An. 1561.

'their own concept than any service done unto me, now when they find that the issue answereth not their expectation, some of them, it may be, in hope of a better fortune, would not dislike a change of the Government. For the greatest wealth that ever any Prince had, or can have, is not able to satisfy the insatiable covetousness of men. And if this be our case, that the affection of our people is so easily changed, as when we keep a greater moderation in our largesses than they think we ought, or perhaps for some other light cause, they grow discontented; what may we think shall come to pass when seditious people have a certain Successor designed, to whom they may open their griefs, and betake themselves, if they be in any sort displeased? In what a peril think you I should live, having so mighty neighbour Princes to succeed me? to whose grandeur look how much I shall add by confirming her Succession, so much I shall detract from mine own security. This peril no caution can assure, nor the bonds of any laws avert. Princes also who live in expectation of Kingdoms do hardly contain themselves within the limits of right and reason: surely I myself would never think my estate assured, if once my Successor were known to the World. This is the Sum of that which passed at this second Audience.

Lethingtons
third Audi-
ence.

Not many days after getting access, he asked the Queen what answer she would give to the Nobility. She said, *At this time I have no answer to give, but that I approve the affection and sedulous care they have of their Sovereigns good estate; but the matter is of such weight, as I cannot on a sudden or directly answer it. When your Queen shall perform her promise concerning the treaty of Leith, it will be time to require a proof of my affection towards her; till then I cannot with safety of mine honour gratify her in any thing.*

Lethington replied, as before, that he had no Commission in that business, and that in the matter of Succession he had shewed more his own judgment than the mind of the Queen his Mistress: for he could never think the Confirmation of the Treaty of Leith to be a thing of that importance, as for the delay or refusal of that the Queen of Scots and her posterity should be excluded from the Succession of the Crown of England. 'Neither will I now, saith he, enquire by whom that Treaty was concluded; at what time, in what manner, by what authority, and for what cause it was done; for I have no warrant to speak of these things: but this I dare affirm, that albeit the Queen, following her Husbands direction, had ratified the Treaty, she should have found her self thereby so far interested, as she would doubtless have used all means to free her self of the same. And this I say not in the Queens name, but only to make it seem that our Noblemen have reason to travel that all debates and controversies may cease, and a firm and perpetual Peace may be established.

The conclusi-
on taken by
the Queen of
England.

This and some other speeches interchanged amongst them touching the Treaty moved the Queen of England to agree that the same should be revised by some Commissioners, and corrected after this form. *That the Queen of Scots should thenceforth abstain from using the English Arms, and from the Titles of the Crown of England and Ireland, during the life of Queen Elizabeth and her posterity. That on the other part the Queen of England should oblige her self, and the children begotten of her, to do nothing in prejudice of the Queen of Scots her Succession.* These were the things acted in this Legation.

The Queen of
Scots her Pro-
gress in the
country.

Now at home the Queen keeping a Progress in the Country, went from Edinburgh to Striveling, from thence to Perth, Dundee and S. Andrews, and other special Burghs, where she was received with much honour and triumph, returning to Edinburgh a little before the Feast of Michaelmas, at which time the Burghes were wont to elect their annual Magistrates, and to set down Statutes for the good of the Town; Among other Acts, one was published, inhibiting that any Adulterer, Fornicator, Drunkard, Mass Priest, or obstinate Priest, should be received in the Town, under such pains as the Law did prescribe. The Queen interpreting that to be an usurpation of Royal power, did commit Archibald Douglas Provost to the Castle of Edinburgh, charging the Council of the Town to make a new election: which they obeyed, choosing Mr. Thomas ----- in his place. A Proclamation was likewise made,

granting

Archibald
Douglas Pro-
vost of Edin-
burgh com-
mitted.

granting liberty to all good and faithful Subjects to repair and remain within the Burgh at their pleasure, for doing their lawful and ordinary business.

These things ministered great offence, especially to the Preachers, who seeing the Queen take more liberty than she did in the beginning, keeping her Masses more publick, and causing them to be celebrated with a greater pomp, did mightily complain thereof in their Sermons, but profited little; for some of the Noblemen, who had in former times shewed themselves most zealous against the toleration of Idolatry, were grown a little more cold by the flatteries of Court, and all of them, emulous of others greatness, were striving who should be in most favour with the Queen.

She had some while before this taken to be of her privy Council the Duke of Chatterault, the Earls of Huntley, Argyle, Athol, Morton, Marshall, Glencarn, Montrose and Arroll. Lord James her Brother, the Lord Ereskin, and Mr. John Lesley, Bishop of Ross. Huntley was created Chancellor, one that in matters of Religion had behaved himself very unconstantly, and to win the Queens favour was now become altogether Popish. This animated the Priests and others of that faction, which before were quiet, and put them in some heart.

The Queen
maketh
choice of a
Council.

One Ninian Winyet, Schoolmaster at Linlithgow, a man of reasonable learning, set forth a Book of Questions against the Confession of Faith; which went current in the Court, and was much esteemed by them of his Profession. Being cited, and divers conferences kept with him to make him acknowledge his Errors, he continued obstinate, and was therefore sentenced by the Church; wherefore he forsook the Country, and flying to Germany was preferred to be Abbot of the Scottish Monastery at Ratisbon, where he lived many years. The Abbot of Croftagwell in the West published about the same time another Faith. Whereunto John Knox having made a reply, the Author, in regard of his age and quality of birth (for he was of the house of Cassils) was thought fit to be overseen.

Ninian Winyet
a Priest exiled.

Mean while the Court was busied in a consultation how to supply the charge of the Queens House, which the ordinary Revenues of the Crown could not so honorably maintain as was required. Divers being thought upon, the readiest seemed to fall upon the Church-rents, and draw somewhat from the Prelates and beneficed Persons. To this purpose they were convened before the Council, and after a long Treaty, and many persuasions used, considering with themselves how they subsisted merely by the Queens favour, and that by refusing a part they might endanger the whole, they were induced to yield the third part of their Benefices to be disposed of at the Queens pleasure, and assumed forth of what places her Collectors should chuse, her Majesty securing them of the two parts during their lives, and liberating them of the Ministers, with whose maintenance they were continually boasted. It carried some shew of commodity this at first, but turned to little or nothing; the Prelates and beneficed men undervaluing their Rents, and making up a Third, which did afterwards, when the number of Ministers increased, scarce suffice to their provisions.

The thirds of
Benefices
granted to the
Queen.

Much about this time a rumour was raised in the Court, and went a while uncontrolled, that the Earl of Arran intended to ravish the Queen, whom he was known to love most passionately. She, whether counterfeiting a fear, or that there was any cause given that way, it is not known, did levy a guard of Horse and Foot to attend her person: which put divers in fear, and opened the mouths of discontented people, as if some grounds of Tyranny had been thereby laid. But she not regarding these surmises, and careful only of the Countries quiet, laboured earnestly to have justice take place; and the Borders then being unquiet, sent her Brother, Lord James, thither with a Commission of Lieutenantry, which he faithfully discharged, using exemplary punishment upon a number of broken men, and taking pledges of others for living obedient to the Laws. For this service at his return he was preferred first to the Earldom of Marre, and a little after to the Earldom of Murray; for the Lord Ereskin, having claimed title to the Countrey of Marre, was by the Queen made Earl of the same.

A Guard of
horse and foot
levied to at-
tend the
Queen.
Lord James
sent to the
Borders is at
his return
made Earl of
Marre.
He is prefer-
red to the
Earldom of
Murray, and
the Lord
Ereskin made
Earl of Marre.
Huntley of-
fendeth with
these prefer-
ments.

Huntley offending that these honours should have been conferred without his consent,

An. 1561.

He chargeth Murray with the affectation of the Crown.

Bothwell stirreth up the Earl of Murray against the Hamiltons.

Practice against the Earl of Murray.

The practice discovered by the Earl of Arran.

Arran becometh distracted.

New devices for cutting off Murray.

consent, and he thereby put from the possession first of *Marre*, then of *Murray*, which he had enjoyed since the death of King *James* the Fifth, and because of that long possession was reckoned to be a part of his own Patrimony, resolved, since he saw his own credit and authority waning, before that of *Murray's* was fully settled, to undermine him by one mean or other: whereupon by scandalous detractions, and other the like courses familiar in the Courts of Princes, he laboured to disgrace him; and finding that these prevailed not, presented to the Queen a Libel written with his own hand, wherein he charged the Earl of *Murray* with ambitious affectation of the Royal authority. Yet the proofs he brought being weak, the Queen made no accompt thereof. This also failing, he incited *James Hepburn*, Earl of *Bothwell* (one that had debauched his patrimony, and had all his hopes depending upon the publick disturbance) to set the Earl of *Murray* and the *Hamiltons* by the ears: which he assayed to do first, by perswading the Earl of *Murray* to ruine Duke *Hamilton*, who, as he said, lay waiting on the Queens death, and aimed at no less than the Crown, and besides bare a particular enmity against himself. This he said could not but be acceptable to the Queen, seeing that besides the natural hatred that all Princes have to their Successors, she did bear a special grudge to the Earl of *Arran* for his love to the Reformed Religion, and because of some hard speeches that fell out in a Conference betwixt him and her Uncle the Marquess d' *Elbeuf*.

The Earl of *Murray* abhorring such dishonest practices, and refusing to hearken thereto, his next address was to the *Hamiltons*, offering to take part with them in cutting off the Earl of *Murray* (whose credit with the Queen he knew they disliked) and shewing how easily it might be done. By this means, he said, they should have the Queen in their own hands, and be rid of him who chiefly stood in their way. The time and place for the murder being considered upon, *Bothwell* and *Gavin Hamilton*, Abbot of *Kilwinning*, are said to have taken the matter in hand. The device was to kill the Earl whilst the Queen was at hunting in the Park of *Falkland*, and that performed, to carry the Queen along with them for their greater surety, and the countenancing of the fact.

The Earl of *Arran*, who had withstood the Conspiracy, perceiving them resolute in that they had undertaken, and fearing it might take effect, advertiseth the Earl of *Murray* of the plot laid against his life. *Murray* rendring him many thanks, the Letter was intercepted by some that disliked the intelligence they kept with others, and finding by the answer what advertisement he had made, perswaded the Duke his Father to send him with some Keepers to the House of *Kinneill*. But he making an escape in the night came to the house of *Grange* in *Fife*, and sending to the Earl of *Murray* to shew what had happened, was the next morning conveyed by him to the Queen in *Falkland*; and at his coming he discovered the whole practice unto her; whereupon *Bothwell* and *Kilwinning* were both apprehended, for they were come to *Falkland* of intent to clear themselves. *Arran* being brought before the Council to be examined, was observed to be in some perturbation of mind, and being demitted for that time, was at his next appearing clearly perceived by his words and countenance to be taken with a phrensie; yet when he came to himself, as he did sometimes in the beginning of the disease, he wrote to the Queen and others so judiciously, as many thought he did only feign himself mad, to free his Father of the Conspiracy. The rest he accused so constantly and with such eagerness, that in presence of the Council he made offer, since the accusation could not be made out by Witnesses, to try in single combat with *Bothwell*. But the Queen, misliking that form of trial, made *Bothwell* to be sent to the Castle of *Edinburgh*, and the Abbot of *Kilwinning* to the Castle of *Striveling*, committing *Arran* to the custody of some persons at Court.

And now *Huntley* imagining that he had a fair occasion to put *Murray* out of the way, and that he might do the same more safely, having two of the greatest Families in the Kingdom partners with him in the quarrel, fell into other devices; and first stirring up a trouble in *S. Andrews*, where the Queen then remained, and thinking that *Murray* would come forth upon the noise to pacifie the Tumult, he resolved by

by some whom he had suborned to cut him off in the fray. This not succeeding, some armed men were laid to intercept him as he came from the Court at night; for the Queen detaining him late, he was wont to go accompanied with one or two only in most quiet manner to his lodging. But this being likewise frustrated by advertisement given to *Murray*, and he having tried it to be so (for, upon the notice given him, he went and found them standing armed in the Porch of the Abbey, which was the place designed to him) delayed the matter to the Queen. *Huntley* excusing his men, said that they were some only of his company, who being to go home that day, had put on their arms, and being stayed by some occasion till the next morning were there attending his coming.

This excuse, albeit nought and frivolous, was accepted for the time; which gave many to think, that the Queens affection to her Brother was not so great as it was commonly taken to be. And it is true that about the same time the Queen had received Letters from the Pope, the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, and her Uncles in *France*, advising her to entertain *Huntley*, as the man most powerful and best inclined towards the advancing of the *Romish* Religion, and to give him some hopes of her Marriage with *John Gordon* his second Son, whereby he should be made more forward in the purpose. Great promises were made besides of money and other necessary supplies for War, but so always, as these were made away that were enemies to the Catholick Faith; of whose names a Roll was sent unto her, and the Earl of *Murray* placed in the first rank. But what impression these Letters made in the Queens mind, she shewed the same to her Brother, and used him with no less respect than before.

In the beginning of the next Summer there was a great speech of the Interview of the Queens of *England* and *Scotland*, and messengers to and fro sent to agree upon the place, the time and manner of the meeting. The motion came from the Queen of *Scots*, who, as it was thought, greatly affected the same out of a desire she had to live in a firm peace with the Queen of *England*, and make her self known to the subjects of that Country. Neither was the meeting disliked of the better sort, as thinking it would serve, besides the preservation of the common Peace, to bring her unto a liking of the Reformed Religion. But they who were Popishly set, fearing greatly the Conference, spake openly against it, saying, That of such Interviews there was never seen any good fruit, & that it would not be safe for the Queen of *Scots* to put her self in the power of her whose Kingdom she had claimed. Nor the lets the Treaty went on, and was concluded, *Tork* condescended to be the place of meeting, the numbers on either side agreed unto, and the time designed about the end of *June*. But whilst all things were in readiness for the journey, the Queen of *England* excused her self by letters, desiring the Interview should be put off till the next year: which the Queen of *Scots* was not ill pleased to hear, for she feared if the same had held, that the *French* King and her Uncles should have been much offended.

This journey being stayed, the Queen took her progress unto the North. Being at *Striveling*, she was petitioned by certain Commissioners of the Church for abolishing the Mass, and other Superstitious Rites of the *Roman* Religion, and for inflicting some punishment against Blasphemy, against the contempt of the Word, the profanation of the Sacraments, the violation of the Sabbaths, Adultery, Fornication, and other the like vices condemned by the Word of God, whereof the Laws of the Country did not take any hold. For actions of Divorce, it was likewise desired that they should be remitted to the judgment of the Church, or at least trusted to men of good knowledge and conversation; and that Popish Churchmen might be excluded from places in Session and Council. To these Petitions exhibited in writing, the Queen, after she had perused the same, made answer, That she would do nothing in prejudice of the Religion she professed, and hoped before a year was expired to have the Mass and Catholick profession restored through the whole Kingdom: and thus parted from them in a Choler.

About the midst of *August* she came into *Aberdene*, and was met by the Lady *Huntley*, a woman of an haughty disposition, wise and crafty withal in sifting the minds of others: she, knowing the mutability of Princes favours, laboured to influence

An. 1562.

Letters sent from beyond sea in favour to Huntley.

An Interview of the two Queens moved.

The Interview stayed.

Petitions of the Church to the Queen.

The Queen goeth to Aberdeen.

An. 1562.

The Lady
Huntley inter-
cedes for her
Son.

nuate her self in the Queens affection, using all servile flattery, extolling the power of her Husband, and repeating the offer he had made for re-establishing the *Roman* profession in these North parts. Then falling to intercede for her Son *John Gordon* (who had offended the Queen by his escape forth of the ward, in which he was put for wounding the Lord *Ogilvie* upon the high street of *Edinburgh*) she intreated her Majesties favour for that oversight, and that he might be licensed to attend her Majesty during her abode in those quarters. The Queen understanding what they went about, and how they flattered themselves with a concept of her Marriage, answered, that it stood not with her honour to admit him in her presence, unless he should re-enter himself into the place from which he had escap'd. The Lady thanking her Majesty, and promising obedience in her Sons behalf, did only intreat that the place of his Ward might be changed to the Castle of *Striveling*: whereunto the Queen having yielded, the Lord *Glames* was appointed to convey him thither: and he indeed went so far on the way as to the Nobleman his house of *Glames*; but whether called back by his Father and friends, or of his own private motion, it is uncertain, there he changed his mind, and returned to the North, where gathering some Forces, a thousand Horse or thereabout, with them he drew near to *Aberdene*.

The Queen
taketh journey
to *Inverness*.

The Queen highly commoved with his contempt, yet dissimbling her anger, did after a day or two keep on her journey towards *Inverness*, whither she intended. The eighth of *September*, the night before her setting forth, were seen in the firmament great inflammations and lightnings extraordinary, which continued the space of two hours and above. It feared the common sort, who do always interpret such accidents to be prognosticks of some Trouble: But the Queen contemning these things as casual, would not hear of altering her journey; so the first day she went to *Balwhyne*, the next to *Rothemay*, and the third day being invited by *Huntley* to his house of *Strathbogie*, where great preparations were made for her receipt, she denied to go with him, or grace him in any sort, till his Son gave obedience; and so kept on her way.

The Castle of
Inverness de-
nied to the
Queen.

The day following she came to *Inverness*, and thinking to lodge in the Castle, the keeper *Alexander Gordon* refused to give her entry. Thereupon she began to suspect some treachery. In the Towns-men she could repose no assurance, as being all vassals and dependers of *Huntley*. The Town it self was unfenced with walls, and the country all in Arms (as she was advertised) to attend his coming. Yet disposing of things in the best sort she could, order was given to keep a strong watch, to fortifie the passages into the Town, and have Ships prepared in the Road, whereunto, if need were, she might take her refuge. About midnight some spies sent from *Huntley* unto the Town were apprehended, who discovering his numbers and enterprise, were made fast. And the next morning, upon a rumour that went of the danger the Queen stood in, there flocked out of all quarters unto her numbers of High-land men, the *Frasers* and *Monroes* chiefly, with their followers and friendship. The *Clanchattan* in *Huntley's* company, how soon they knew that the enterprise was against the Queen, forsook him, and slipped aside, came and yielded themselves unto her. She finding her Forces increased, commanded to lay siege to the Castle, which rendred upon the first assault. The Captain and principal Keepers were executed, but the lives of the common Souldiers spared. After some four daies abode in the Castle, the Queen returned to *Aberdene*, accompanied with all the Noblemen and Clans of the Country; and thither came the Lady *Huntley* with offers of submission for her Husband, but was denied access.

The Castle be-
sieged and
rendred.Huntley re-
solves to in-
vade the
Queen.

Huntley perceiving the World thus altered, and himself slain into the Queens displeasure, so as there was no hope of regaining her favour, betook himself to desperate courses, and assembling his friends and others that would run hazard with him, he approached to *Aberdene*, presuming much of the affection of the inhabitants. At Court he had the Earl of *Sutherland*, and *John Lesly* of *Balwhyne*, men of no mean power, who made him daily advertised of things that passed there, and the small numbers that were with the Queen, willing him to take the opportunity. Whereupon resolving to follow his enterprise before the Forces of the Queen

An. 1562.

Queen were farther increased (for charge was gone to all that could bear Arms in *Lothian*, *Fife*, *Angus*, *Stratherne* and *Mernis*, to come and attend her at *Aberdene*) he advanced with some 800 in company, looking to find no resistance. And like enough the enterprise had succeeded to his mind, but that the same morning Letters were intercepted, sent by *Sutherland* and *Balwhyne* to *Huntley*, which detected all their counsel. *Sutherland* upon discovery escaped: *Balwhyne* was pardoned upon his confession, and from thenceforth served the Queen faithfully. *Huntley* advertised of these things, was advised by his friends to turn back; yet hearing the Earl of *Murray* was coming against him, he made a stay, resolving to fight.

The Battel of
Corribie.

The place of standing he chused was naturally fenced with moss and quagmire, and so of difficult access; 300 they were in all, for many of his followers the night preceding were slipt from him. Neither had the Earl of *Murray* any great number, and few whom he might trust: for howbeit of the Country about divers gathered unto him, most of them were corrupted by *Huntley*, as appeared when the companies came in sight one of another, all of them in sign of treason, and that they might be discerned by the enemy, putting a bush of heath or header in their helmets, and how soon they came to joyn, giving back, and retiring in great disorder. The Earl of *Murray*, who stood a little off with an hundred in a Troop, discovering the Treason, called aloud to his men, that they should bend their Spears, and not suffer them that fled to enter amongst them. So forced to take another course they went aside, leaving him and his Troop, when they had taken their standing. *Huntley* imagining upon that flight and disorder the day to be his, commanded his men to throw away their lances, and with drawn Swords to run upon them as to a slaughter. But when they were come to the place where *Murray* with his company stood, they were born back and compelled to fly as fast as before they followed. They who had played the Traytors seeing this, to clear themselves, turned upon *Huntley*, and made all the slaughter which was committed that day.

The Earl of
Huntley taken
prisoner, and
dieth.

There fell in the Conflict on *Huntley's* side 120, near as many were taken prisoners; on the other party not a man died. Amongst the prisoners was the Earl of *Huntley* himself, with two Sons, *John* and *Adam Gordon*. The Earl was aged and corpulent, and, by reason of the throng that pressed him, expired in the hands of his takers; the rest were carried to *Aberdene* late in the night. The Earls of *Murray*, *Morton*, and Lord *Lindesay* (for these last two had been in the field with *Murray*) went first into the Church, where Mr. *John Craige*, Minister of that City, gave solemn thanks to God for the Victory and their safety. This ended, they went unto the Queen who received them graciously, yet expressed no motion of a mind either troubled or much joyed. The next day was spent in taking counsel concerning the prisoners: the conclusion whereof was, that punishment should be taken according to the Laws of *John Gordon*; that *Adam* his Brother should be spared, because of his tender age; the other Captives fined according to their wealth, and those of meaner Estate banished the Country. The day following, *John Gordon* upon a Scaffold erected in the Street of *Aberdene* was publicly executed. His death was much lamented, not by his friends only, but even by strangers and persons unknown; for he was a youth of most brave and manlike countenance, of a valorous spirit, and one who by his noble behaviour had raised great expectation of himself. Abused he was by the hopes of a Royal match, and, which grieved all the beholders, pitifully mangled by an unskilful Executioner.

Thanksgiving
for the victory.*John Gordon*
beheaded at
Aberdene.The Lord *Gor-*
dun forfeited and commit-
ted.

This defeat of *Huntley* brought the North parts in a great obedience, and mightily discouraged those of the Popish faction throughout the whole Realm; for all that sort had placed their hopes on him and his greatness both in the Court and Country. The eldest of his Sons, named *George*, after the loss of that field fled to the Duke his Father-in-law, and was delivered by him to the Queen, who sent him prisoner to *Dumbar*. In the end of *January* he was accused and convicted of Treason, his lands declared to be forfeited, and himself committed to prison. Shortly after *John Hamilton*, Archbishop of *S. Andrews*, was committed in the Castle of *Edinburgh*, for saying and hearing of Mass. The Abbot of *Corfragnal* and Prior of *Whithorn* were used in the like sort, and divers Priests and Monks for the

The Archbi-
shop of *S. An-*
drews com-
mitted.

An. 1563.
A Parliament
at Edinburgh.

the same cause censured. The severe proceeding against Papists put many in hope that the Queen should be brought to embrace the Religion: which was farther assured by the countenance she gave unto the Church in the Parliament kept at Edinburgh the May following, wherein divers Statutes passed upon their Petitions, as in the Acts of that time may be seen. In this Parliament was the *Act of Oblivion* (agreed unto at the Treaty of *Leith*) first ratified; but without any respect to that Treaty, which the Queen would never acknowledge. Wherefore it was advised that the Lords in the House of Parliament should upon their knees entreat the passing of such an Act, which accordingly was done. The rest of this Summer the Queen spent in hunting in the Countries of *Athol* and *Argile*.

A trouble at
Hali-rudhouse.

But in August the same year there happened a thing that was like to have caused much trouble. Certain of the Queens family that remained in the Palace of *Hali-rudhouse* had a Priest attending them, who did his ordinary service in the Chappel; divers of the Town of *Edinburgh* resorting unto it, great offence was taken, and the disorder complained of by the Preachers. The Citizens being informed that many of their people were gone thither, one day went down, and being denied entry, forced the Gates. Some were taken and carried to prison, many escaped the back way with the Priest himself. The uproar was great, and advertisement gone to the Queen thereof, she was mightily incensed, avowing not to come to the Town till some exemplary punishment were inflicted upon the doers; yet by the mediation of the Earls of *Murray* and *Glencarn* she was pacified. *John Knox* only was called before the Council, and charged to have been the author of the Sedition, as likewise for convoking the subjects by his mislve letters whensoever he thought meet. He answered, *That he was never a Preacher of Rebellion, nor loved to stir up Tumults: contrariwise, he taught all people to obey their Magistrates and Princes in God. As to the convocation of the subjects, he had received from the Church a command to advertise his Brethren when he saw a necessity of their meeting, especially if he saw Religion to be in peril: and had often craved to be exonerated of that burthen, but still was refused.* Then directing his Speech to the Queen with a wonderful boldness, He charged her in the name of the Almighty God, and as she desired to escape his heavy wrath and indignation, to forsake that Idolatrous Religion which she professed, and by her power maintained against the Statutes of the Realm. And as he was proceeding, he was required by the Earl of *Morton* then Chancellor (fearing the Queens irritation) to hold his peace, and go away. After which time matters were carried more peaceably betwixt the Queen and the Church, the Earl of *Murray* always interposing himself, and propounding the Petitions of the Church unto her, as likewise returning her answers to their satisfaction.

The Earl of
Lenox restored.

In the end of this year *Matthew Stewart*, Earl of *Lenox*, by the permission of the Queen, returned into *Scotland*, and in a Parliament called to that effect in January next had the process of forfeiture laid against him whilst the Duke was Governor reduced, and so restored to his lands and possessions, after 22 years exile. Henry his Son followed him some months after, and came to *Edinburgh* in the beginning of February. A young man not past 21 years, of comely personage, and of a milde and sweet behaviour. He had presence of the Queen in the place of *Weymis*, and was received with great demonstrations of favour. Nor was it long that she was perceived to bear some affection unto him: whereupon a speech went that she would take him unto her Husband. And indeed, besides the love she carried to the young Nobleman, there was great respects that led her that way. He was descended of the Royal blood of *England*, and next unto her self the apparent Heir of that Crown. If it should fall him to marry with one of the greatest Families of *England*, it was to be feared that some impediment might be made to her in the Right of Succession, which she thought was a wise part in her to prevent. Again, the Queen of *England* had advised her by *Thomas Randolph* her Ambassador, to chuse unto herself a Husband in *England*, for the better conservation of the Peace contracted betwixt the Kingdoms, and had of late recommended the Earl of *Leicester* as a worthy match to her. She therefore, as well to satisfy the Queen of *Englands* desire, in not matching with a stranger, but with some *Englishman* born,

as

Henry Lord
Darnly, Son to
Lenox, cometh
into Scotland.

The Queen in-
tendeth to
take him to
Husband.

as likewise to cut off all debates of Succession, resolved to take the Nobleman to her Husband.

But no sooner was her intention discovered, than on all sides enemies rose up against her. Of the Nobility at home some opposed the Marriage under pretext of Religion (for the Earl of *Lenox* and his Son were both esteemed to be Popish.) The Queen of *England*, by *Nicholas Throgmorton* her Ambassador, advised her not to use haste in a business of that importance; and (to interpose some impediment) charged the Earl of *Lenox* and his Son to return into *England*, the time being not yet expired contained in their licenses. And universally amongst the subject the question was agitated, *Whether the Queen might chuse to her self an Husband; or it were more fitting that the Estates of the Land should appoint one unto her.* Some maintaining that the liberty could not be denied unto her which was granted to the meanest subject; others excepting, that in the Heirs of the Kingdom the case was different, because they in assuring an Husband to themselves, did withal appoint a King over the people; and that it was more reason the whole people should chuse an Husband to one Woman, than that one Woman should elect a King to rule over the whole people. It was objected also by some, that the Marriage was unlawful, and contrary to the Canon law, Lady *Margaret Douglas* his Mother being Sister uterine to King *James* the Fifth her Father. But for this the Queen had provided a remedy, having sent *William Chisholme* Bishop of *Dumblane* to bring a dispensation from *Rome*. And, to strengthen her self at home, she restored *George Gordon*, Son to the Earl of *Huntley*, unto his Lands and Honours, recalled the Earl of *Shutland* who lived an exile in *Flanders*, and *Bothwell* that was banished in *France*. This wicked man was not well returned into the Country, when he devised a new plot against the Earl of *Murray* his life, for which being called in question he forsook the Country, and fled again unto *France*.

The only man that seemed to stand for the Marriage, and used his best means to promote it, was an *Italian* called *David Riso*, who had great credit that time with the Queen. This man had followed the *Savoyan* Ambassador into *Scotland*, and in hope of bettering his fortune gave himself to attend the Queen at first in the quality of a Musician; afterwards growing in more favour he was admitted to write her *French* Letters, and in the end preferred to be principal Secretary to the Estate. It grieved many to see a Stranger thus advanced: *Lethington* chiefly was displeased, for that he found his credit this way impaired; yet being one that could put on any disguise on his nature, of all others he most fawned on this *Italian*, and shewing him, as it was truth, that he was the object of divers Noblemens envy, did persuade him by all means to work the Match, and procure (if it could be) the consent of the Queen of *England* thereto: wherein offering his own service (for he longed after some employment abroad) he procured to himself a message towards the Queen of *England*. By him the Earl of *Lenox* and his Son did excuse their not returning into *England* as they were charged; beseeching Queen *Elizabeth* favour unto the Match intended, and that which might prove more profitable to her and her Realm than any other course the *Scottish* Queen should take.

Seigneur Davie (for so he was commonly called) did after this labour with all his power to have the Marriage perfected; and as he was of a politick wit, the more to bind the young Nobleman and his friendship unto him, studied to have the same finished before the return of the Queen of *Englands* answer, either fearing that her dissent might work some delay in the Match, or that the Noblemans obligation to himself should be the less in case she consented. For this purpose a Convocation of the Estates was kept at *Striveling* in the month of May, where the matter being propounded, and the advice of the Estates craved, many did yield their consents, with a provision that no change should be made in the present estate of Religion. The greater part, to gratify the Queen, without making any exception, agreed that the Marriage should proceed. Of the whole number *Andrew Lord Ochiltree* did only oppose, plainly professing, that he would never consent to admit a King of the Popish Religion. Shortly after was *Henry Lord Darnly* created Lord of *Ardennoch*, Earl of *Rosse*, and Duke of *Rothsay*, that honoured with these Titles he might

Enemies raised up against the Queen.

An. 1564.
The Lord Gordon restored.

Seigneur Davie, an attendant on the Queen, favourable to the Marriage.

Secretary *Lethington* sent into *England*.

A Convocation of the Estates at *Striveling*.

The Lord Darnly created Duke of *Rothsay*.

An. 1564.

A Mutiny at
Edinburgh.The Queen
cometh to
Edinburgh,
and the mu-
tiniers fly.An Assembly
at Edinburgh.Petitions of
the Church.

might be thought more worthy of the Royal Match. This determination of the Estates published, the Earls of Murray, Argyle, Glencarn, and Rothes assisted by the Duke of Chatterault, whom they had drawn to be of their Faction, meeting at Striveling after that the Queen was parted, did joyn in a Confederacy for resisting the Marriage, pretending the danger, and other inconveniences that might arise to the Estate. In the Town of Edinburgh the people began to mutiny, and assembling themselves in companies on S. Leonards Crags took counsel to put their Burgeses in arms, to assign them Captains, and to disarm such of the Townsmen as they knew to be affected to the Marriage.

The Queen highly incensed at this Mutiny did haste to the Town, at whose coming the heads of the faction, Andrew Slater, Alexander Clerk, Gilbert Lauder, William Harlaw, Michael Rind, James Inglis, James Young, and Alexander Gouthrie, fled forth of the Town, and were denounced Rebels. Their houses possessed by the Thesaurer, and their goods put under Inventory, were after some few days, at the intercession of the Magistrates (so great was the Queens clemency) restored, and themselves pardoned.

The Assembly of the Church meeting at the same time in Edinburgh presented to the Queen by their Commissioners the Petitions following.

1. That the Papistical and blasphemous Mass, with all Popish Idolatry, and the Popes Jurisdiction, should be universally suppressed and abolished through the whole Realm, not only amongst the Subjects, but in the Queens Majesties own Person and Family; and such as were tried to transgress the same, punished according to the Laws.

2. That the true Religion formerly received should be professed by the Queen, as well as by the Subjects, and people of all sorts bound to resort upon the Sundays at least to the Prayers and Preaching of Gods Word, as in former times they were holden to hear Mass.

3. That sure provision should be made for sustentation of the Ministry, as well for the time present as for the time to come, and their livings assigned them in the places where they served, or at least in the parts next adjacent; and that they should not be put to crave the same at the hands of any others. That the Benefices now vacant, or that have fallen void since the month of March 1558, and such as should happen thereafter to be void, should be disposed to persons qualified for the Ministry upon trial and admission by the Superintendents.

4. That no Bishoprick, Abbacy, Priory, Deanry, Provostry, or other Benefice having more Churches than one annexed thereto, should be disposed in time coming to any one man, but that the Churches thereof being dissolved, the same should be provided to several persons, so as every man having charge may serve at his own Church, according to his vocation. That Gleibs and Manes might be designed for the residence of Ministers, as likewise the Churches repair; and an Act made in the next Parliament to that effect.

5. That none should be permitted to have charge of Schools, Colledges and Universities, or to instruct the youth either privately or publickly, till they were tried by the Superintendents in the Visitation of the Churches, and after trial admitted to their Charge.

6. That all Lands founded of old to Hospitality should be restored, and applied to the sustentation of the poor; and that Lands, annual Rents, or other emoluments belonging sometime to the Friars of whatsoever Order, as likewise the Annuities, Aultrages, Obits and other duties pertaining to Priests, be employed to the same use, and to the upholding of Schools in the places where they lie.

7. That horrible crimes abounding in the Realm, such as Idolatry, Blasphemy of Gods Name, manifest Violation of the Sabbath or Lords day, Witchcraft, Sorcery and Inchantment, Adultery, Incest, open Whoredom, maintaining of Brothels, Murther, Slaughter, Theft, Reif and Oppression, with all other detestable crimes, be severely punished, and Judges appointed in every Province for executing the same.

8. That some order should be devised for the relief of the poor labourers of the ground,

ground, who are oppressed in their Tithes by Leases set over their heads, and they thereby forced to take unreasonable conditions. An. 1564.

To these petitions the Queen made Answer by writing in this sort. First, she said, That where it was desired that the Mass should be suppressed and abolished as well in her Majesties own Person and Family as amongst the Subjects, her Highness did answer for her self, that she was no ways perswaded that there was any Impiety in the Mass; and trusted her Subjects would not press her to do against her Conscience. For not to dissemble, but to deal plainly with them, she said, she neither might nor would forsake the Religion wherein she had been educated and brought up, believing the same to be the true Religion, and grounded upon the Word of God. Besides she knew that if she should change her Religion, it would lose her the Friendship of the King of France, and other great Princes her Friends and Confederates, upon whose displeasure she would be loth to hazard, knowing no friendship that might countervail theirs. Therefore desired all her loving Subjects, who have had experience of her goodness, how she had neither in times past nor yet in time coming did intend to force the Conscience of any person, but to permit everyone to serve God in such manner as they are perswaded to be the best, that they likewise would not urge her to any thing that stood not with the quietness of her Mind.

As for the establishing the Religion in the body of the Realm, she said, That they knew the same could not be done but by the consent of the three Estates in Parliament: And how soon the same should be convened, what soever the Estates did condescend unto, her Majesty should thereto agree; assuring them in the mean while, that none should be troubled for using themselves in Religion according to their Consciences, and so should have no cause to fear any peril to their lives or heritages.

To the third and fourth Articles it was answered, That her Majesty did not think it reasonable that she should defraud her self of so great a part of the Patrimony of the Crown as to put the Patronages of Benefices forth of her own hands, seeing the publick necessities of the Crown did require a great part of the Rents to be still retained. Notwithstanding her Majesty was pleased, that her own necessity being supplied, after it should be considered what might be a reasonable sustentation to the Ministers, a special assignation should be made to them forth of the nearest and most commodious places, wherewith her Majesty should not intermeddle, but suffer the same to come to their use.

Touching the sustentation of the poor her Majesty said, That her Liberality towards them should be as far extended as with reason can be required.

And for the rest of the Articles, Her Highness promised to do therein as the Estates convened in Parliament should appoint.

About the middle of July (the dispensation of the Marriage being brought from Rome) the Queen was espoused to the Lord Darnly after the Popish manner in the Chappel of Halirudhouse, by the Dean of Restalrig; and the next day was he by the sound of the Trumpet proclaimed King, and declared to be associated with her in the Government.

The discontented Lords sent forth their complaints upon this, alledging, That the Kingdom was openly wronged, the Liberties thereof oppressed, and a King imposed upon the people without advice and consent of the Estates (a thing not practised before at any time and contrary to the Laws and received custom of the Country:) desiring therefore all good Subjects to take the matter to heart, and joyn with them in resisting these beginnings of Tyranny. But few or none were thereby won to then themselves openly of their party, so as when the Queen with her Husband went against them, they left the Town of Striveling, where they first convened, and fled into Paisley.

The King, to make himself more popular, and take from the Lords the pretext of Religion wherewith they coloured their designs, took purpose to go unto Saint Giles Church in Edinburgh and hear a Sermon. John Knox (either doubting his sincerity, or favouring the faction of the Noblemen) fell upon him with a bitter reproof; for which being cited before the Queen and Council, he not only stood to that he had spoken, but added, That as the King for her pleasure had gone to Mass, and dishonoured the Lord God, so should he in his Justice make her the instrument of his ruin. The Queen, incensed with this answer, burst forth in tears: whereupon he

The Queens
answer to the
Petitions.

The Queen
married to the
Lord Darnly.

The com-
plaints of the
discontented
Lords.

The King
heareth a Ser-
mon at St.
Giles.

John Knox
cited before
the Council.

An. 1564.

The Lords
pursued by
the King and
Queen.The Lords flee
into England.The Queen of
England inter-
cedeth for the
Lords.The Duke re-
ceived in fa-
vour.A general As-
sembly of the
Church.
A reply to the
answer of
their last Pe-
titions.

he was inhibited preaching by the Council, and silenced for some months. Mr. *John Craig* (who a little before was brought to *Edinburgh*) because of the prohibition given to his Collegue, refused to do any service there, which put the people in a stir; yet upon better advice he was moved to continue in his Charge.

In the end of *August* the King and Queen, accompanied with five thousand or thereabouts, went to *Glasgow* to pursue the Lords. They removing from *Paisly* to *Hamilton*, an Herald was sent thither to summon the Castle, which they denied to render, giving out that they would try the matter in battel the next day. But the manifold distractions amongst themselves did let this resolution, and divers falling away from their side, they went to *Edinburgh*, where supposing to find assistance, the Captain of the Castle forced them by his continual playing on the Town to quit it. After which they took their course to *Dumfries*, allured by the fair promises of *John Maxwell* Lord *Hereis*.

A new Expedition upon this was concluded, and the Lieges warned to meet at *Bigger* the 9 of *October*: in the mid time the King and Queen, leaving the Earl of *Lenox* Lieutenant in the West parts, made a Progress through *Fife*, to punish those that had assisted the Lords. The Laids of *Grainge*, *Balcomie*, *Pitmillie* and *Rammorie* were fugitive, some others of meaner sort taken prisoners, and the Towns of *Perth*, *Dundy* and *St. Andrews* fined in great sums. This done they returned to *Edinburgh*, and from thence went into *Dumfries*, where the Lords had stayed all that while: The Lord *Hereis* pretending to make their peace, concluded his own, advising them to fly into *England*, as they did. Thither went the Duke of *Chattellerauld*, the Earl of *Murray*, *Glencarn* and *Roths*, the Lord *Ochiltree*, the Comendatory of *Kilwinning*, and divers others of good note. A few days they abode in *Carlisle* with the Earl of *Bedford*, Lieutenant at that time in the North. Then going to *Newcastle*, they sent the Earl of *Murray* to the *English* Court, to intreat the Queens intercession for them. She incontinent dispatched a Gentleman of her Privy-chamber, named *Tamerorth*, with Letters to the Queen of *Scots*, requesting that *Murray* and the rest might be received in favour. The Gentleman not vouchsafing to give her Husband the title of a King, nor bringing any Commission to him, was denied presence, and had his answer delivered him in writing to this effect: That *Queen Elizabeth* should do well to have no meddling with the Subjects of *Scotland*, but leave them to their Princes discretion, seeing neither she nor her Husband did trouble themselves with the causes of her Subjects.

The Duke perceiving that by these means their peace would not be hastily made, and knowing his reconciliation to be more easie, resolved to sever his cause from the rest, and sent the Abbot of *Kilwinning* to entreat favour to himself and his friends: which he easily obtained, for he was known to be nothing so guilty as the others, and to have been craftily drawn upon that faction; so he returned into *Scotland*, in *December* following.

In this month a general Assembly of the Church convened again at *Edinburgh*, where the answer made by the Queen to their last Petitions was presented, and replied unto by the same Assembly in this manner. First, they said, That it was no small grief to the hearts of good and Christian Subjects to hear, that notwithstanding the Evangel of Christ had been so long preached in the Realm, and his mercy so plainly offered, her Majesty should yet continue unperswaded of the truth of that Religion which they preached and professed, it being the same which Christ Jesus had revealed to the World, which he commanded his Apostles to preach, and ordained to be received of all the faithful, and firmly retained by them until his second Coming; a Religion that had God the Father, his only Son Christ Jesus and the Holy spirit for the Authors thereof, and was most clearly grounded upon the Doctrine and practice as well of the Prophets as Apostles, which no other Religion upon the face of the earth could justifie, alledge or prove. For whatsoever assurance the Papist had or could alledge for his Profession, the same the Turk had for his Alcoran, and the Jews more probably might alledge for their Rites and Traditions, whether it be antiquity of time, or consent of people, or authority of Princes, or multitudes and number of Professors, or any the like cloaks they do pretend. Wherefore

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in the Name of the eternal God (with the reverence that became them) they required her Highness to use the means whereby she might be perswaded of the Truth, such as the Preaching of the Word of God, the ordinary mean that he hath appointed for working knowledge and begetting Faith in the hearts of his chosen ones, conference with learned men, and disputation with the adversaries, which they were ready to offer when and where her Grace should think expedient.

Next, where she could not believe any Impiety to be in the Mass, they made offer to prove the whole Mass from the beginning to the ending to be nothing else but a mass of impiety, and that the Priest his actions, the opinion which the hearers or rather the gazer upon it had of the same, were blasphemous and grossly idolatrous. And where her Majesty said, she would not hazard the displeasure of the King of France and other Princes, with whom she was confederated; they to the contrary did assure her, That true Religion is the only bond that joyneth men with God, who is the King of Kings, and hath the hearts of all Princes in his hands, whose favour ought to be unto her more precious than the favour of all the Princes on earth, and without which no friendship or confederacy could possibly endure.

Thirdly, touching her answer to the Article for sustentation of the Ministry, they shew, It was never their meaning, that her Majesty or any other Patron should be defrauded of their just rights. Only they desired, when any Benefice was void, that a qualified person should be presented to the Superintendent of the bounds, to be tried and examined by him. For as the Presentation belongeth to the Patron, so doth the Collation belong to the Church. Otherwise, were it in the Patrons power simply to present whom they pleased, without trial or examination, there should be no order in the Church, and all be filled with ignorance and confusion.

Fourthly, to that which her Majesty spake of retaining a great part of the Benefices in her own hands, they answered, That such doing was against the Law both of God and man, and could not stand with a good Conscience, seeing it tendeth to the destruction of many poor souls that by this means should be defrauded of instruction. And for the offer she made to provide the Ministry by assignments in places most commodious, her own necessities being first supplied, they said, That good order did require Ministers first to be provided, schools for instructing the youth maintained, the fabrick of Churches repaired and upheld, and the poor and indigent members of Christ sustained; all which ought to be furnished out of the Tithes, which are the proper Patrimony of the Church. These things done, if any thing were remaining, that her Majesty and Council might use it as they should think expedient. In end, giving thanks to her Majesty for the offer of assignments, they humbly desired the general offer to be made more particular, and that it might please her to reform the answer given to the Articles of the Church in all the aforesaid points.

After this sort did the Church insist with the Queen, but with small success: for the provision of Ministers some small supply was obtained. But in the point of Religion they found no contentment. During the rest of this Winter matters were quiet: but the next year had a foul beginning; *Seigneur Davie*, who governed all affairs at Court, had only the Queens ear, being slain upon the occasion and after the manner you shall hear. There had fallen out a little before some private contents betwixt the King and Queen, whereupon first she caused change the order which was kept in the Proclamations and publick Records, placing the name of her Husband after her own name, that the Royal Authority might be known to belong unto her self wholly. And after a little time, upon a colour that the dispatch of business was much hindered through the Kings absence, she had appointed, in stead of his hand, a Cachet to be used in the signing of Letters, which was committed to the custody of *Seigneur Davie*. This being noted (as there are never wanting some in Court to stir the coals) divers tales were brought to the King of the neglect and contempt that he was held in, and of the great respect carried to the Stranger. The vanity and arrogancy of the man himself was likewise so great, as not content to exceed the chief of the Court, he would outbrave the King in his apparel, in his domestick furniture, in the number and sorts of his horses, and in every thing else: so as no speech was for the time more common and current in the Country, than

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that

An. 1565.

The slaughter
of *Seigneur
Davie* conspi-
red.

An. 1565.

A Parliament
at Edinburgh
deferred.

that of *Davie's* greatness, of the credit and honour whereunto he was risen, and of the small account that was taken of the King. This the King taking in heart, he did open his grief unto his Father, who advised him to assure the Nobility at home, and to recall those that were banished into *England*; which done, he might easily correct the insolency and aspiring pride of that base fellow.

A Parliament being then called to meet at *Edinburgh* the 12 of *March*, for pronouncing sentence of forfeiture against the Earls of *Murray*, *Glencarn*, *Argile*, *Roths* and other Noblemen that were fled into *England*, as the time of meeting drew nigh, the Queen laboured earnestly to have the Process laid against them found good; and that matters might go to her mind, she designed *Davie* to exercise the office of Chancellor in that meeting. The Earl of *Morton*, who after *Huntley's* death had supplied the place unto that time, interpreted this as a disgrace offered unto him, dealt with the King (with whom he was grown familiar) to make him sensible of his own contempt and misregard; and finding him apprehensive enough that way, drew him to a meeting in the Lord *Ruthven's* lodging, upon pretext of visiting the Nobleman who lay then diseased; where breaking forth in a speech of the present Misgovernment, the blame of all was cast upon the King, as having for the pleasure of a wicked Villain chased his Cousins and best friends out of the Realm, and helped to raise a base fellow to such a height of credit, as now himself was become by him despised. The King, that could not deny it to be his fault in a great part, professed his readiness to joyn with them for remedying those evils, and from thenceforth promised to do nothing but by the consent of the Nobility. Yet they not esteeming it safe to trust his promises, whom they knew to be facile and somewhat uxorious, lest afterwards he should go from that agreement, did exhibit to him a Bond in writing, wherein they were all sworn to joyn for maintaining Religion, reducing the Noblemen lately exiled, and making *Davie* out of the way. Unto this the King did wittingly set his hand, and with him subscribed the Earl of *Morton*, the Lords *Ruthven* and *Lindesay*, for he also was present and upon the plot.

The night following, because matters could not be long kept close, and needful it was to go presently through with the design by reason of the Parliament approaching, they prepared to execute the same. *Morton*, whose forces were greatest, was appointed to guard the outer Court of the Palace, if perhaps any stir should be made. For there lodged within, the Earls of *Huntley*, *Athol*, *Bothwell*, *Sutherland* and *Cathness*, with the Lords *Flemyn* and *Levingston*, a force to have resisted any sudden attempt. The King taking the Lord *Ruthven* with him, who was but lately recovered of a Fever, and followed by four or five men at most, entered into the room where the Queen sat at supper. *Ruthven* seeing *Davie* at the table (for the Queen was accustomed when she supped private to admit others to sit by her, and that night the Countess of *Argile*, and beneath her *Davie* was placed) commanded him to rise and come forth, for the place where he sat did not beseem him.

The Queen, starting up hastily, went between *Davie* and *Ruthven* to defend him; and *Davie* clasping his hands about her middle, the King laboured to loose them, willing her not to be afraid, for that they were come only to take order with that Villain. Then was he dragged down the stairs to the gallery where *Morton* with his company was walking. There they fell upon him, and striving who should give the first stroke, killed him with many wounds.

It was constantly reported that he had warning given him oftner than once by *John Damiott* a French Priest, who was thought to have some skill in Magick, to do his business and be gone, for that he could not make good his part; and that he answered disdainfully, *The Scots are given more to brag than to fight*. Some few days again before his death being warned by the same Priest to take heed of the bastard, he replied, *That whilst he lived, he should not have credit in Scotland to do him any hurt*. For he took the Earl of *Murray* to be the man of whom he was advertised to take heed. But that prediction either fulfilled or eluded, the first stroke was given him by *George Douglas*, base Son to the Earl of *Angus*; after whom such others as were in place, either serving their private malice, or desiring to be esteemed associates in that conspiracy, inflicted every man his wound, till he was dispatched:

The slaughter
of *Davie*.*Damiott* a
French Priest
willed him to
be gone.

dispatched: yet had they no commandment from the contrivers so to kill him: *An. 1565.* it being their purpose to have brought him to publick execution, which they knew would have been to all the people a most grateful spectacle. And good it had been for them so to have done, or then to have taken him in another place, and at another time, than in the Queens presence. For besides the great peril of Abortion which her fear might have caused, the false aspersions cast upon her fame and honour by that occasion were such as she could never digest, and drew on all the pitiful accidents that afterwards ensued. The Queen bursting forth in many tears, after a great chiding she kept with the Lord *Ruthven*, sent one of her Maids to enter a great chiding the kept with the Lord *Ruthven*, who quickly returning, told that he was killed; quire what was become of *Davie*; who quickly returning, told that he was killed; having asked her how she knew it, the Maid answered that she had seen him dead. Then the Queen wiping her eyes with her handkerchief, said, *No more Tears; I will think upon a Revenge*. Neither was she seen after that any more to lament.

The Queens
behaviour af-
ter *Davie's*
murder.

The rumor of this deed ran soon through the Town, whereupon the people did arm, and go to the Palace. But they were pacified by the King, who calling to them from a window, shewed that the Queen and he were well, and that they needed not to fear, because that which was done was done by his own commandment. The Noblemen that lodged within the Palace were charged to keep within their Chambers; yet the Lords *Huntley* and *Bothwell* escaped the same night by a window at the back of the Palace. *Athol* and the rest had licence to depart the next morning. Upon *Tuesday* thereafter (for the slaughter was committed upon *Saturday* the ninth of *March*) the Earls of *Murray* and *Roths*, with those that were exiled in *England*, returned to *Edinburgh*; and going first to the Parliament-house, took documents, that they were ready to answer the summons of forfeiture directed against them, and that none did insist to pursue.

The exiled
Lords return.

In this doubtful estate of things the Queen, not knowing whom to trust, sent for her Brother the Earl of *Murray*, and having conferred familiarly a while with him, by his means had her servants and guards restored; for after the slaughter they were all put from her. The night following she went from the Palace to *Seaton*, and from thence to *Dumbar*, taking the King with her in company; who repenting the fact, and forsaking the other Conspirators, did openly by sound of Trumpet at the Market-Cross of *Edinburgh* protest his innocence, denying that ever he gave his consent to any thing, but to the returning of the Lords that were banished in *England*. Yet was the contrary known to all men, so as this served only to the undoing of his reputation, and made him find few or no friends there- after to aid him in his necessity.

The King pro-
testeth his in-
nocency.

Upon the Queens departing the Conspirators, and whosoever were thought privy thereto, fled some to *England*, others to the borders and High-lands, and such a change you should have seen, as they who the night preceeding did vant of the fact as a goodly and memorable Act, affirming some truly, some falsely, that they were present therat, did on the morrow forswear all that before they had affirmed. The Earl of *Morton*, with the Lords *Ruthven*, *Lindesay*, and young *Lethington*, remained at *Newcastle* in *England*, where the Lord *Ruthven* falling again in the Fever departed this life. *M. James Macgill*, Clerk of Register, with divers Citizens of *Edinburgh* that were esteemed favourers of the fact, left the Town, and lurked privately amongst their friends. After some four days stay at *Dumbar* the Queen returned to *Edinburgh*, accompanied with many of the Nobility, and then began Inquisition to be made for the Murderers. *Thomas Scot* Sheriff depute of *Perth*, and servant to the Lord *Ruthven*, with Sir *Henry Tair*, sometimes a Priest, being apprehended, were after trial hanged and quartered. *William Harlaw* and *John Mombray*, Burgeses of *Edinburgh*, convicted and brought to the place of execution, had their lives spared by the intercession of *Bothwell*. The Laids of *Calder*, *Ormeiston*, *Halton*, *Elphinston*, *Brunston*, *Whittingham*, *Sbirreshall*, and many others being cited, as conscious of the murder, for not appearing were denounced Rebels. The office of the Clerk Register was conferred upon Sir *James Balfour*, and a conclusion taken in council, that they who should be tried to have either devised or to have been actual committers of the said Murder, should be pursued by order of Justice, and the same executed

The Conspira-
tors fly into
England.Inquisition of
the Murder-
ers.

An. 1566.

The Castle of Edinburgh made choice of for the Queen her lying in.

An. 1566. The Queen feasts the Noblemen. The Queen delivered of a Son. Sir Henry Killigrew sent from England.

The desire of the Church for the Baptism of the Prince.

The Queen goeth to Alloway.

Secretary Lethington fosters her Majesties anger against the King.

The Queen goeth to Jedburgh. Lethington renews the purpose of Divorce.

executed with all severity: but that the Commons and others that came to the Palace accidentally, should upon their supplication be used with more clemency. In all this proceeding there was none more earnest or forward than the King; notwithstanding whereof the hatred of the fact lay heavy upon him, nor could he ever after this time recover his former favour with the Queen. The rest after a little time were reconciled; *Lethington* by the means of *Athol* was first called home, albeit *Bothwell* did strongly oppose it. The Barons addressed for themselves, by means of their friends that were in credit. *Morton* and *Lindesay* in the Winter following were pardoned at the request of the Earls of *Huntley* and *Argile*.

Now the time of the Queens lying in drew nigh; whereupon the Council meeting to advise upon the place where her Majesty should stay, made choice of the Castle of *Edinburgh*, as the part most commodious, and ordained the Earl of *Arran*, who was there kept prisoner, to be removed to the Castle of *Hamilton*, with a liberty to travel by the space of two miles about, providing he should do nothing to the prejudice of his house, and enter himself unto 20 days warning in the Castles of *Edinburgh*, *Dumbar*, and *Dumbarton*, or any of them; for observance whereof the Earls of *Murray* and *Glencarn* became sureties.

The Queen at her first entry into the Castle did feast the Nobility, and made them all friends. *Argile*, *Murray* and *Athol* had lodgings assigned them within the Castle; *Huntley*, *Bothwell*, and others of the Nobility remained in the Town. The 19 of June, betwixt nine and ten of the clock in the evening, she was brought to bed of a Son, to the exceeding joy of the Subjects, for which the Nobles and whole people, assembled the next day in the Church of *S. Giles*, gave solemn thanks to God. Presently was Sir *James Melvil* sent to carry the news to the Queen of England, who to congratulate her safe and happy delivery sent Sir *Henry Killigrew* to Scotland by Post. The Assembly of the Church convened the same time in *Edinburgh* sent the Superintendent of *Lothian* to testify their gladness for the Princes birth, and to desire that he should be baptized according to the form used in the Reformed Church. To this last she gave no answer, otherwise the Superintendent and his Commission were very graciously accepted. The Queen calling to bring the Infant, that the Superintendent might see him, he took him in his Arms, and falling upon his knees conceived a short and pithy prayer, which was very attentively heard by her: having closed his prayer, he took the Babe, and willed him to say *Amen* for himself; which he took in so good part, as continually afterwards he called the Superintendent her *Amen*. This story told to the Prince when he came to years of understanding, he alwaies called him his *Amen*; and whilst he lived did respect and reverence him as his Spiritual Father.

The Queen waxing strong went by water to *Alloway*, a House pertaining to the Earl of *Marre*, and kept private a few days. In that place brake out first her displeasure against the King her Husband; for he following her thither, was not suffered to stay, but commanded to be gone; and when at any time after he came to Court, his company was so loathsome unto her, as all men perceived she had no pleasure nor content in it: such a deep indignation had possessed her mind, because of the disgrace offered to her in the slaughter of her Servant *Davie*, the envy whereof was all laid upon the King, as she could never digest it.

Secretary *Lethington* (who by his subtle flatteries was crept again into favour) did wickedly foster this passion, by putting in her head a possibility to divorce from the King, which he said was an easie work, and a thing that might be done, only by abstracting the Popes Dispensation of their Marriage, and the Earl *Bothwell* (a man sold to all wickedness) did likewise by himself and by his instruments (of whom Sir *James Balfour* was the chief) take all occasions to incense her, and by exaggerating the Kings ingratitude towards her, wrought her mind to an hatred implacable.

In the beginning of October the Queen went to *Jedburgh*, to keep some Justice Courts, where she fell dangerously sick: the King coming there to visit her had no countenance given him, and was forced to depart. At her return from the Borders, being in *Craigmillar*, *Lethington* renewing the purpose of Divorce in the hearing of the Earls of *Argile* and *Huntley*, did persuade her to take some course for her separation

tion from the King, seeing they could not live together in Scotland with security. An. 1566. The Queen asking him how that could be done without some blemish to her honour: he replied, that none would think ill of her part therein, she being so ungratefully used by him; but that all might know the murder of *Davie* to have been his fact, her Majesty should do well to pardon the Lords that were fled to England, and call them home. Nay, said the Queen, I will rather have matters to continue as they are, till God remedy them. Yet within few days *Morton* and *Lindesay* were recalled at the intreaty of the Earls of *Argile* and *Huntley*, as was touched before.

Preparation was then making for the Baptism of the Prince, who about the end of August had been transported to *Striveling*. To honour this Solemnity the Countess de Briance was sent Ambassadour from the French King, Monsieur de Croke from the Duke of Savoy, and the Earl of Bedford from the Queen of England, who brought with him a Font of gold weighing two stone weight, with a Basin and Ewer for the Baptism. At the day appointed for the Solemnity (which was the fifteenth of December) they all convened in the Castle of *Striveling*. The Prince was carried by the French Ambassadour, walking betwixt two ranks of Barons and Gentlemen that stood in the way from the Chamber to the Chappel, holding every one a proket of wax in their hands. The Earl of *Athol* went next to the French Ambassadour, bearing the great sierge of wax. The Earl of *Eglington* carried the Salt, the Lord *Semple* the Cude, and the Lord *Ross* the Basin and Ewer: all these were of the Roman profession. In the entry of the Chappel the Prince was received by the Archbishop of *S. Andrews*, whose Collaterals were the Bishops of *Dunkeld*, *Dumblane*, and *Ross*: there followed them the Prior of *Whithern*, sundry Deans and Archdeacons, with the Gentlemen of the Chappel, in their several Habits and Copes. The Countess of *Argile* by Commission from the Queen of England did hold up the Prince at the Font, where the Archbishop did administer the Baptism with all Ceremonies accustomed in the Roman Church, the Spittle excepted, which the Queen did inhibit. The Earl of *Bedford* entered not in the Chappel during the service: and without the doors stood all the Noblemen professors of the Reformed Religion. The Rites performed, the Prince was proclaimed by his name and Titles, CHARLES JAMES, Prince and Stewart of Scotland, Duke of Rothesay, Earl of Carrick, Lord of the Isles, and Baron of Renfrew. Then did the Musick begin, which having continued a good space, the Prince was again conveyed to his chamber.

It was night before the Solemnity took end, for it was done in the afternoon, the Feasting and triumphal Sports that followed were kept some daies with exceeding cost and magnificence; yet the content the people received thereby was nothing so great as their offence for the Kings neglect, for neither was he admitted to be present at the Baptism, nor suffered to come unto the Feast. To some his ill disposition was given for an excuse; others more scornfully were told that his fashioners had not used the diligence they ought in preparing his apparel. Meanwhile the Ambassadors had a watchword given them, not to see nor salute him. And such of the Nobility as were known to bear him any favour, or out of their compassion did vouchsafe him a visit, were frowned upon by the Court. His Father advertised of these things, sent for him to come unto *Glasgow*, where he then remained; but scarce was he past a mile from *Striveling*, when a vehement pain seized on all the parts of his body, which at his coming to *Glasgow* was manifestly perceived to proceed of poison that treacherously had been ministred unto him: for through all his body brake out blisters of a blewish colour, with such a dolour and vexation in all his parts, as nothing but death was a long time expected. Yet his youth and natural strength vanquishing the force of the poison, he began a little to convalesce, and put his enemies to other shifts, wherein shortly after (but to their own undoing) they prevailed.

The report of what passed at *Striveling* coming to *Edinburgh*, where the Assembly of the Church was then gathered, did greatly offend the better sort; yet nothing grieved them so much, as a Commission granted to the Archbishop of *S. Andrews*, whereby he was reponed to his ancient jurisdiction in confirming Testaments, giving

An. 1566.

The Churches
complaint for
the same.Master Knox
goeth into
England.A Letter from
the Assembly
of the Church
to the Bishops
of England.

ving collation to Benefices, and other such things as were judged in the Spiritual Courts. The Assembly taking this greatly to heart, ordained a Supplication to be made to the Nobility and Lords of secret Council, *professing Christ with them, and who had renounced the Roman Antichrist* (I use the words of the Superscription) for impeding the said Commission, and letting it to take effect. In this Supplication they said, 'That the causes judged in these Courts did for the most part pertain to the true Church; and that howsoever, in hope of some good effect to have followed, the Church had overseen the Commission granted by the Queen in these matters to men who for the greater number were of their own Profession, they would never be content that he, whom they knew to be an enemy to Christ and his Truth, should exerce that jurisdiction, seeing under the colour thereof he might usurp again his own authority, and take upon him the judgment of Heresie, in which case none could be ignorant what his sentence could be: wherefore their desire was, the Queen should be informed that this was a violation of the Laws of the Realm, and the setting up again of the *Roman Antichrist*, whose Authority and usurped power in an open and free Parliament had been condemned, which her Majesty also at her first arriving in this Realm, and since that time by divers Proclamations, had expressly forbidden to be acknowledged. Hereof, they said, if their honours should plainly and boldly admonish the Queen, using that reverence which was due from Subjects, and doing nothing in a tumult, they did persuade themselves she would do nothing against Justice, and that such Tyrants should not dare once to appear in judgment. But howsoever matters went they humbly craved to understand their minds, and what they would do, if it should happen such wolves to invade the flock of Christ. This the sum of the Supplication. I find not what answer it received, nor that the Bishop made any use of his Commission; but the change it seems which shortly after happened in the State did quite frustrate the same.

Master Knox being licensed at this time to visit his Sons who were following their studies at *Cambridge*, did move the Assembly to write unto the Bishops of *England* in favour of some Preachers, who were troubled for not conforming themselves to the Orders of that Church. Because it will appear by the Letters in what esteem our Reformers did hold the Church of *England*, and how far they were from accounting the Government thereof Antichristian, I thought meet to insert the same word by word.

The Superintendents, Ministers and Commissioners of the Church within the Realm of Scotland, to their Brethren the Bishops and Pastors of England, who have renounced the Roman Antichrist, and do profess with them the Lord Jesus in sincerity, wish the increase of the holy Spirit.

BY word and writing it is come to our knowledge, Reverend Pastors, that divers of our brethren (amongst whom some be of the best learned within that Realm) are deprived from all Ecclesiastical function, and forbidden to preach, and so by you are stayed to promote the Kingdom of *Jesus Christ*, because their Conscience will not suffer them to take upon them at the commandment of the Authority such Garments as Idolaters in time of blindness have used in their idolatrous service; which rumor cannot but be most dolorous to our hearts, considering the sentence of the Apostle, *If ye bite and devour one another, take heed ye be not consumed one of another*. We purpose not at the present to enter into the Question, which we hear is agitated with greater vehemency by either party than well liketh us, to wit, whether such apparel is to be accounted amongst things indifferent or not: But in the bowels of *Jesus Christ* we crave, that Christian charity may so far prevail with you, that are the Pastors and guides of Christs Flock in that Realm, as ye do not to others that which ye would not others did unto you.

'Ye

An. 1566.

'Ye cannot be ignorant how tender a thing Conscience is, and all that have knowledge are not alike perswaded: your Conscience stirs not with the wearing of such things, but many thousands both godly and learned are otherwise perswaded, whose Consciences are continually stricken with these sentences; *What hath Christ to do with Belial? what fellowship is there betwixt light and darkness?* If Surplice, Corner-cap and Tippet have been the badges of Idolaters in the very act of their Idolatry, what have the Preachers of Christian liberty and the rebukers of Superstition to do with the dregs of that *Roman Beast*? yea, what is he that ought not to fear, either to take in his hand or forehead the print and mark of that odious Beast?

Our brethren that refuse such unprofitable apparel do neither damn nor molest you who use such vain trifles: if ye shall do the like to them, we doubt not therein you shall please God, and comfort the hearts of many, which are wounded with the extremity used against those godly brethren. Colour of Rhetorick or humane persuasion we use none, but charitably we desire you to call to mind the sentence of *S. Peter*, *Feed the Flock of God which is committed to your charge, caring for it, not by constraint, but willingly; not as being Lords of God heritage, but being examples to the Flock*. We farther desire you to meditate upon that sentence of the Apostle, *Give not offence, either to the Jews, or to the Grecians, or to the Church of God*. In what condition ye and we both travel for the promoting of Christs Kingdom, ye are not ignorant; therefore we are the more bold to exhort you to deal more wisely than to trouble the godly with such vanities. For all things which seem lawful edifie not. If the commandment of the Authority urge the Consciences of you and your brethren farther than they can bear, we pray you remember that ye are called *the Light of the world, and the Salt of the earth*. All Civil Authority hath not ever the light of God shining before their eyes in their Statutes and Commandments, but their affections favour too much sometimes of the earth, and of worldly wisdom. Therefore we think that ye ought boldly to oppose your selves, not only to all power that dare extol it self against God, but also against all such as dare burthen the Consciences of the faithful, farther than God hath burthened them in his own Word.

But we must confess our offence, in that we have entred in reasoning farther than we purposed and promised in the beginning: Now therefore we return to our former humble supplication, which is, that our brethren who amongst you refuse these *Romish* rags may find of you, who are Prelates, such favour, as our Head and Master commandeth every one of his members to shew to another: which we look to receive from your humanity, not only because ye will not offend Gods Majesty in troubling of your brethren for such vain trifles, but also because ye will not refuse the humble request of us your brethren and fellow-preachers; in whom albeit there appear no worldly Pomp, yet we suppose ye will not so far despise us, but that ye will esteem us in the number of those that fight against the *Roman Antichrist*, and travel that the Kingdom of *Jesus Christ* may be every where advanced. The days are evil, iniquity aboundeth, and charity (alas!) is waxed cold: therefore ought we to watch the more diligently, for the hour is uncertain when the Lord *Jesus* shall appear; before whom ye, your brethren and we must give an account of our administration. And thus in conclusion we once again crave favour to our brethren; which granted, ye shall command us in the Lord things of double more importance. The Lord *Jesus* rule your hearts in his true fear unto the end, and give unto you and us victory over that conjured enemy of all true Religion, the *Roman Antichrist*, whose wounded head Satan by all means laboureth to cure again; but to destruction shall he and all his maintainers go by the power of our Lord *Jesus*, to whose mighty protection we heartily commit you. From our General Assembly at *Edinburgh* the twenty seventh of December, 1566.

To quiet the Ministers, who were daily complaining of their lack of provision, the Court made offer to the same Assembly of certain Assignations for their present relief; which were accepted under protestation, that the same should not prejudge

Affignation of
Ministers
Spend.

An. 1566.

The Queen
visits the
King at Glas-
gow.He cometh to
Edinburgh,
and there is
murdered by
Bothwell.A rumour dis-
persed by
Bothwell, that
Murray and
Morton had
murdered the
King.The names of
the Murder-
ers cast forth
in the street.The Earl of
Lenox solici-
teth the Queen
to take trial
of the Murder.

judge their right to the Tithes, nor be accounted as a satisfaction for the same. For these they held to be the proper Patrimony of the Church, and so justly belonging thereto, as that they ought not to be paid to any others, under whatsoever colour or pretext. But this protestation availed not, only it sheweth what was the judgment of the Church in that time concerning Tithes.

The Queen in January following went to visit the King, who lay sick at Glasgow. After some complainings he made of her unkindness, and a little chiding they kept for discontents passed, they did so lovingly reconcile, as the King, though he was not as yet fully recovered, was content to be transported to Edinburgh, and had a lodging prepared in a remote place of the Town, for his greater quiet, as was pretended. But he had not stayed there a fortnight, when Bothwell, having conspired his murder, did come upon him in the night, as he lay asleep, and strangled him with one of his cubiculars that lay in the chamber by him. The Murder committed, the two Corpses were carried forth at a gate in the Town wall, and laid in an Orchard near by, and thereafter the house blown up with powder; the noise whereof did awake those that were sleeping in the farthest parts of the Town. The Queen not gone as yet unto her rest, convened the Noblemen that lodged within the Palace, and by their advice sent Bothwell with some others to enquire what the matter was (for he was returned to his chamber before the blowing up of the house, having left some to fire the train when he was past and gone away.) Many of all sorts did accompany him to the place, where finding the body of the King naked, only the upper part covered with his shirt, the rest of his apparel and even his pantofles near by him, each one making a several conjecture, Bothwell would have it believed, that the violence of the powder had carried his body forth at the roof of the house unto that place: but this was against all sense, for not a bone of his whole body was either broken or bruised, which must needs have been after such a violent fall. Nor could it be perceived that either the corps or garments were once touched with the powder. So it was manifest that his body and all were laid there by the hands of men. Bothwell returning, shewed the Queen what a strange thing had happened, admired how it could be, and who they were committed the Murder. She hearing it, retired to a private room, and went presently to bed.

Now he had provided some to carry the news unto the Borders, and to give out that the Earls of Murray and Morton were the chief contrivers of the Murder: which rumour went current in England for a while. Yet ere a long time passed all was laid open, and he known to have been the principal actor himself. Proclamations were made promising large sums of money to those that would detect the Murderers: whereunto the next night by a Placard affixed on the Market-Cross answer was made, *That if the money should be consigned in the hands of an indifferent person, the Murderers should be revealed, and the delator set to his name, and justify his accusation.* No notice being taken of this offer, voices were heard in the dark of the night, crying, that Bothwell had murdered the King: some drawing his pourtrait to the life, set above it this superscription, *Here is the Murderer of the King,* and threw the same into the streets. And there were some that in all the public places of the Town affixed the names of the Murderers, the principal as well as the accessaries. For the principal they named Bothwell; as accessaries, Sir James Balfour, and Gilbert Balfour his Brother, Mr. David Chalmours Black, Mr. John Spence, Seigneur Francis Sebastian, John de Burdeaux, and Joseph the Brother of Davie; which last four were of the Queens household. These things did so offend the Court, as neglecting the trial of the Murder, they fell to the drawers of these Pourtraicts and the authors of the Libels. All the Painters and Writers were called for dignoscing the letters and draughts: when nothing could be tried, to provide for afterwards against the like, by a new Edict it was made capital to disperse Libels for defaming any person in that sort, and to have, keep or read any such that should happen to be affixed, or cast into the streets.

The Earl of Lenox, whilest these things were a doing, ceased not to solicit the Queen by his Letters for taking trial of the Murder, without delaying the same unto the time of Parliament, as she had purposed. Particularly he desired the Earl

of

of Bothwell, and others named in the Libels and Placard affixed on the door of the Senate-house, to be apprehended, and the Nobility assembled for their examination. Bothwell, perceiving that he was now openly attached, did offer himself to trial, for which the 12th of April was assigned, and the Earl of Lenox cited by the Justice to pursue according to the delation he had made. In the mean time to justify himself, he got the Castle of Edinburgh in his custody, upon the Earl of Marve his resignation, placing therein Sir James Balfour, whom he especially trusted. The Earl of Marve for his satisfaction had the Prince delivered in his keeping, and carried unto Striveling, where the Earl then lay heavily sick.

The Diet appointed for the Trial being come, and the Court fenced as use is, Bothwell was empannelled. The Earl of Lenox being called, compeired Robert Cunningham, one of his domesticks, who presented in writing the Protestation following. *My Lords, I am come hither sent by my Master, my Lord of Lenox, to declare the cause of his absence this day, and with his power, as my Commission beareth. The cause of his absence is the shortness of time, and that he could not have his friends and servants to accompany him to his honour, and for the security of life, as was needful in respect of the greatness of his party. Therefore his Lordship hath commanded me to desire a competent day, such as he may keep, and the weight of the cause requireth; otherwise, if your Lordships will proceed at this present, I protest, that I may use the charge committed to me by my Lord my Master, without the offence of any man. This is, that if the persons who pass upon the Assize and enquest of these that are entered on pannel this day, shall cleanse the said persons of the Murder of the King, that it shall be wilful error, and not ignorance, by reason it is notoriously known that these persons did commit that odious Murder, as my Lord my Master alledgeth. And upon this my Protestation, I require an instrument.*

The Justice by the advice of the Noblemen and Barons appointed to assist in that judgment did, notwithstanding the said Protestation, grant process, whereupon the Noblemen chosen for the Jury were called. These were Andrew Earl of Rothes, George Earl of Cathnes, Gilbert Earl of Cassils, Lord John Hamilton Commandator of Aberbrothock, James Lord Ross, Robert Lord Semple, Robert Lord Boyd, John Lord Hereis, Laurence Lord Oliphant, John Master of Forbes, with the Lairds of Lochinvar, Langton, Cambusnetham, Barnbowgall, and Boyne. The Earl of Cassils excused himself, offering the penalty which by the Law they pay that refuse to pass upon Assize, but could not obtain himself freed, the Queen threatening to commit him in prison; and when he seemed nothing terrified therewith, commanding him under pain of Treason to enter and give his Judgment with the rest. Thus were they all sworn and admitted, as the manner is: After which Bothwell being charged with the Inditement, and the same denied by him, they removed forth of the Court to consult together; and after a little time returning, by the mouth of the Earl of Cathnes their Chancellor, declared him acquit of the Murder of the King, and of all the points contained in the Inditement, with a protestation, *That seeing neither her Majesties Advocate had insisted in the pursuit, nor did Robert Cunningham, Commissioner for the Earl of Lenox, bring any evidence of Bothwell's guiltiness, neither yet was the Inditement sworn by any person, and that they had pronounced according to their knowledge, it should not be imputed to them as wilful error which they had delivered.* Mr. David Borthwick and Mr. Edmund Hay, who in the entry of the Court were admitted as his Prolocutors, ask'd Instruments upon the Jury's declaration: so he went from that Court absolved, yet the suspicions of the people were nothing diminished. And some indeed were of opinion, that the Judges could give no other deliverance, nor find him guilty of the Inditement as they had formed it; seeing he was accused of a Murder committed on the 9 day of February, whereas the King was slain upon the 10 of that month. But he for a farther clearing of himself set up a paper in the most conspicuous place of the Market, bearing, *That albeit he had been acquitted in a lawful Justice-court of that odious crime laid unto his charge; yet to make his Innocency the more manifest, he was ready to give trial of the same in single combat with any man of honourable birth and quality that would accuse him of the Murder of the King.* The next day

An. 1567.
The Castle of
Edinburgh deli-
vered to
Bothwell, and
the Prince deli-
vered to the
Earl of Marve.Bothwell put
to a trial.
Robert Cuning-
ham protest-
eth against the
proceedings
in the name of
the Earl of
Lenox.The persons
chosen upon
the Jury.Bothwell ac-
quitted with
a protestation
of the Jury.Bothwell offer-
eth to try his
Innocency by
combat.

An. 1567.
The offer accepted upon security of the place.
A Parliament at Edinburgh.

Bothwell seeketh the consent of the Lords of the Queens Marriage.

He ravisheth the Queen in her return from Striveling.

His design in committing this Rape.

Bothwell his divorce from his wife.

The Queen cometh to the Castle of Edinburgh.

in the same place, by another writing, answer was made, that the Combat should be accepted, so as a place were designed wherein without danger the undertaker might profess his name.

The 13 of April a Parliament was kept for restoring the Earl of Huntley and others to their estates and honours, which was not as yet done with the solemnity requisite. In this Parliament the Commissioners of the Church made great instance for ratifying the Acts concluded in favour of the true Religion, yet nothing was obtained; the Queen answering, that the Parliament was called for that only business, and that they should have satisfaction given them at some other time. The Parliament being broke up, Bothwell inviting the Noblemen to supper did liberally feast them; and after many thanks for their kindness, fell in some speeches for the Queens marriage, shewing the hopes he had to compass it, so as he might obtain their consents. Some few to whom he had imparted the business before-hand made offer of their fartherance; the rest fearing to refuse, and suspecting one another, set all their hands to a Bond, which he had ready formed to that purpose.

A few days after, feigning an expedition into Liddisdale, he gathered some forces, and meeting the Queen on the way as he returned from Striveling, whither she had gone to visit her Son, he took her by way of rape and led her to the Castle of Dumbar. No men doubted but this was done by her own liking and consent; yet a number of Noblemen convening at Striveling, lest they should seem deficient in any sort of their duties, sent to ask whether or not she was there willingly detained: for if she was kept against her will, they would come with an Army and set her at liberty. She answered, *That it was against her will that she was brought thither, but that since her coming she had been used so courteously, as she would not remember anymore that injury.*

Now this Rape (as afterwards came to be known) was devised to secure the Murthers of the King. For it being held sufficient by a custome commonly received, that in remissions granted for crimes committed, the most hainous fact being particularly expressed, others of less moment might be comprehended in general words, they were advised to pass a remission for violence offered to the Queen, and the laying of hands upon her person, then to subjoin, [*And for all other crimes and nefarious acts whatsoever:*] under which clause they esteemed the Murther of the King might be comprised, which otherwise was neither safe for them to express, nor could the Queen with her honour pardon. Thus did they think both that Bothwell himself should be secured, and safety to all his partakers in the Murther.

Whilst the Queen was detained at Dumbar, a divorce was sued for Bothwell from Lady Jeane Gordon his Wife in two several Courts. In the one fate, by Commission from the Archbishop of S. Andrews, Robert Bishop of Dunkeld, William Bishop of Dunblane, Mr. Archibald Crawford Parson of Egilsham, Mr. John Manderston Canon of the Colledge Church of Dumbar, Mr. Alexander Chrichton and Mr. George Cook, Canons of the Church of Dunkeld; In the other Court Mr. Robert Maitland, Mr. Edward Henryson, Mr. Alexander Sim, and Mr. Clement Little Judges constituted by the Queens authority in all causes Consistorial: and in both Courts was the sentence of Divorce pronounced, but upon divers grounds. In the Archbishops Court sentence was pronounced upon the Consanguinity standing betwixt Bothwell and his Wife at the time of her Marriage, they mutually attinging others in the fourth degree, and no dispensation granted by the Pope for consummating the same. In the other Court the sentence was grounded upon Adultery committed by him, which these Judges held to be the only lawful cause of divorce. Both the processes were posted, and such festination made in them, as in the space of ten days they were begun and concluded.

The Divorce passed, the Queen came to the Castle of Edinburgh, and the next morning Bothwell sent to ask his Banes with the Queen. The Reader John Cairnes, whose office it was, did simply refuse; thereupon Mr. Thomas Hepburn was directed to the Minister Mr. John Craig, to desire him to publish the same. The Minister likewise refusing, as having no warrant from the Queen, and for that the rumour went that she was ravished and kept captive by Bothwell, upon wednesday thereaf-

ter

ter the Justice Clerk came unto him with a Letter signed by the Queen, wherein she declared that she was neither ravished nor detained captive, and therefore willed him to publish the Banes. His answer was, *that he could ask no Banes, especially such as these were, without the knowledge and consent of the Church.* The matter being motioned in the Session of the Church, after much reasoning kept with the Justice Clerk, it was concluded that the three next preaching days the Queens mind should be intimated to the people.

The Minister protested, *that in obeying their desire it should be lawful to him to declare his own mind touching the Marriage, and that he should not be tied by that asking of their Banes to solemnize the same.* The first preaching day falling to be Friday, in the hearing of divers Noblemen and Counsellors he shewed what he was enjoined to do; *That he held the Marriage betwixt the Queen and Bothwell unlawful, whereof he would give the reasons to the parties themselves, if he might have hearing: and if this was denied, he said, that he would either cease from proclaiming their Banes, or declare the cause of his disallowance in the hearing of all the people.*

The same day at afternoon being called before the Council, and required by Bothwell to shew what reason he had to oppose his Marriage, he answered, *First, that the Church had in the last Assembly inhibited the Marriage of persons divorced for Adultery.* Next he alledged the Divorce from his Wife to have proceeded upon collusion betwixt them, which appeared, as he said, by the precipitation of that sentence, and the Contract made so suddenly after his Divorce with the Queen. Thirdly, he laid to his charge the Rape of the Queen, and the suspicion of the Kings Murther, which that Marriage would confirm. For these reasons he most gravely admonished him to surcease and leave that course, as he would eschew the wrath and indignation of Almighty God. He desired also the Lords present to advertise the Queen of the intamy and dishonour that would fall upon her by that Match, and to use their best means to divert her from it.

The Sunday following publicly he declared what he had spoken in Council, and that it seemed to him they would proceed in the Marriage, what mischief soever should ensue. For himself, he said, *that he had already liberated his Conscience, and yet again would take Heaven and earth to record, that he abhorred and detested that Marriage as scandalous and hateful in the sight of the world. But seeing the great ones, as he perceived, did approve it, either by their flattery or by their silence, he would beseech the faithful to pray fervently unto God, that he might be pleased to turn that which they intended, against Law, Reason and good Conscience, to the comfort and benefit of the Church and Realm.* These speeches offended the Court extremely; therefore they summoned him to answer before the Council, for passing the bounds of his Commission. For the bounds, said he, *of my Commission, they are the Word of God, good Laws, and natural Reason; and by all three I will make good that this Marriage, if it proceed, will be hateful and scandalous to all that shall hear of it.* As he was proceeding in his discourse, Bothwell commanded him silence, and thus was he dimitted.

Not the less of this opposition the Marriage went on, and was celebrated the 15 of May by Adam Bishop of Orkney, in the Palace of Halirndhouse, after the manner of the Reformed Church. Few of the Nobility were present (for the greater part did retire themselves to their houses in the Country) and such as remained were noted to carry heavy countenances. Monsieur le Crock the Ambassador, being desired to the Feast, excused himself, thinking it did not sort with the dignity of his Legation to approve the Marriage by his presence which he heard was so universally hated. His Master the French King, as likewise the Queen of England, had seriously disswaded the Queen from the same by their Letters: but she, led by the violence of passion, and abused by the treacherous counsel of some about her, who sought only their own ends, would hearken to no advice given her to the contrary. Yet was it no sooner finished than the ill fruits thereof began to break out: for the wonted acclamations and good wishes of the people were no more heard when she came in publick; and divers that had set their hands and seals to the Marriage, fell now openly to condemn it, as that which ministered too just a suspicion that she was consenting to the death of the King her Husband.

The

An. 1567.
The Banes of Bothwell with the Queen asked.

Mr. John Craig protested.

Mr. Craig called before the Council with the reasons of his opposition.

His publication thereof to the people.

The Marriage of the Queen with Bothwell celebrated.

An. 1567.
The Noble-
mens bond for
preservation
of the young
Prince.

The Earl of *Athol* immediately after the Murther of the King had forsaken the Court, and lived at home, waiting some occasion to be revenged of the doers; and now esteeming it fit to shew himself, he came to *Striveling*, where, in a meeting of Noblemen that were desired to come thither, upon his motion a Bond was made for the preservation of the young Prince, lest *Bothwell* getting him in custody, should make him away; as no man doubted he would, as well to advance his own Succession, as to cut off the innocent child, who in all probability would one day revenge his Fathers death.

The principals of this Combination were the Earls of *Argile*, *Athol*, *Morton*, *Marre* and *Glencarne*, with the Lords *Lindesay* and *Boyd*. But *Argile* out of a facility (which was natural unto him) detected all their counsels to the Queen; and the Lord *Boyd* with great promises was won to the adverse party. *Bothwell* suspecting some Insurrection, advised the Queen, for saving her Reputation in foreign parts, to acquaint the French King and her kinsmen of the House of *Guise* with her Marriage, and the reasons thereof, desiring them, sith that which was done could not be again undone, to favour her Husband no less than they did her self. And to this effect the Bishop of *Dumblane* was sent into France, with Letters to all her friends.

The Bishop of
Dumblane sent
to France.

Noblemen so-
licitated to en-
ter into Bond
with the
Queen and
Bothwell.

The Earl of
Murray re-
fused, and is li-
censed to go
into France.

Neither did he omit to do at home what he thought might serve to fortifie himself; for divers Noblemen and Barons were invited to Court, and at their coming solicited to enter into Bond for the defence of the Queen and *Bothwell*, who should on the other part be obliged to protect them in all their affairs. Some of these being wrought to the purpose did set their hands willingly to the Bond: the rest, though they would gladly have shunned it, yet because they held it dangerous to refuse, subscribed in like sort. Only the Earl of *Murray*, of all that were called, denied to enter in any Bond with the Queen; it being neither lawful for him, as he said, nor honourable for her, whom in all things it was his duty to obey. Concerning *Bothwell* he said, that he was reconciled unto him by the Queens mediation, and would faithfully keep all that he had promised: but to enter in Bond with him or any other, he did not think it the part of a good subject. Shortly after this he obtained leave, howbeit not without some difficulty, to go into France; for he saw Troubles breeding, in which he loved not to have an hand.

The Queen
maketh choice
of a Council.

How soon he was gone choice was made of a new Council, and the Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, with the Lords *Oliphant* and *Boyd*, received into the number: for their better and more easie attendance, they had their times of waiting particularly assigned.

The order of
their atten-
dance.

The Earls of *Crawford*, *Arroll* and *Cassils*, with the Bishop of *Ross* and the Lord *Oliphant*, were appointed to begin, and attend from the 1 of June to the 16 of July. The Earls of *Morton* and *Roths*, with the Bishop of *Galloway* and the Lord *Fleming*, were to succeed, and remain from the 16 of July to the penult of August. After them the Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, the Earls of *Argile* and *Cathnes*, with the Lord *Hereis*, to the 15 of October. And from that day to the 1 of December, the Earl of *Huntley* (who was then created Chancellor) the Earls of *Atholl*, *Marshall* and Lord *Boyd* were appointed to wait. At which time *Crawford* and *Arroll* were again to begin, and the rest to follow in their order for the same space. So as during the whole year the Counsellors should be tied to the attendance of 3 months only. It was always provided, that so many of the forenamed persons as happened to beat Court should, during their abode, notwithstanding of their several assignments, be present with the others; and that it should be lawful for the Queen to adjoyn at any time such as she thought worthy of that honour. The same day a Proclamation was given out, *Declaring all Writings purchased from the Queen for permitting Papists to use the exercise of their Religion to make no faith, her Majesty being no way minded to violate the Act made at her first arrival, and often since that time renewed in favours of the true Religion.* But this did not repress the murmurs of the people, for which it was specially intended.

A Proclama-
tion to ac-
company the
Queen to the
borders.

Wherefore some few days after the Queen by *Bothwell's* perswasion taking purpose to visit the Borders, and having charged the Subjects to accompany her thither with

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with a provision for 15 days according to the custome, it was publicly rumored that these forces were gathered for some other business, and that the intention was, to have the Prince her Son in her own custody, and taken out of the Earl of *Marre* his hands. So as a new Declaration came forth, 'To certify the people of her good affection, and that she never meant to make any Novations in the Kingdom by altering the Laws thereof, nor do any thing in the publick affairs, but by the advice of the Noblemen of her Council. And for her Son, as she had trusted him to such a Governor as other Princes in former times were accustomed to have, so her Motherly care for his safety and good education should be made apparent to all. But no regard was had to these Declarations, and the Noblemen who had combined themselves at *Striveling* taking Arms, and being assisted by the Lord *Home*, environed on the suddain the Castle of *Borthwick*, wherein the Queen and *Bothwell* were then remaining: yet their Companies not sufficing to inclose the House (for *Athol* did not keep the Diet) *Bothwell* first escaped, and after him the Queen disguised in mans apparel fled to *Dumbar*.

The Castle of
Borthwick en-
vironed.

The Queen
and *Bothwell*
escape.

The Lords re-
tire to *Edin-
burgh*.

The Lords upon their escape retired to *Edinburgh*, where they expected the rest of their forces would meet. There lay in the town at that time by the Queens direction, the Earl of *Huntley*, the Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, the Bishop of *Ross*, the Abbot of *Kilwinning*, and the Lord *Boyd*. How soon they heard of the Lords coming, they went to the Street, offering themselves to conduct the people, and to assist them in the defence of the Town; but they found few or none willing to joyn with them, and the peoples affections wholly inclining to the Lords. The Magistrates gave order to shut the gates, but no farther resistance was made; so as the Lords entering by the gate called *S. Mary Port*, which was easily broke up, they made themselves Masters of the Town. *Huntley* and the rest taking their refuge to the Castle, were received by the Keeper (Sir *James Balfour*, a man much trusted by *Bothwell*) though at the same time he was treating with the Lords for delivering the Castle into their hands.

The next day, being the 12 of June, the Lords gave out a Proclamation, wherein they declared, 'That the Earl of *Bothwell* having put violent hands in the Queens person, warded her Highness in the Castle of *Dumbar*, and retaining her in his power, had seduced her, being destitute of all counsel, to an dishonest and unlawful Marriage with himself, who was known to have been the principal author, deviser and actor in the cruel Murther committed upon the late Kings person; and that he was daily gathering forces, and strengthening himself by all means, of purpose, as appeared, to get in his hands the young Prince, that he might murder him in the like sort as he had done his Father, which the Nobility of the Realm had resolved to withstand, and to deliver the Queen out of his bondage. Therefore did they charge all and sundry the Lieges within the Kingdom to be in readiness upon three hours warning, to assist the said Noblemen for delivering the Queen from captivity, and bringing the said Earl and his Complices to underly the tryal and punishment of Law for the foresaid Murther. Commanding all such as will not joyn with the said Noblemen, to depart forth of the Town of *Edinburgh* within four hours after the publication made, under the pain to be reputed as enemies, &c.

A Proclama-
tion given out
by the Lords.

But the Queen having escaped, as we shewed, there resorted to her from all quarters numbers of people, so as within few hours she had an Army about her of 4000 men and above, a force sufficient to oppose the enterprisers. The Lords, on the other side, were cast into many difficulties; for the heat of the common sort of people being quickly cooled, as ordinarily it happeneth, and the greater part of the Nobility being either enemies, or behaving themselves as Neuters, few of them came to offer their assistance: yea had they been never so many, lacking munition and other necessary provisions for the besieging of Forts, they saw no way to attain to their purpose: whereupon they began to think upon dissolving their forces and quitting the enterprise, at least for that time. But the resolution which the Queen took altered their counsels, and gave them the opportunity they wished for. She partly confiding in her power and numbers, and partly animated by a sort of flatterers,

The Queen
gathereth
forces.

Difficulties
amongst the
Lords.

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The Queen
giveth them
the opportu-
nity they wil-
led for.The Procla-
mation of
Glaidsmore.

who made her believe that the Lords would flee upon the first bruit of her coming, resolved to march with her Army to *Leith*: whereas nothing had been so much to her advantage as a little protracting of time; for had she remained three days longer at *Dumbar*, the Lords without all peradventure had retired every one to his home. But where mutations are destined, the worst counsels seem ever the best, and are most readily embraced.

Being advanced so far as *Glaidsmore* (where she caused muster her forces) a Proclamation was made, bearing, *That a number of Conspirators having discovered their latent malice born to her and the Duke of Orkney her Husband, after they had failed in apprehending their persons at Borthwick, had made a seditious Proclamation, to make people believe that they did seek the revenge of the Murder of the King her late Husband, and the relieving of her self out of bondage and captivity, pretending that the Duke her Husband was minded to invade the Prince her Son; all which were false, and forged inventions, none having better cause to revenge the Kings death than her self, if she could know the authors thereof. And for the Duke her present Husband, he had used all means to clear his Innocency, the ordinary Justice had absolved him, and the Estates of Parliament approved their proceedings, which they themselves that made the present Insurrection had likewise allowed. As also he had offered to maintain that quarrel against any Gentleman on earth undesfamed, than which nothing more could be required. And as to her alledged captivity, the contrary was known to the whole subjects, her marriage with him being publicly contracted, and solemnized with their own consents as their hand-writs could testify. Albeit to give their Treason a fair shew, they made now a buckler of the Prince her Son, being an Infant, and in their hands; whereas their intention only was to overthrow her and her posterity, that they might rule all things at their pleasure and without controlment. Seeing therefore no wilfulness nor particularity, but very necessity had forced her to take Arms for defence of her life, as her hope was to have the assistance of all her faithful subjects against those unnatural Rebels, so she doubted not but such as were already assembled, would with good hearts stand to her defence, considering especially the goodness of her cause, promising them in recompence of their valorous service the lands and possessions of the Rebels, which should be distributed according to the merit of every man.*

This proclaimed, the Army did set forward, the Queen lodging that night in *Seaton*: a little before midnight word was brought to *Edinburgh* of the Queens approach, who without long suspence made to their Armour. And at Sun-rising, putting themselves in order, they marched directly to *Mussilburgh*, a Village two miles distant from *Preston*: there they refreshed themselves with food, and a little rest: for the Queens Camp was not as yet stirring. About the midst of the day the horsemen who were sent to observe when the Queens Army did advance, brought word that they were marching. The Lords thereupon made haste, and drawing their Companies forth of the Village, ranged them in two battels. The first was conducted by the Earl of *Morton* and the Lord *Home*; the second by the Earls of *Athol*, *Marre* and *Glencarn*, the Lords *Lindsay*, *Ruthven*, *Semple* and *Sanghuar*, with the Laird of *Drumlanrig*, *Tulibardin*, *Selfourd*, *Grange*; and divers others of good sort were assisting, in number not much inferior to the Queens Army, and in this superior, that the most part of them were Gentlemen practised and of good experience in War. The Queen stood with her Army on the top of the hill called *Carberry-hill*, which the Lords, because of the ascent wherewith it riseth, could not come at in a direct course, but to their disadvantage; wherefore they inclined a little to the right hand, both to find a more plain way, and to get the Sun in their backs, when they should come unto the fight. This deceived the Queen, who supposed they were flying towards *Dalkeith*, a little Village pertaining to the Earl of *Morton*; but when they were past the straight of the hill, and that she saw them making directly to the place where she with her Army stood, she perceived her error.

The French Ambassador, seeing them ready to joyn, interposed himself, and coming to the Lords, desired that matters might be composed without bloodshed, for the good of both parties; saying, that he found the Queen peaceably inclined, and

and disposed both to forgive the Insurrection they had now made, and to forget all by-past offences. The Earl of *Morton* replied, *That they had taken Arms, not against the Queen, but against the Murderer of the King, whom if she would deliver to be punished, or then put him from her company, she should find nothing more desired of them and all other subjects, than to continue in their dutiful obedience towards her; otherwise no Peace could be made: Neither are we come, said he, to ask pardon for any offence that we have done, but rather to give pardon to those that have offended.* The Ambassador perceiving this to be their resolution, and judging it reasonable which they required, but not like to be obtained, took his leave and departed to *Edinburgh*.

During the Treaty of the French Ambassador, the Queens Army keeping within the Trenches that the English of old had made, *Bothwell* advanced himself upon a strong and lusty horse, appealing any one of the adverse party to single combat. *James Murray*, brother to *Tulibardin* (he that before had offered himself to fight, but suppressed his name, as we shewed) made answer that he would accept the Challenge. *Bothwell* refusing to hazard with him, as not being his equal in honor and estate, *William Murray* his eldest brother made offer to take his place, saying, that in wealth he was not inferior to *Bothwell*, and for antipuity of his House, and honesty of reputation he esteemed himself more than his equal; yet he likewise was refused, as being a Knight only, and of a lower degree. Divers Noblemen did thereupon offer themselves; the Lord *Lindesay* especially shewed a great forwardness, desiring he might be permitted to try himself with *Bothwell*, which he would take as a singular honor, and esteem it as a recompence of all his service done to the State. Here whenas *Bothwell* could not honestly shift the combat, the Queen interposing her Authority did prohibit him to fight. Thereafter taking a view of the Army on Horseback, and encouraging them to battel, she found *Bothwell*'s friends and followers very desirous to fight; but in the rest there appeared no such willingness: some saying that the Battel would prove dangerous to the Queen, because howsoever Gentlemen were ready to hazard themselves, the Commons, who were the greatest number seemed not to be so disposed, nor well affected to the cause: others more plainly declaring their minds, said that it were much better that *Bothwell* should defend his own quarrel by combat, than to expose the Queen and so many Gentlemen to peril. And there were some that counselled to delay the Battel to the next day, for that the *Hamiltons* were said to be coming, who would greatly increase her forces.

All these things the Queen heard impatiently, and bursting forth in many tears, said, they were but Cowards and Traitors. After which, perceiving divers of the Army to steal away, she advised *Bothwell* to look to his own safety, for she could render her self to the Noblemen. Then sending for *William Kircaldy of Grange*, she talked with him a good space, and when she thought *Bothwell* was past all danger, went with him to the Lords, unto whom she spake on this manner, *My Lords, I am come unto you not out of any fear I had of my life, or yet doubting of the Victory if matters had gone to the worst; but I abhor the shedding of Christian blood, especially of those that are my own subjects; and will therefore yield unto you, and be ruled hereafter by your counsels, trusting you will respect me as your born Princess and Queen.* They receiving her with the wonted reverence, answered dutifully at first; but when she could not be permitted to go unto the *Hamiltons* (whom she had a desire to see) although she gave her promise to return, and so found her liberty restrained, she waxed angry, and fell a complaining of their ingratitude. They replied nothing, but taking their way towards *Edinburgh*, led her along with them, and kept her that night in *Craigmillar* his lodging, who was then Provost of the Town. It was night before they came thither, albeit the day was then at the full length, because of the stays she made by the way, either looking for some relief by the *Hamiltons*, as many supposed, or not liking to be gazed on by the multitude, and seen in the estate of a prisoner. The next day towards the evening she was by the direction of the Noblemen sent to be kept in the house of *Lochlevin*, and

T 2

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Bothwell offer-
eth to try the
cause in Com-
bat.It is accepted,
and the Queen
inhibireth the
fight.The Queens
Army unwill-
ing to fight.Bothwell fly-
eth, and the
Queen ren-
dereth her
self to the
Lords.The Queen
sent prisoner
to Lochlevin.The Lords
cast them-
selves in the
Queens way.The order of
the Lords Ar-
my.The meeting
at Carberry-hill.The French
Ambassador
interposeth to
compose mat-
ters.

An. 1567.

Sir James Balfour betrayed his trust to Bothwell.

The Earl of Glencarn demolished the Altar.

The Lords write to the Noblemen of the Queens party.

The Noblemen made a motion to the Assembly, and the Assemblys Commission to the Lords.

Instructions given to those that were sent from the Assembly.

conveighed thither by the Lords *Ruthven* and *Lindesay*, because *Balfour* had not as yet transacted with the Lords upon the delivery of the Castle of *Edinburgh*, though even then he betrayed the trust which *Bothwell* had in him. For how soon it was known that the Queen was made prisoner, *Bothwell* having sent one of his servants to the Castle to bring a little silver Cabinet which the Queen had given him, and wherein he reserved all the Letters she had written unto him at any time, *Balfour* delivered the Cabinet to *Bothwell's* servant, but withal advertised the Lords what he carried, and made him to be apprehended. These Letters were afterwards divulged in Print, and adjected to a Libel intituled, *The Detestations of the doings of Queen Mary*, penned with great bitterness by Mr. *George Buchanan*.

Some two days after the Queen was committed, the Earl of *Glencarn*, taking with him his domesticks only, went to the Chappel of *Halirudhouse*, and demolished the Altar, breaking the Pictures and defacing all the Ornaments within the same. The Preachers did commend it as a work of great piety and zeal; but the other Noblemen were not a little displeased, for that he had done it without direction, and before they had resolved how to deal with the Queen: neither did matters frame with them according to their expectation, divers of the Nobility, of whose assistance they held themselves assured, lying back, and giving no concurrence; and those that favored the Queen (of which number were the Earls of *Argile*, *Huntley*, and many others who were at the same time at *Hamilton*) professing open enmity, and condemning the action as a crime of the highest Treason that could be committed. The common people also, who a little before seemed most incensed, pitying the Queens estate, did heavily lament the calamity wherein she was fallen. In this uncertainty of things they resolved to write unto the Lords convened at *Hamilton*, and intreat their concurrence for re-ordering of the Estate, and establishing of matters by a common consent. But neither would they admit the messenger, nor receive their Letters, so highly did they offend with their proceedings, and so confident they were to repair things by their own power.

The Noblemen hereupon made a motion to the Assembly of the Church, which was then convened at *Edinburgh*, to deal with those of the other Faction, and persuade them to a general Meeting for matters of the Church, wherein they hoped some good might be done, and all occasions of civil discord removed. The Assembly liking well the motion, condescended to prorogue their Meeting unto the 20 of July next, and in the mean season to direct Letters to the Earls of *Argile*, *Huntly*, *Cathnes*, *Roths*, *Crawford*, and *Menteith*: the Lords *Boyd*, *Drummond*, *Hercks*, *Cathcart*, *Tesler*, *Fleming*, *Levingston*, *Seaton*, *Glamis*, *Ochiltrie*, *Gray*, *Oliphant*, *Methuen*, *Innermaith* and *Sommervale*, and to the Commendators of *Aberbrothock*, *Kilwinning*, *Dunfermlin*, *St. Columb*, *Newbottle*, and *Halirudhouse*, who did either assist the adverse party, or then behaved themselves as Neuters. To procure the greater respect to these Letters, *John Knox*, Mr. *John Douglas*, Mr. *John Row*, and Mr. *John Craig*, were chosen Commissioners, and had instructions given them to this purpose. That Satan by his instruments had of long time and by many subtle ways laboured to hinder the progress of true Religion within this Realm, and that now the same was in hazard to be utterly subverted, chiefly through the poverty of the Ministers that ought to preach the word of life unto the people: some being compelled to leave their Vocation, and betake them to civil Callings; others so distracted through worldly cares, as they could not wait upon the Preaching of the Word so diligently as they wished. In consideration whereof the Assembly of the Church being convened at *Edinburgh* had thought it necessary to prorogue their Meeting to the 20 of July, and to intreat and admonish all persons truly professing the Lord Jesus within the Realm, as well Noblemen as Barons, and those of the other Estates, to meet and give their personal appearance at *Edinburgh* the said day, for giving their advice, counsel and concurrence in matters then to be proposed; especially

cially for purging the Realm of Popery, the establishing of the Policy of the Church, and restoring the Patrimony thereof to the just possessors. Assuring those that should absent themselves at the time, due and lawful advertisement being made, that they should be reputed hinderers of the good work intended, and as dissimulate professors be esteemed unworthy of the fellowship of Christs Flock: considering chiefly that God in his mercy had offered a better occasion for effecting these things than in times past, and that he had begun to tread down Satan under foot. This they were willing to speak, and by all fair persuasions, to move them to keep the day and place appointed.

The missive Letters were for the most part to the same effect; but in these, besides the provision of the Ministers, I find the poor and indigent members of Christ also mentioned, and somewhat said concerning an union to be made amongst the Professors, and such a conjunction as might make them able to withstand the craft and violence of their enemies. But neither did the Letters nor the credit given to the Commissioners prevail with those to whom they went, all almost excusing themselves (some by word, others by letter) and saying, That in regard of the present division caused by the Queens imprisonment, and that the Town of *Edinburgh*, where they were required to meet, was straitly kept by a part of the Nobility and some hired souldiers, they could not come to the place appointed without trouble and danger of their lives. Not the less they did assure the Church of their willingness to every thing that might serve to advance the Gospel, and further the provision of the Ministers, for the better and more diligent attendance on their Callings. The Earl of *Argile* did answer more particularly, and touching the Policy desired, that no Novations nor alterations should be made before a general Meeting of the Estates. In like sort the Lord *Boyd* did by his answer promise to hold hand to the forth-setting of the Policy, but with an exception, so far as it might stand with Law. Yet had both the one and other ratified the Book of Policy by their Subscriptions long before, and made no scruple either of Law or Custom at that time. The Noblemen that remained at *Edinburgh*, perceiving they could not be drawn to a meeting, resolved to prosecute their purpose at all hazards, and joyning with the Assembly, condescended to all the Articles proposed for the good of the Church, and made great promises of performance; howbeit, having once attained their ends, they did forget all, and turned adversaries to the Church in the same things whereunto they had consented. Always the Articles agreed unto were as followeth.

1. That the Acts made in the Parliament holden at *Edinburgh* the twenty fourth of August, 1560. touching Religion and the abolishing of the Popes Authority, should be extracted forth of the Registers, and have the force of a publick Law; and that the said Parliament, in so far as concerning Religion should be maintained and defended by them, as a Parliament lawful, and holden by sufficient commission from the Queen then being in France, and be ratified in the first Parliament which should happen to be kept within the Realm.

2. That until the perfect order might be taken for restoring the Patrimony of the Church, the Act of Assignment of the thirds of Benefices for the sustentation of the Ministry should be put in due execution.

3. That an Act of Council made with consent of her Majesty touching the conferring of small Benefices within the value of 300 Marks to Ministers, should be put in practice; as likewise the Act for Annuals, Obits, and Aulterages, especially within Burghs.

4. That in first lawful Parliament which should be kept, or sooner if occasion might serve, the Church of Christ within this Kingdom should be fully restored unto the Patrimony belonging to the same, and nothing be past in Parliament before that and other matters of the Church were first considered and approved. In the mean while the Noblemen, Barons and other Professors then present did

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The Earl of Argile his answer. The Lord Boyd his answer.

Articles agreed in the Assembly of the Church.

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willingly offer and consent to reform themselves in the matter of the Church-Patrimony according to the Book of God, and to put the same in practice for their own parts, ordaining the refusers and contraveners of the same to be excluded from all benefits of the Church. It was farther agreed, That in the next Parliament, or otherwise at the first occasion, order should be taken for the ease of the labourers of the ground in the payment of their Tithes, and that the same should not be disposed to any others without their advice and consent.

5. That none should be permitted to bear charge in Schools, Colleges and Universities, nor allowed publicly or privately to instruct the youth, except such as should first be tried by the Superintendents and Visitours of the Church, who being found meet should be admitted by them to their Charges.

6. That all crimes and offences committed against the Law of God should be severely punished according to the Word of God, and Judges deputed for execution thereof; or if there be no Laws as yet made nor Judges appointed for the punishment of such crimes, that the same should be done in the first Parliament.

7. That seeing the horrible Murther of the King her Majesties Husband is a crime most odious before God, and tending to the perpetual shame and infamy of the whole Realm, if the same should not be exemplary punished; the Noblemen, Barons and other Professors should employ their whole forces, strength and power for the just punishment of all and whatsoever persons that should be tried and found guilty of the same.

8. Sith it hath pleased God to give a native Prince unto the Country, who in all appearance shall become their King and Sovereign, lest he should be murdered and wickedly taken away as his Father was; the Nobility, Barons and others under subscribing should assist, maintain and defend the Prince against all that should attempt to do him injury.

9. That all Kings and Princes that in any time hereafter shall happen to reign and have the rule of the Realm, should in their first entry, and before they be either crowned or inaugurated, give their oath and faithfully promise unto the true Church of God, for maintaining and defending by all means the true Religion of Christ presently professed within the Kingdom.

10. That the Prince should be committed to the education of some wise, godly and grave man, to be trained up in vertue and the fear of God; that when he cometh to years, he may discharge himself sufficiently of that place and honor whereunto he is called.

11. That the Nobility, Barons and others underscribing, should faithfully promise to convene themselves in arms for the rooting-out of Idolatry, especially the blasphemous Mass, without exception of place or person. And likewise should remove all Idolaters, and others not admitted to the Preaching of the Word, from the bearing of any function in the Church, which may be a hindrance to the Ministry in any sort; and in their places appoint Superintendents, Ministers, and other needful members of the Church. And farther, should faithfully bind themselves to reform all Schools, Colleges and Universities throughout the Realm, by removing all such as be of contrary profession, and bear any charge therein, and planting faithful Teachers in their rooms; lest the youth should be corrupted with poisonable Doctrine in their lesser years, which afterwards would not easily be removed.

These were the Articles agreed unto by a common consent, and subscribed in the presence of the Assembly, by the Earls of Morton, Glencarne, and Marre, the Lords Home, Ruthven, Sanquhar, Lindeſay, Grahame, Innermaith, and Ochiltree, and many Barons, besides the Commissioners of Burgesſes.

Upon the dissolving of this Assembly, the Lords Ruthven and Lindeſay were directed to Lochleven to deal with the Queen for Resignation of the Government in favors of the Prince her Son, and the appointing of some to be Regent, who should have

The Articles subscribed.

The Queen moved to make resignation of the Crown.

have the administration of affairs during his Minority. At first she took the proposition grievously, answering in passion, that she could sooner renounce her Life than her Crown: yet after some rude speeches used by the Lord Lindeſay, she was induced to put her hand to the Renunciation they presented, by the persuation chiefly of Robert Melvil, who was sent from the Earl of Athol and Lethington, to advise her as she loved her life not to refuse any thing they did require. He likewise brought a Letter from Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, the Ambassador of England, (who was come a few daies before to visit her, but was denied access) to the same effect, declaring that no Resignation made in the time of her captivity would be of force, and in Law was null, because done out of a just fear; which having considered with her self a while, without reading any one of the writs presented, she set her hand to the same, the tears running down in abundance from her eyes. One of the Writs contained a Renunciation of the Crown and Royal dignity, with a Commission to invest the Prince into the Kingdom by the Solemnities accustomed. And to that purpose a Procurator was given to the Lords Ruthven and Lindeſay for dimitting and resigning in presence of the three Estates the Rule and Government; and to the Earls of Morton, Athol, Marre, Glencarne and Mentieth, and to the Lords Grahame and Home, with the Bishop of Orkney, and the Provost of Dundee and Montrose, for inaugurating the Prince her Son. The other Writ did appoint the Earl of Murray Regent during the Prince his Minority, if at his return he should accept of the Charge. And in case of his refuse, the Duke of Châtellerauld, the Earls of Lennox, Argyle, Athol, Morton, Glencarne and Marre, who should jointly govern and administrate the publick affairs.

Both the Renunciation and Commission for Government of the Realm were the next day published at the Market-Cross of Edinburgh; and the third day after the publication (which was the 29 of July) was the Prince crowned and anointed King in the Church of Striveling by the Bishop of Orkney, assisted by two of the Superintendents. The Sermon was made by John Knox: the Earl of Morton and the Lord Home took the Oath for the King, that he should maintain the Religion received, and minister justice equally to all the subjects. The English Ambassador, though he was in town, refused his presence to that Solemnity, lest he should seem to approve the abdication of the Queens Government. Now how soon the news came to France (and they came in great haste) the Earl of Murray prepared to return; whereof the Archbishop of Glasgow getting intelligence (who lay there Ambassador for the Queen) he laboured earnestly to have him detained, informing that he was the head of the Faction raised against the Queen, and that he was called home to be their Leader. But he had taken his leave some hours before of the Court, and used such diligence, as they who were sent to stay him found that he was loosed from Deip before their coming.

Returning by England, he came the 11 of August to Edinburgh, where he was received with a wonderful joy. Great instance was used to have him accept the Regency; at which they said no man would grudge, he being named by the Queen, and having given all good men experiments of his worth. Some few daies he desired to advise, in which time he visited the Queen, at Lochleven, and sent Letters to the Noblemen of the other Faction, especially to the Earl of Argyle, with whom he had kept an intire friendship of a long time, shewing in what sort he was pressed by the Lords that maintained the Kings authority, and entreating him by the bonds of kindred, the familiarity they had long kept, and by the love he bare to his native Country, to appoint a place where he might confer with him, and have his counsel in that business.

To the rest he wrote according to the acquaintance he had with them, and as their place and dignity required. Of them all in common he desired that they would be pleased to design a place of meeting, where they might by common advice provide for the safety of the Kingdome, which in that

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The King crowned at Striveling.

The Earl of Murray returneth from France.

He visiteth the Queen at Lochleven.

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that troubled time could not long subsist, without some one to rule and govern.

But finding them all to decline the meeting, and being importuned on the other side by those of the Kings Faction to undertake the charge, he resolved to accept the same; and in a Convention of Noblemen and others of the Estates kept at *Edinburgh* the 20 of *August*, was elected Regent with a great applause of all that were present. The same day was his Election published, and charge given to all the subjects for acknowledging and obeying him as Regent and Governor of the Realm unto the Kings Majority.

The Earl of
Murray elected
Regent.

THE

An. 1567.

THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

The Fifth BOOK.

The Contents.

How matters passed in the State and Church during the Government of the four Regents, his Majesty being yet minor.

Bothwell after his flight at *Carberry*, having stayed a few days in the Fort of *Dumbar*, for that he feared to be inclosed, made to the Sea with two or three Ships which he had prepared, and went into *Orkney*; his purpose was to have remained in the Castle of *Kirkwall*, and if any did pursue him to take himself to the Ships; but the keeper *Gilbert Balfour* would not receive him, so as he was forced to return to Sea, and there playing the Pirate made spoil of all that came in his way. The Regent, advertised of this, sent *William Kircaldy* of *Grange* with five Ships well manned to pursue him; who coming upon him unlooked for, as he lay in one of the Creeks of *Orkney*, gave him the chase, and had certainly taken him, if they had not been hindered by Rocks and shallow waters. The Unicorn, one of *Grange's* best Ships, was cast away upon a Rock; *Bothwell* with his, that were not of such a burthen, escaping. Shortly after he was taken upon the Coast of *Norway*, and conveyed to *Denmark*, where being detected by some *Scottish* Merchants, he was put in a vile and loathsome prison, and falling in a frensie, which kept him some ten years, made an ignominious and desperate end, such as his wicked and flagitious life had deserved.

Bothwell taketh the Sea, and is pursued by Grange.

His death.

Grange at his return had the Castle of *Edinburgh* committed to his keeping, which a little before was sold by Sir *James Balfour* to the Regent for the sum of 5000 pounds, and the gift of the Priory of *Pittinweene*. At the same time *Patrick Whitlaw*, keeper of *Dumbar* Castle, being charged to render the same, did at the persuasion of his friends yield up the Fort, which otherwise was held impregnable.

The custody of *Edinburgh* Castle committed to *Grange*.

The Lords who were convened at *Hamilton*, perceiving how matters went, and that all things grew strong on the Regents side, upon a new deliberation did write unto him and the rest that stood for the Kings Authority, desiring a Conference, and offering to send the Earl of *Argyle* with some others to any place they would for meeting, but because in the Supercription they gave not the Regent his due title, styling him only *Earl of Murray*, the Letter was rejected by the Council, and the messenger dimitted without answer. *Argyle*, knowing what had given the offence, resolved to go unto the Regent, and taking with him the Lord *Boyd* and the Abbot of *Kilwinning* came to *Edinburgh*. There it being declared that the election of the Regent was not made upon any contempt or misregard of the Noblemen who were absent, but upon necessity to keep the Realm in order, it was agreed that a Parliament should be called for settling all affairs by advice and consent

The Lords convened at *Hamilton* write to the Regent.

An. 1567.
The first Parliament of King James the Sixth.

The Acts concluded in Parliament.

The Queen ordained to be kept in prison.

The Bishop of Orkney deposed for marrying the Queen.

The confession of those that were executed for the Kings murder.

An. 1568.
The Queen escapeth from Lochleven.

consent of the Estates, and that the same should be kept at *Edinburgh* the 15 day of December next.

When the Diet appointed for Parliament came, it was kept with such a frequency, as the like was not remembered to have been seen a long time. The honors accustomed of Crown, Scepter and Sword, were carried by the Earls of *Angus, Huntley and Argile*, and every thing done with the greatest shew of Solemnity that could be used. Beginning was made at the affairs of the Church, and divers Acts concluded in their favors. As an Act abolishing the Pope his Jurisdiction and usurped Authority within the Realm; another for repealing the Statutes made in former times for maintenance of Idolatry and Superstition, with the ratifying of the Confession of Faith; and some others, which may be seen in the first Parliament of King James the Sixth. The matter of Policy and Jurisdiction of the Church was referred to the consideration of certain Lords delegated by the Estates; but for the restitution of the Patrimony, which was promised to be the first work of the Parliament, though the Regent did what he could to have the Church possessed with the same, it could not be obtained. Only the thirds of Benefices were granted to the Church, for provision of the Ministers; the *superplus*, or what should be found remaining after the Ministers were provided, being applied to the support of the publick affairs of the Estate. Touching the Queen, a long consultation was held what course should be taken with her. Some urged that she should be arraigned, and punished according to the Law: others reasoned, that whatsoever Authority was in the kingdom was derived from her, and was revocable at her pleasure, so as she could not be arraigned or brought to trial before any inferior Judge: and when it was replied, that the *Scots* from the very beginning of the Kingdom had been in use to censure and punish their Kings, in case of grievous crimes; the greater number disliking that course, it was concluded that she should be detained and kept in perpetual prison.

Some ten days after in an Assembly of the Church the Bishop of *Orkney* was convened for joyning the Queen and *Bothwell* in Marriage, and deposed from his Function and office. The Countess of *Argile* being cited to appear before the same Assembly for assisting the Baptism of the King, and giving her presence at the Papistical Rites then used, did submit herself to censure, and was ordained to make publick satisfaction in the Chappel of *Striveling*, where the offence was committed, upon a Sunday after Sermon, in such manner and at such time as the Superintendent of *Lothian* should appoint.

In the month of January *John Hepburn* called *Bolton*, *John Hay* younger of *Tallow*, and two Chamber-boys of *Bothwell's*, *Powrie* and *Dalglish*, were brought to Trial for the Kings Murder, and found guilty by their own confessions. The sum whereof was, that they were enticed unto that wicked fact by *Bothwell*, who did assure them that most of the Noblemen within the Realm had consented thereto, and that a Contract was shewed them subscribed by the Earls of *Argile, Huntley*, young *Lethington* and others; but whether these subscriptions were the Noblemens own or counterfeit, they could not tell. They farther said that *Bothwell* made them believe that the Lords who had subscribed would each of them have one or two of their servants present at the Murder; yet were they but eight persons in all, besides *Bothwell* himself; that came unto the place; namely, Sir *James Balfour*, the Laird of *Ormeiston* in *Teviotdale*, *Robert Ormeston* his Cousen, one *Wilson* a man of *Haddington*, and the four who were then to suffer. The Sentence upon their conviction was, that they should be hanged, their heads cut off, their bodies quartered, and cast into the fire. A manifold execution, which the treacherous Parricide they had committed did well deserve.

At the opening of the Spring, the Regent purposing to hold justice Courts through the whole Kingdom, made his beginning in the West parts, because of some broken people in *Lenox* and the Highlands adjoining. Whilest he remained at *Glasgow*, (for the first Court was there affixed) the Queen made an escape from *Lochleven*, to the great contentment of many who stood in fear of the Regents Severity, or (as the vulgar called it) Cruelty. And even some that were the principal workers of her Imprisonment,

prisonment, having changed their minds, did earnestly wish her Liberty. *Lethington* who hating *Bothwell* to the death, was enemy to the Queen for his respect, as soon as he understood of his arresting in *Denmark*, and saw that he was no more to be feared, desired greatly to have her restored, as thinking his credit and safety should that way be most assured. Sir *James Balfour* followed always his course. *William Murray* of *Tulibardin*, though he had shewed great forwardness at the hill of *Carberry*, where the Queen was taken, yet, being Popishly set, upon some private discontents forsook the Regent, and carried with him divers of his friendship. The *Hamilton's* were known to desire nothing more than her Freedom. The Earls of *Argile* and *Huntley*, howbeit they had been present at the late Parliament, and given their assistance for establishing the Kings Authority, turned their Coats and joyined with the rest for repossessing the Queen. And besides these many others, some led with hopes of advancement, and some trusting to have their distressed estates bettered by a change, longed much to have her relieved, which by this means came to pass.

George Douglas, the Regents youngest brother, a Gentleman of good spirit, who remained with her in the Castle of *Lochleven*, allured by her courtesies and fair promises, having corrupted the Keepers, although he himself upon suspicion was some days before sent forth of the Isle, got her transported (whilest the rest were at dinner) in a little vessel to the side of the Lake, where he with the Lord *Seaton* and some horsemen were attending. The first night she lodged at *Nudree* in *West Lothian*, and the next day was conveyed to *Hamilton*, whither repaired unto her the Earls of *Argile, Cassils, Eglinton* and *Roths*, the Lords *Sommervil, Tesler, Borthwick, Levingston, Heres, Maxwell, Sanghuar* and *Ross*, with many other Barons and Gentlemen. The Lords meeting in Council, the Queen declared that the Resignation she had made of the Crown was extorted by fear; as likewise the Commission granted for inaugurating the Prince her Son; qualifying the same by the testimony of *Robert Melville* there present and others. Thereupon was the Resignation decerned void and null, and Proclamations made in her Majesty's name, commanding all the Lieges to meet in Arms at *Hamilton* for pursuing the Rebels that had usurped the Royal Authority.

The news hereof brought unto *Glasgow* (which is only eight miles distant) where the Regent then abode, were scarce at first believed; but within two hours or less being assured, a strong alteration might have been observed in the minds of most that were there attending. The report of the Queens forces made divers to slide away; others sent quietly to beg pardon for what they had done, resolving not to enter in the cause any farther, but to govern themselves as the event should lead and direct them. And there were that made open defection, not a few, nor of the meaner sort. Amongst whom the Lord *Boyd* was especially noted, and in the mouths of all men; for that being very inward with the Regent, and admitted to his most secret counsels, when he saw matters like to turn, he withdrew himself and went to the Queen.

Yet the Regent nothing discouraged, and esteeming his life could not be more honorably bestowed than in the defence of the King, albeit many did advise him to retire unto *Striveling*, would not condescend to stir, saying, *That his retreat would be interpreted a Flight, and the adversaries thereby animated, and his friends disheartened*. In the mean season he sent advertisement to his friends in *Mers, Lothian* and *Strivelingshire*. The Earl of *Glencarn* and Lord *Semple*, with the men of *Lenox*, and others well affected to the cause, that lay near to the City, made haste unto his succour, so as in a day or two his company increased to 4000 and above. There was with the Queen a French Ambassador, who had arrived a few days before, and moved the Regent for access to the Queen before the escape she made; he was still posting between *Hamilton* and *Glasgow*, rather to espie and observe things, than to make the Peace he pretended; for when he saw the Regents forces to be few, as at first they were, and that the Queens power was much greater, he did persuade her to take the field, and put it to the trial of a day; which she resolved to do. Thereupon warning given to make ready against the next morning, the Earl of

Argile

An. 1568.

The manner of the Queens escape.

The Queens resignation decerned null.

The Regent advertised of the Queens escape.

The Lord Boyd falleth to the Queen.

The Regent resolveth to stay at Glasgow and assemble forces.

An. 1568. Argile was proclaimed Lieutenant, and conclusion taken to march with the Army by *Glasgow* towards the Castle of *Dumbarton*, where they purposed to place the Queen, and either to give Battel, or draw the War at length as they pleased: or if the Regent (which they did not expect) should meet them in the way, to fight him, accounting the victory certain, because of their numbers.

The Battel of
Landfide.
13 May 1568.

The order of
the Regents
Army.

The number
of the slain.

The prisoners
that were taken.

The Regent, advertised of the Queens intentions, took the fields the next day early, and stood with his companies some hours in battel array upon the Moor of *Glasgow*, where it was believed the Queens Army should pass: but when he saw them keep the other side of the River, he directed the horsemen to pass the Fords, the water being then ebbed, and leading the foot along the bridge went towards *Landfide*, which lay in the way to *Dumbarton*. This is a little Village upon the water of *Carthe*, situated at the foot of a hill towards the West: on the East and North the ascent unto it is somewhat steep, the other parts of the hill are more even and plain. Both Armies contending who should first possess it, that of the Regents prevented the other by occasion of *Argile's* sickness, who was on the suddain taken with a fit of the Epilepsie, and so retarded the march of the Queens Army. When they approached near and saw themselves prevented, they went to a little opposite hill, and there ranged themselves in two battels, placing in the first their whole strength almost; for if they should at the first encounter repulse their enemies, the rest they made account would soon disband and take the chase. The Regent had likewise put his troops in two battels: on the right hand were placed the Earl of *Morton*, the Lords *Home*, *Semple* and *Lindesay*, with their clients and vassals; on the left, the Earls of *Marre*, *Glencarn* and *Menteith*, with the Citizens of *Glasgow*: the Harquebusiers were planted in the Village beneath, and within the hedges upon the hig-hway. Before the joyning both sides played with their Ordinance upon others; but the advantage was on the Regents part, the Queens Cannoniers being forced to quit their munition. His Cavalry, on the other side, being much inferior to the Queens, was compelled to give ground: but when they entered upon the foot, thinking to put them in disorder, the Archers from the Regents side rained such a shower of Arrows upon them, as they could not hold up their faces, and were forced to turn back. The left wing of the Queens Army advancing it self in the mean while, howbeit greatly annoyed by the Harquebusiers, that beat them in the streight on both sides, got into the plain and displayed it self. Then did the Armies joyn and enter into a hot fight, striving in thick ranks to maintain their places, and by force of spears to break and bear down one another. For the space of half an hour and more the fight continued doubtful, and so eagerly they strove, that they whose spears were broke stood throwing their ponyards, stones, and what came readiest to their hands, in the faces of their adversaries. The Regents second battel perceiving that none came against them, and fearing the other should be overlaid (for they saw some in the last ranks recoiling) went unto their aid, whereupon the Queens Army gave back, and so were put to rout. The Regent and those on his side shewed great mahhood, all their hopes consisting in the victory: nor were his enemies any less couragious, but the advantage of the ground were to those of his part no small help. There were not many slain on the place, most of the slaughter being made in the chase; and unless the Regent had with his presence wheresoever he came, and by sending horse into all parts, stayed the fury of those that pursued, the Victory had been much more bloody. The Queen, who stood a mile off from the Battel on a little height, perceiving the field lost, made towards the Borders. The rest that escaped fled the readiest way they could find, every man to his own home. The number of the slain was about 300, many were taken prisoners; amongst whom the most eminent were the Lords of *Seaton* and *Ross*, the Masters of *Cassils* and *Eglinton*, Sir *James Hamilton* of *Avendale*, and the Sheriffs of *Aire* and *Linlithgow*. Of the Regents side one only was slain, the Lords *Home* and *Ochiltry* wounded. All the rest, a few excepted that followed the chase too far, returned with him to *Glasgow*; where they went first to Church, and gave thanks to God for the Victory they had obtained almost without any effusion of blood. This Conflict happened upon the 13 of May, the eleventh day after

after her escape from *Lochevin*. The French Ambassador, who had conceived an assured hope of her prevailing, perceiving things fall out otherwise, took horse, and made away to *England*, not once saluting the Regent, to whom, as he pretended, he was sent. By the way he fell in the hands of some robbers that rifled all his baggage; which the Laird of *Drumlanrig*, for the respects he carried to the title of an Ambassador, caused to be restored.

The rest of that day the Regent bestowed in taking order with the prisoners: some he freely dimitted, others upon surety; but the Principals were detained (they especially of the Surname of *Hamilton*) and committed to several prisons. The next day, taking with him 500 horse, he rode unto *Hamilton*, and had the Castle thereof, with the house of *Drassan*, another strong hold belonging to the Duke, rendered in his hands. Such a terror this defeat wrought, that the whole inhabitants of *Cluid* did relinquish and forsake their houses. Upon the like fear did the Queen, against the counsel of her best friends, take Sea at *Kirkcadrigh*, and sail into *England*, landing at *Wirkington* in *Cumberland* near to the mouth of the river *Derwent*; from which place she sent a Letter to Queen *Elizabeth*, declaring that she was come into her Kingdom upon hope of aid and assistance from her, requesting she might be conducted to her with all speed, because of her present distress. *John Beaton*, one of her domesticks, was some days before sent with the Diamond she had received from the Queen of *England* for a token of kindness, to signify her purpose of coming into *England*, if she should be farther pursued by her subjects: who did shortly return with large promises of love and kindness, if she should happen to come. But as soon as her coming was known, the directions sent by Sir *Francis Knowles* were not so loving; for by him she was desired to go unto *Carlisle*, as a place of more safety, whither the Lieutenant of the Country should conduct her, and stay there till the Queen was informed of the equity of her cause.

This direction did much displease her, and then began she to see her error: but seeming to take all in good part, she sent the Lord *Hereis* 'to intreat the Queen' for an hearing in her own presence, where she might both clear her self, and shew how injuriously she had been dealt with by those whom at her intercession she had recalled from Exile; or if that could not be obtained, to crave that she might be permitted to depart forth of *England*, and not detained as a prisoner, seeing she came willingly thither, in confidence of her kindness often promised, and confirmed as well by letters as messages. Queen *Elizabeth* moved with these speeches said, 'that she would send to the Regent, and desire him to stay all proceeding against the subjects that stood in her defence, till matters were brought to an hearing. For the Regent at the same time had called a Parliament to the 25 of June, for proceeding against those that had accompanied the Queen in the fields by course of Law. They of the Queens Faction were in the mean time preparing to hinder the meeting; and whenas the Diet drew near, the Earl of *Argile* with his forces met Lord *Claude Hamilton* at *Glasgow*; the Earl of *Huntley* brought from the North 1000 foot, with as many horsemen almost, and came as far as *Perth*, but was not permitted to cross the River of *Tay*, the channels and passages being all guarded by the Lord *Ruthven*, and such in those quarters as maintained the Kings Authority. So being forced to return home, the Earl of *Argile* and other Lords, not seeing how they could hinder the meeting of the Parliament, dissolved their Companies, and returned to their own Country.

At this time came the Letters promised by the Queen of *England*, whereby the Regent was desired to delay the Parliament, and not to precipitate the giving of sentence in these matters, till she was rightly informed of the whole cause.

But the Regent, considering that the delay of the Parliament would be construed to proceed of fear, resolved to keep the Diet. At the meeting it was long disputed, whether all they that had taken Arms against the King, and not sued for pardon, should be forfeited; or if sentence should be given against a few only, to terrifie the rest, and hope of favor left unto others upon their obedience. Secretary *Lethington*, who

The Castles of
Hamilton and
Drassan rendered to the
Regent.

The Queen
fleeth to Eng-
land, & writes
to Queen *Elizabeth*.

The Queen of
Scots begins to
see her error.

A Parliament
called by the
Regent.

The Queen of
England desires the Par-
liament to be
delayed.
The Regent
refuseth.

An. 1568.

The Queen of England writeth to the Regent.

Commissioners chosen to go into England.

The tenor of the Commission.

who did secretly favor the other Faction, maintained the calmest course to be the best, and, by the persuasions he used, wrought so as the Process against the better sort was continued, and some of meaner note only proscribed; which was interpreted, even as the Regent conceived, to proceed of fear, and not of a mind to reclaim them. The Earl of *Rothes* only of all the Noblemen of that side reconciled himself, accepting three years exile for his punishment. Some others of meaner sort the Regent received into favor, and such as stood out he pursued by force of Arms, making an expedition into the countries of *Niddisdale*, *Annandale*, and the lower parts of *Galloway*, where he put Garisons in the Castles and strong Forts that were judged necessary to be kept; others he demolished and threw to the ground; and had in a short space (as it was thought) reduced the whole Country to his obedience, if he had not been stayed by other Letters by the Queen of England: for the offending that he should have gone on in that manner, whereas she had willed him to defer all things till she was informed of the whole cause, sent by one of her servants, called *Middlemore*, a sharp Letter unto him, declaring that, *she would not endure the sacred Authority of Kings to be in that sort abused at the appetite of factious subjects; and howsoever they had forgot their duties to their Sovereign, she would not neglect her Sister and neighbor Queen.* Therefore willed him to direct certain Commissioners to inform her how matters had passed, men that could answer the complaints made by the Queen of Scotland against him and his Complices; which if he failed to do, she would restore her to her Kingdom with all the power she could make.

The Regent took it grievously, that matters determined in Parliament should be brought again in question, and to plead before forein Judges he held it dishonorable; yet considering the adversaries he had (the Cardinal of *Lorain* abroad, who swayed all things in the French Court, and at home many of the Nobility) and that if he did offend the Queen of England, his difficulties should be every way great, he was glad to yield to the conditions required, though against his will. Thus it being condescended the Commissioners should be sent, whenas they could not agree upon the persons (the principal Noblemen refusing the employment) the Regent himself offered to undertake the journey; and to accompany him, choice was made of the Bishop of *Orkney* and Abbot of *Dunfermlin* for the spiritual estate; of the Earl of *Morton* and Lord *Lindesay* for the temporal, and of Mr. *James Macgill* and Mr. *Henry Balnaves*, Senators of the College of Justice: besides these there went with him Secretary *Lethington* and Mr. *George Buchanan*. The Secretary had long withstood the sending of any Commissioners thither, and simply refused to go in that journey; yet the Regent not holding it safe to leave him at home, whom he knew to be a busy man, and a practiser under-hand with the other party, did insist so with him, as in end he consented.

The Commission was given in the Kings name, under the Great Seal, to the Regent, the Earl of *Morton*, the Bishop of *Orkney*, the Abbot of *Dunfermlin*, and Lord *Lindesay*, or to any three of them, 'for convening with the Deputies of the Queen of England at *Torke*, or any other place or places they should think expedient, there to make plain and ample declarations to them, (I keep the very words of the Commission) 'for informing his good Sister of the true causes whereupon divers of the Nobility and good subjects, during the time that the Queen his Mother was yet possessor of the Crown, took occasion to put on Arms, to take, detain and sequester her person for a time, with all causes, actions, circumstances, and other their proceedings whatsoever towards her or any other subjects of the Realm since that time, unto the day and date of the said Commission, or that should fall out until the return of the said Commissioners; whereby the Justice of their cause and honorable dealing might be manifested to the world: As likewise to commune, treat, determine and conclude with his said Sister, or her Commissioners having sufficient authority, upon all differences, causes or matters depending betwixt the subjects of either Realm, or for farther confirmation or augmentation of any Treaty of Peace heretofore made and concluded betwixt the Realms,

or

'or for contracting and perfecting any other Treaty or Confederation, as well for maintenance of the true Religion publicly professed by the inhabitants of both the Realms, as for resisting any forein, or intestine power that might be stirred up within the same, to disturb the present quietness that it hath pleased the Almighty God to grant unto both the Kingdoms in the unity of the said Religion, and for increase of amity, peace and concord betwixt him and his said Sister, their Realms, dominions, people and subjects. And generally to do and conclude all things which by them, or any three of them, should seem convenient and necessary for the premisses, or any part thereof; promising to hold firm and stable, &c. This Commission is of the date at *Edinburgh* the 18 of September, 1568.

In July preceeding there was an Assembly of the Church kept at *Edinburgh*, wherein Mr. *John Willock* Superintendent of the West, being elected to moderate the Meeting, made difficulty to accept the place, unless some better order was observed than had been in former times; for even then the multitudes that convened, and indiscreet behavior of some who loved to seem more zealous than others, did cause a great confusion. Obedience being promised by the whole number, he assumed the Charge. And there it was enacted, *That none should be admitted to have voice in these Assemblies but Superintendents, Visters of Churches, Commissioners of Shires and Universities, and such Ministers as the Superintendents should chuse in their Diocesan Synods and bring with them, being men of knowledge, and able to reason and judge of matters that should happen to be proposed.* And that the Assembly should not be troubled with unnecessary businels, it was ordained, *That no matters should be moved which the Superintendents might and ought to determine in their Synods.* Some Acts of Discipline were also concluded: as, *That Papists continuing obstinate after lawful admonitions should be excommunicated; and that the committers of murder, incest, adultery, and other such heinous crimes, should not be admitted to make satisfaction by any particular Church, till they did first appear in the habit of penitents before the general Assembly, and there receive their injunctions.* A Supplication also was put up to the Regent and Council, wherein amongst other particulars it was desired, *That the persons nominated in Parliament for the matter of Policy or Jurisdiction of the Church, should be ordained to meet at a certain day and place for the concluding the same.* This was promised, and the 8. of August appointed to that effect; but the Diet did not hold, and so these matters continued unresolved as before. In the end of the Assembly the Bishop of *Orkney*, who had been deposed from all Function in the Church for the Marriage of *Bothwell* with the Queen, was upon his submission reponed to his place; and, for removing the scandal, he was joyined in his first Sermon to make publick acknowledgement of his fault, and crave forgiveness of God, the Church and Estate which he had offended.

About the end of September the Regent and those that were joyined with him in Commission took their journey into England, and came to *Torke* the fifth of October. The same day and almost the same hour came *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, *Thomas* Earl of *Suffex*, and Sir *Ralph Sadler* Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaster*, having Commission from the Queen of England to hear and determine all questions, controversies, debates and contentions betwixt her Sister the Queen of Scots and the subjects adhering unto her, on the one part, and the Earl of *Murray* and others refusing to acknowledge her Authority and adhering to the Prince her Son, on the other: as likewise to decide all matters depending betwixt them two, to confirm the peace before that time contracted or establish a new Confederation betwixt them, their people and subjects, as they should think most convenient. Some two days after *John Lest* Bishop of *Ross*, *William* Lord *Levingston*, *Robert* Lord *Boyd*, *Gawan* *Hamilton* Commendator of *Kilwinning*, and *James Cockburn* of *Skirling*, Commissioners for the Scottish Queen, came to the City; where being all convened, and the Commissions exhibited, an Oath was presented to both parties by the Commissioners of England, by which they were required to swear, *That they should proceed sincerely in that Conference and Treaty, and neither for affection, malice,*

U 2

or

An Assembly of the Church.

Who should have voice in Assemblies.

Acts of Discipline.

The Bishop of Orkney reponed.

A meeting of the English & Scots Commissioners at Torke.

Commissioners for the Scottish Queen.

An. 1568. or any other worldly respect, propone any thing before the Commissioners which in their Consciences they did not hold to be true, just and godly, and reasonable; as also not to withdraw, hide or conceal any matter fit to be opened and declared for the better knowledge of the truth in the controversies standing amongst them.

The Commissioners of the Queen of Scotland, before they took the oath, protested, 'That although the Queen their Mistress was pleased to have the differences betwixt her and her disobedient subjects considered and dressed by her dearest Sister and Cousin the Queen of England, or by the Commissioners authorized by her; yet she did not acknowledge her self subject to any Judge on earth, she being a free Princess, and holding her imperial Crown of God alone. This their Protestation they desired to be put in record, lest the Queen or her posterity should be prejudiced in their Sovereignty by the present proceedings.

Commissioners of England protest in the contrary.

The Commissioners of England did contrariwise protest, 'That they did neither admit nor allow that Protestation in any sort, to the hurt or prejudice of that right which the Kings of England have claimed, had and enjoyed as Superiors over the Realm of Scotland, which Superiority they protested should belong and appertain to the Queen their Mistress in the right of the Crown of England. These Protestations made, both parties took the oath in manner as was required; and this was the Act of the first meeting.

A Declaration in behalf of the Queen of Scotland.

The next day the Commissioners of the Queen of Scotland presented a Declaration in writing, bearing, 'That James Earl of Morton, John Earl of Marre, Alexander Earl of Glencarn, the Lords Homes, Lindesay, Ruthven, Semple, Cathcart, Ochiltree, and others their assistants, had levied an Army in the Queens name against the Queen, taking her most Noble Person, used her in vile manner, and thrust into Prison in Lochleven, and forcibly broken her Mint-house, taken away the printing Irons, with all the silver and gold coined and uncoined which was in the house for the time: and going to the Castle of Striveling, had made a fashion to crown her Son the Prince, being then but thirteen months old. That James Earl of Murray, taking upon him the name of Regent, had usurped the Royal Authority, and possessed himself with the whole Forts, Castles, Munition, Jewels and Revenues of the Kingdom. And when it had pleased God to relieve her out of that prison (wherein she was so straitly detained by the space of eleven months, as none of her friends and true subjects could once be permitted to see or speak with her) and that she had publicly declared by a solemn oath, in the presence of divers of the Nobility at Hambleton, that whatsoever was done by her in prison was extorted by force, threats and fear of death; she, out of that natural affection which she carried to her Realm and subjects, did appoint the Earls of Argyle, Eglington, Cassils and Rothes, to agree and make a Pacification with the said Regent and his partakers: but they were so far from admitting any peaceable Treaty, as they did invade her, in her passing to Dumfries, with the men of War whom she had hired with her own monies, killed divers of her faithful subjects, lead others away prisoners, and banished some of good note for no other cause but for serving faithfully their lawful Princess; and so after a great many injuries had forced her to fly into England, to request the help of Queen Elizabeth her dearest Sister, and in blood the nearest Cousin she had in the world, for restoring her in her former estate, and compelling her rebellious subjects to acknowledge their due obedience unto her Majesty, which they in her Highness name did most instantly intreat.

The Regents desire to the Commissioners of England.

The day following, which was the ninth of October, the Regent and rest of the Commissioners for the young King appearing, before they would give any answer to the preceding Writ, craved first to be resolved, Whether the Duke and those that were appointed with him for hearing their controversies, had power to pronounce in the cause of the Kings Mother, guilty or not guilty; and if according to the same they meant to give sentence without delay: As likewise, if it should

should appear by the Declaration they were to make that the Queen of Scots was guilty, whether she should be delivered in their hands, or detained in England; and if the Queen of England would from thenceforth maintain the Authority of the King, and the Regency established in the person of the Earl of Murray. Which points they desired to have cleared, before they could enter into the Accusation intended. The Duke of Norfolk replied, that they would proceed according to the Commission given unto them, and render an account to her who had trusted them therewith. Leithington upon this turning himself to the Regent said, That it seemed the English had no other purpose but to defame and disgrace the reputation of the Queen their Kings Mother; therefore willed him and his associates to consider what hurt and danger they should draw upon themselves, by accusing her in such a publick form, not only with those of her own Nation that loved the Queen, but also with other Christian Princes, especially with her Cousins in France: and what could they answer unto the King, when he being of ripe years would esteem that manner of doing dishonorable to himself, his Mother and whole Kingdom?

The Duke of Norfolk's answer. Leithington dissuades the Regent from accusing the Queen.

They notwithstanding went on, and presented their answer, conceived in the terms following. 'That King Henry, Father to their Sovereign Lord the King now reigning, being horribly murdered in his bed, James sometimes Earl of Bothwell, who was known to be the chief Author thereof, entered in such credit with the Queen, then their Sovereign, as within two months after the Murther committed he openly attempted a Rape of her Person, and carried her to Dumbarton Castle, where he did keep her as captive a certain space, causing a Divorce to be led betwixt him and his lawful Wife, and upon the conclusion thereof did suddenly accomplish a pretended Marriage with the Queen: which insolent proceedings, together with the shameful report that passed in all Nations of the Kings Murther, as if the whole Nobility had been alike culpable thereof, so moved the hearts of a good number of them, as they thought nothing could be performed more honorable to themselves in the sight of all the world, than by punishing the said Earl who had committed the Murther, to free themselves of the vile reports spread every where; to set the Queen at liberty from the bondage of that Traitor, who had so presumptuously interpreted the Rape and Marriage of her, whose lawful Husband he could not be; and to preserve the innocent person of the King from the hands of him that had murdered his Father. For which purpose they taking Arms, when the said Earl came against them with Forces, leading in his company the Queen to defend his wickedness, they offered, for sparing the blood of innocent men, to decide the quarrel in a single Combat, whereof himself by Cartel and Proclamation had sundry times made offer. But after many shifts he in end directly refused the same, and the Queen preferring his impunity to her own honor, that he might have leisure to escape, came willingly to the Noblemen that were in Arms, and conferred with them a certain space; after which they conveyed her to Edinburgh, informing her of the true causes that moved them to that form of dealing, and did humbly intreat her Majesty to suffer the said Earl and others, the King her Husbands Murthers, to be punished according to the Laws; and the pretended Marriage, wherein she was rashly entered, to be dissolved, as well for her own honor, as for the safety of her Son and quietness of the Realm and Subjects. But having received no other answer but rigorous threats against the Noblemen, and the avouching to be revenged upon all those that had shewn themselves in that cause; they were driven by necessity to sequester her Person for a season from the company of Bothwell, and the keeping of any intelligence with him, until punishment might be taken of him as Murtherer of the King her Husband. In the mean time she finding her self wearied with the troubles of Government, and perceiving by things that had passed before that time betwixt her and the people, that neither could she well allow of their doings, nor they like of her forms, upon these and other considerations she voluntarily resigned her Kingdom, and transferred the same unto her Son, appointing the Earl of Murray (who was at that time absent forth of the Realm) to be Regent during her Sons Minority; and in case of the said

The Information presented against the Queen of Scots.

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Earls decease or not acceptance of the said Office, divers other Noblemen, whose names are expressed in the Commissions signed by her self, and sealed with the Seals of the Kingdom. The King hereupon being duly, rightly and orderly Crowned and Anointed, and the Earl of *Murray* after his return lawfully placed and admitted Regent, all those things were ratified and confirmed by the three Estates of Parliament, most of these that had withdrawn themselves from his Authority being present and giving their consent to the same. Notwithstanding, whenas matters were thus established, and the Kings Authority universally obeyed without contradiction, certain persons, envying the publick quietness, had by their subtle practices first brought the Queen out of *Lochlevin*, and afterwards by open force against their promised fidelity gone about to subvert the Government received; wherein as they were proceeding, it pleased God to disappoint their enterprise, and give unto the King and those who stood for his Authority a notable Victory upon the 13 day of *May* last. Wherefore their desire was, that the King and the Regent might peaceably rule and govern the subjects according to the Authority they had received of God, and that the same might be conserved and established against the Factions of turbulent subjects.

The Commissioners of the Queen of *Scots* reply.

The Commissioners of the Queen of *Scots* having seen this answer made a long and particular reply to all the points thereof, wherein, adhering to their former Protestation, first they said, 'That the pretext of taking Arms against the Queen, because *Bothwell* (the author of her Husbands Murther) was in such favor with her, could not warrant their rebellion, sith it never was made known to the Queen that he was the Murtherer. But to the contrary, *Bothwell* being indited, and orderly summoned to underly the trial of Law, he was by the judgment of his Peers absolved, and the same Absolution ratified by the Authority of Parliament, where the principals that now accuse him, and had withdrawn themselves from her Majesties obedience, were present, and not only consented to his Purgation, but solicited the Queen to take him to her Husband, as the man most worthy to bear rule of any other in all the realm, giving their Bonds to defend him against all that should pursue him for the said crime, as their Subscriptions would testifie. And so neither before the Marriage with *Bothwell* nor after did they or any of them (which had been the duty of true subjects) so much as in words utter their dislike of it, or advertise her Majesty of the suspicions that were taken of him, until they had drawn the keeper of the Castle of *Edinburgh* and the Provost of the Town to their Faction. Then secretly putting themselves in Arms, they suddenly under silence of night invironed the Castle of *Borthwick*, where her Majesty remained; and after she had escaped to *Dumbar*, levied an Army, under pretence to defend the Queen, wherewith invading her Person in the way betwixt *Dumbar* and *Edinburgh*, they did take her Majesty captive.

And where they alledge, That her Majesty preferring the impunity of *Bothwell* to her own honor, made him to be conveyed safely away; 'The same was most untrue, for they themselves sent the Laird of *Grange* to her Majesty, desiring her to cause *Bothwell* pass out of the fields as suspected of the Kings Murther, till the same might be tried, and that he would go with them and follow the counsel of the Nobility; which if she would do, they would honor, serve and obey her as their Princess and Sovereign: whereunto her Majesty, for the love she bare unto her subjects, and to avoid the effusion of Christian blood, did willingly assent. In verification whereof, the said Laird of *Grange* took the Earl of *Bothwell* at the same time by the hand, and willed him to depart, giving his word that no man should pursue him. So as nothing is more clear than that he passed away by their own consents; for if they had been minded against him only, would they not have pursued him so long as he was in the Country, for he remained a great space after that in his own house, and might more easily have been taken there than upon the Seas, where they in a coloured manner did pursue him? Hereby (said they) may all men of sound judgment perceive that they cared not what became of him, if so they might advance their own ambitious purposes and designs.

Thirdly,

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Thirdly, where she is charged to have used them with threats and menacings; 'That (they said) was not to be thought strange, considering their undutiful behaviour, and the rude and vile usage her Majesty suffered by them. For when the Earl of *Morton*, at her Highness first coming to them had reverently, as it became him, said, Madam, here is the place where your Grace should be, and we will honor and serve you as truly as ever the Nobility of the Realm did any of your progenitors in former times, ratifying thereby the promise made by the Laird *Grange* in their names to her Majesty, and that she trusting their speeches had gone with him to *Edinburgh*; they first lodging her in a simple Burges house, contrary to their promises did most rudely intreat her; Whereupon she sent *Lethington* her Secretary, and made offer unto them, that for any thing wherewith they or any of the subjects were offended she was content the same should be reformed by the Nobility and the Estates of the Realm, her Highness being present, and permitted to answer for her self: yet would they not hearken once to the motion, but in the night secretly and against her will carried her to *Lochlevin*, and put her in Prison.

As to that they say, That she wearied with the molestations of Government did make a voluntary Resignation of the Kingdom in favors of the Prince her Son, appointing the Earl of *Murray* his Regent during his Minority; 'The fallhood thereof did (as they said) many ways appear. For first, her Majesty is neither decayed by age, nor weakened by sickness, but (praised be God) both in mind and body able to discharge the most weighty affairs. As also the truth is that the Earl of *Arhol*, the Lairds of *Tullibardin* and *Lethington* (who were of their Council) sent *Robert Melvil* with a Ring and some other tokens to her Majesty, advising her to subscribe the Letters of Resignation, and what else should be presented unto her to save her own Life, and avoid the death which was assuredly prepared for her if she should happen to refuse the same; and at the same time the said Gentleman did bring unto her Majesty a Letter written by Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*, Ambassador of *England*, requesting her Highness to set her hand to whatsoever they should desire of her. To whom her Majesty answered, that she would follow his counsel; praying him to declare to her dearest Sister, the Queen of *England*, how she was used by her subjects, and that the Resignation of the Crown made by her was extorted by fear, which her Highness doubted not but the said *Nicholas* performed.

Farther, it is notorious that the Lord *Lindesay*, at the presenting of the Letters of Resignation unto her Majesty, did menace to put her in close prison if she refused to put her hand to the same; adding, that in that case worse would shortly follow; and that her Highness never looked what was in the Writings presented, but signed the same with many tears, protesting that, if ever she should recover her Liberty, she would disavow that which he compelled her at that time to do. And to testifie that the said Resignation was made against her will, the Laird of *Lochlevin*, who was then her Keeper, refused to subscribe it as Witness, and did obtain a Testificat under her Majesties own hand, declaring that he refused to be present at the said Resignation.

'Neither can that Renunciation be sustained by any reason, considering that no portion of Revenue was reserved for her to live upon, neither was her Liberty granted, or any security given her of her Life. All which weighed in the balance of Reason will to men of indifferent judgment make manifest that the alledged Dimission, so unlawfully procured, can never prejudice her Majesty in her Royal estate: especially considering that at her first escape out of prison she did revoke the same, and in the presence of a great part of the Nobility at *Hamilton*, by a solemn Oath, declared that what she had done was by compulsion, and upon just cause of her Life.

For the Coronation of her Highness Son, they said, 'That the same was most unorderly done; because there being in the Realm above an hundred Earls, Bishops and Lords having voice in Parliament (of whom the greatest part at least ought to have consented thereto, it being an Action of such consequence) four Earls

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Earls and six Lords (the same that were present at her Apprehension) with one Bishop, and two or three Abbots and Priors, were only assisting; and of the same number some did put in a Protestation, that nothing then done should prejudice the Queen or her Successor, by reason she was at that time a Captive. Nor can any man think that if the Dimission had been willingly made by her Highness, she would ever have nominated the Earl of Murray Regent, there being many others more lawful, and that have better right thereto than he; of whom some have been Governors of the Realm in former times, and during her Majesties Minority had worthily exercised that place.

It is to as little purpose that they object of the Parliament, and the Ratification made therein, 'Seeing the principals of the Nobility dissatisfied, and put in their Protestations both to the Lords of the Articles and in the open Parliament against their proceedings, affirming that they would never agree to any thing that might hurt the Queens Majesties Person, her Crown and Royal estate, farther than her Highness self being at liberty would freely approve. Lastly, where they would have it seen that the Authority established by them was universally obeyed in the Realm, and all things well and justly administered; Both these are alike untrue. For a great part of the Nobility have never acknowledged another Authority than that of the Queen, keeping and holding their Courts in her Majesties name. And for the administration of affairs, it is apparent that wickedness did never reign more and with less controlment in the Realm, Murder, Bloodshed, with Theft and Robbery every where abounding; Policy destroyed, Churches thrown down, honorable Families ruined, and true men bereft of their goods, for satisfying the soldiers hired by them to maintain the Regents usurped Government, the like whereof hath not been seen nor heard for many Ages before. In regard whereof they in behalf of the Queen of Scotland, their Mistress, did earnestly request the support and assistance of the Queen of England her Cousin, for restoring her to her Crown, and suppressing the Rebels that had attempted against her.

The Commissioners of England desire the Regent to give better reasons.

The English Commissioners having perused the Writings of both sides, declared, that as yet they were not satisfied with any thing the Regent had shewed, requiring him to produce some better and more sound reasons for the Severity they had used against their Sovereign, otherwise they could not but think she had been too hardly dealt with, and report so much to the Queen their Mistress. The Regent (who disliked nothing more than to be drawn into the Accusation of the Queen his Sister) answered, that he could not be more particular till he should be assured that the Queen of England would undertake the protection of the young King, and relinquish the cause of his Mother. The Commissioners replying, that they had no warrant to promise any such things; he besought them to try the Queens mind, that her pleasure being known he might sooner resolve what to do. Letters hereupon were sent to the Queen, who willed the Regent to direct some one or more of his side to Court, for her better information. To this effect Secretary Levington and Mr. James Macgill Clerk of the Rolls were sent thither, with whom the Queen having conferred a little time, she gave order to recal her Commissioners, and advertise the Regent himself to come unto her. At his coming the Queen laid to his charge the proceeding against his Sister the Queen of Scots, saying, that she did not see how he and the rest of his Faction could well be excused, & that unless matters were better cleared on their parts, she could not deny the help and assistance that was required at her hands. The Regent, according to the condition proposed at York, answered, That if she would take upon her the defence of the King, they should be more particular in their reasons for rejecting the Queens Authority, and clear every thing they should speak sufficiently; otherwise to accuse his Sister and Queen, would be held odious in the judgment of all men.

Rumors dispersed of the Regents imprisonment.

Whilest these things were doing in England, the Queens Faction at home sought all occasions to make trouble, abusing the popular sort with rumors they dispersed: sometimes giving out that the Regent was made Prisoner in the Tower; at other times, that he had promised to subject the Kingdom of Scotland to the

the English, to deliver the young King to be brought up in England, and put all the An. 1568. Ports and strong Holds in the Realm in their hands. Nor was any man more busied in dispersing such lies, and using all means else for the stirring up tumult, than Sir James Balfour, instigated thereto by advertisement from the Secretary, as was commonly thought. For by his advice it was that the Scottish Queen at the same time sent Commissions of Lieutenandry to divers Noblemen for erecting again her Authority, like as all the while he remained in England he did ever keep intelligence with the Bishop of Ross and others the Queens Agents, and was one of the chief plotters of the Match intended betwixt her and the Duke of Norfolk, which came shortly after to be detected. The Regent, who was not ignorant of these secret workings, did find there was a necessity of his returning home, to prevent the Commotions that were breeding, before they grew into a greater ripeness: and fearing to offend the Queen of England, if he should depart without giving her satisfaction in the particulars she desired to be informed of touching the Queen of Scots, resolved to do it, but with a Protestation, which he presented in writing to the Council at Westminster the 28 of November in this form.

Albeit our whole proceedings from the beginning of our enterprise, directed only for the punishment of the Kings Murther, and the purging of our Nation from the scandal of that abominable fact, may let the world see how unwilling we have been to touch the Queen our Sovereign Lords Mother in honour, or to publish unto strangers matters tending to her infamy; yet shall it not be amiss upon the present occasion to shew briefly what hath been, and still is our meaning therein. Such and so great was our devotion toward her, as well for private affection, whereby every one of us was led to wish her well, as for publick respects, that rather than we would blemish her honor with the foreknowledge of that detestable Murther, we chused to wink at the shrewd reports of the world, and let our selves to be blazoned as Rebels and Traitors to our native Prince; which had been easie for us to have wiped away with the uttering of a few words, if the desire we had to save her Reputation had not made us content that the world should still live in doubt of the justice of our quarrel, and speak every one as their affections were inclined. So when we were urged by the Queens Majesty of England, and the French Kings Ambassadors, to give a reason why we detained our Queen at Lochlevin, we gave no other answer, but that her affection was so excessively towards Bothwell, the committer of that odious Murther, that she being at liberty it would not be possible to punish him, and that it behoved us for a season to sequester her Person, till he might be apprehended and punished. In what danger this dealing brought us we have no need to shew. From France we had nothing to expect but open Hostility, and by keeping up the chief causes of her Rejection we had reason to fear that the Queen of England should call our proceedings in doubt, and so leave us destitute of her Majesties aid, at whose hands we look principally to receive comfort in time of danger. This course notwithstanding we should still have kept, if the opportunity of our adversaries had not forced us to take another way: For remembering what a Person she is whom we are brought to accuse, the Mother of our King and Sovereign Lord, a Lady to whom in particular the greatest part of us are so far obliged for benefits received, that if with the perpetual exile of any one, or of a number of us, forth of our Native Country, we could redeem her honor without the danger of the King and whole state, we would willingly banish our selves to that end. And therefore ere we dip farther in the matter which to this hour we have shunned, we solemnly protest, that it is not any delight we take in accusing her, but a necessity that is laid upon us to purge our selves, that draws us unto it. For if our adversaries would rested content with our former answer, which they know to be true, no farther would be needed: but against our hearts, in defence of our just cause, they compelled us to utter the things which we wish were buried in perpetual oblivion. So if our doing seem hateful to any, let these bear the blame who force us to answer, which they know we may, and in the end must give. One thing only we desire, that they who have brought us to this necessity may be present and hear what is said, that if we speak any untruth, they may refute the same, for even in point of greatest moment we will use their own testimony.

This

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The answer of
the Commis-
sioners for the
Queen of
Scots.

This being communicated with the Agents of the *Scottish* Queen, they answered, That they did not force them to any Accusations; and if they did utter untruths, or calumniate the Queen in any sort, they would not patiently hear it. That all their desires were to have their Queen restored to her Kingdom, from which by force of Arms she was expelled; or if it should please the Queen of England to hear any more of that matter, they requested that the Queen of Scots might be sent for, and permitted to speak for her self.

Mean while by a new Patent there were joyned to the other Commissioners, *Bacon* Keeper of the great Seal, the Earls of *Arundel* and *Leicester*, with the Lord Admiral, and Sir *William Cecil*, and a time assigned to the Regent for producing the reasons for the Queens rejecting. When the day was come, he presented the Confessions of some that were executed for the Kings Murther; the Statutes of Parliament ratifying her Resignation of the Crown and her Sons Coronation, subscribed by divers of her own party; certain amatory verses and epistles written to *Bothwell* (as they said) with her own hand; three several Contracts of Marriage betwixt her and *Bothwell*; with a number of presumptuous likelihoods and conjectures, to make it appear that she was privy to the Murther *Bothwell* had committed.

The Queen of
England doubt-
eth how to
carry her self
in the business.

The Queen of England, having seen and perused all these, stood doubtful what to do: for albeit she was content to have some blot rubbed upon the Queen of Scots, as many supposed; yet the pity of her misfortune made her sometimes to think of composing matters betwixt her and her Subjects. The terms besides wherein she stood with the French King, who was daily by his Ambassadors soliciting the Queen of Scots liberty, made her uncertain what course to take: for if she should simply deny his request, it would be esteemed a breach of friendship; and to yield to his desire, she thought it scarce safe for her own estate. Therefore keeping a middle course, she resolved to suspend her Declaration unto another time, and willed the Regent, seeing he could make no longer stay, to leave some of his company to answer the criminations, which possibly his adversaries would charge him with after he was gone. But he replying said, *That he was not so desirous to return home, but he would willingly stay to hear what they could alledge against him. Nor was he ignorant of the rumors they had dispersed, & what they had spoken to some of the Council and to the French Ambassador; which were more convenient to be told whilest he was himself in place and might make answer, than to bely and calumniate him in his absence: wherefore he did humbly intreat her to cause them utter the things plainly that they muttered in secret. Hereupon were the Queen of Scots Commissioners called, and it being inquired, Whether they had anything to object against the Regent which might argue his guiltiness of the Kings Murther; they answered, That when the Queen their Mistress should bid them accuse, they would do it, but for the present they had nothing to say. The Regent replied, That if the Queen or any other would accuse him, he should ever be ready to give an account of his actions, and neither decline place nor time; but in the mean while till she should intend her Accusation, it was reason they should declare if they themselves had any thing to lay unto his charge. After divers subterfuges, in end they professed that they knew nothing which might make him or any of his associates suspected of the Murther.*

The Queens
Commission-
ers purge the
Regent of the
Kings murther.The Duke of
Chastellerault
claimeth the
Regency.

The Regent now at the point to depart, a new lett was made by the Duke of *Chastellerault*, who coming from France by England, drew himself into a contestation for the Government, pleading that the same did belong to him, as being the nearest of blood, and lawful Heir to the Crown next after the Queen of Scots and her Succession.

This he said was the Law and practice of all Nations, and a custom perpetually observed in Scotland: for proof whereof he alledged the Regency of *Robert Stewart*, Uncle to King *James* the First, with that of his son Duke *Murdock*, after the fathers death; the Government of *John Duke of Albany* in the Minority of King *James* the fifth, and his own Regency in the nonage of the present Queen. Contrary to which custom, a few rebels (as he complained) had most injuriously to his disgrace, and (which was most unsufferable) to the contempt of the lawful blood, preferred one

one base born unto the supreme Dignity; which honor if it should be restored to him, the Civil Troubles he said would cease, and the Queen without any tumult be restored to her content. Whereupon he requested the Queen of Englands favor, and that by her Authority the Earl of *Murray* might be caused cease from his usurped Government.

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To this in behalf of the Regent it was replied, That the Dukes Petition was most unjust, and contrary to the Custom and Laws of the Country, which provided that at such times as the Crown should fall in the hands of Minors, one or more of the most sage and powerful in the Estates should be elected for the administration of affairs unto the Kings ripe age. This course they said, the Scots had constantly kept the last six hundred years, and thereby secured the Kingdom, and transmitted the same free and safe to their posterity. As, for instance, after the death of King *Robert Bruce*, *Thomas Randolph* Earl of *Murray* was elected Governor; upon his death, *Duncan* Earl of *Marre*; after him, *Andrew Murray*, and then *Robert Stewart*; who were all chosen Regents one after another. In the Minority of King *James* the Second, Sir *Alexander Livingston* was elected, a man neither of blood to the King, nor a Noble man of degree, but for his worth and wisdom preferred. In like sort King *James* the Third had four Tutors appointed to him by the Estates, none of them for any respect of pro-

A reply to the
Dukes Petition.

pinquity. And for the examples adduced of Duke *Murdock* and *John Duke of Albany*, they made nothing to the purpose. The last of the two in the Minority of King *James* the Fifth being called to the Government by the Nobility, and confirmed therein by the Estates. And to shew that in his election no respect was had to nearness of blood, his elder Brother *Alexander* was then alive, who would not have been passed, if propinquity or kindred had carried the sway. How Duke *Murdock* and his Father before him came to govern, it was well known. King *Robert* the Third, waxing infirm and unable to rule by himself, did substitute his Brother (called *Robert*, likewise) his Lieutenant in the Kingdom, commending his two Sons *David* and *James* to his care. But the kindness he shewed to them was, that the elder of the two was starved to death in the Palace of *Falkland*, and the younger forced fly for his life, he being detained prisoner in England. After the Fathers death, the Uncle usurped still the place wherewith he was possessed, and at his dying left the same to *Murdock* his Son. As to that he speaks of his own Regiment, they said he had done more wisely not to have mentioned it, considering his Preferment proceeded rather of hatred born to the Cardinal, who had supposed a false Testament, than of any favour carried to himself: and that being possessed in the place, he sold both it and the young Queen to the French, which had bred a great deal of trouble. And granting the custom had been such as he pretends, will any man in reason judge it safe to commit the tuition of an innocent child to him, whose Family hath entertained so long enmity with that of which the King is descended, and will ever be waiting and wishing the death of his Pupil? none will think it. This was the substance of the Reply; which when the Queen of England heard, she directed certain of the Council to shew the Duke, that he was not to look for any help from her in that business, and to prohibit his journey into Scotland, till the Regent was parted and gone home.

About the same time there were Letters of the Queen of Scots intercepted, sent to the Noblemen of her party in Scotland, wherein she complained, That the Queen of England had not kept promise unto her; yet desired them to be of good heart, because she was assured of aid by some other means, and hoped to be with them in a short time. These Letters sent from Scotland to the Regent, he delivered to the Queen of England, who from henceforth was much estranged from the Queen of Scots, as well for that he charged her with breach of promise, as because it appeared she leaned to some others besides her self.

The Queen of
Scots Letters
intercepted.

The Regent presently after took his journey homewards, and being attended by the Sheriffs and Gentlemen of the Country at the Queen of Englands direction, came

The Regent
returneth to
Scotland.

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The Duke
made Deputy
by the Queen
of Scots.He writeth to
the Assembly
of the Church.The Assem-
blies answer.
Commission-
ers from the
Churches to
the Regent.Petitions in
behalf of the
Church.Orders for giv-
ing degrees
in Divinity.The Regent
and Duke a-
greed.

came safely to *Berwick* the first of *February*, and the day following to *Edinburgh*: within a few days he went to *Strivelling*, and in a Convention of the Estates having related the proceedings in *England*, had all ratified and approved.

The twentieth of the same month the Duke of *Chattellerauld* returned, and being made Deputy by the Queen of *Scots*, caused publish his Letters, prohibiting the subjects to acknowledge any other Sovereign than the Queen. Hereupon the Regent gave forth Proclamations, charging the Leiges in the Kings name to meet him in Arms at *Glasgow* the tenth of *March*. The Duke in the mean time sent to the Assembly of the Church, convened at that time in *Edinburgh*, a prolix Letter wherein he signified, 'That being in *France*, and hearing what Troubles were moved at home, the love he carried to his native Country made him return with intent to pacifie these stirs at his utmost power: and howbeit in his absence he had suffered wrong, yet he assured them that his own particular did not grieve him so much, as the danger wherein the Kingdom was brought, by the diversity that had happened betwixt the Queen their native Sovereign and a part of her subjects, which he wished to be removed in some quiet and peaceable manner; and that the Estates convening might (after they had considered the ground and beginning of these Troubles, which he conceived to be the Murther of the Queens late Husband) with one consent agree upon some reasonable course to be followed for redress thereof, and of the evils which thence had proceeded; whereunto he, and all the Nobility continuing in the obedience of the Queen their Sovereign, should be found pliable. Which he did not write (as he said) because of the Proclamations made by the Earl of *Murray* to convene people in *Glasgow* the tenth of *March*: for since these Troubles began he was not in the Country; and if all *Scotland* were gathered, he would trust for his own and his predecessors good deserving to find such favour, as if the Earl of *Murray* would invade him and his friends, he should not be assisted by any of them to do him wrong. Therefore desired them in Gods behalf (so the Letter beareth) to make his mind and intention known to the people; or if they did not think his desires and offers reasonable, that they would come and reason with himself, whom they should find easie to be ruled in all matters according to Gods Word and equity.'

To this Letter, dated at *Hamilton* the 27 of *February* 1568, the Assembly answered, 'That they would communicate the Letter with the Regent, and know his pleasure, whether or not they should send any of their number to the Duke in Commission to treat with his Grace. Which accordingly they did, appointing the Superintendents of *Lothian* and *Fife*, with Mr. *John Row*, to go unto the Regent, and having obtained his licence to pass to the Duke and Noblemen that were in his company, and use all means possible for reconciling them to the obedience of the King and his Regent.

They had also certain Petitions given them to be presented to the Regent in name of the Church; as to desire, That beneficed persons not bearing function in the Church, and subject only in payment of Thirds, should be compelled to contribute for sustentation of the poor: That remedy might be provided against the chopping and changing of Benefices, diminution of Rentals, and setting of Tithes in long Leases, to the defrauding of Ministers and their successors; that they who possessed plurality of Benefices might be caused dimit all saving one: That the Jurisdiction of the Church might be separated from the Civil, and that they might, without his Graces offence and the Councils, use their Censures against the Earl of *Huntley* for deposing the Collectors of the Church, and placing others in their rooms, by his own authority. Such a respect was carried in that time to Civil power, as the Church could not proceed in Censures against men in prime places without their knowledge; the neglect whereof in after-times brought with it great Troubles both to the Church and State. I find in the same Assembly, the University of *S. Andrews* ordained to meet, and form such orders as they should think fit for giving Degrees in Divinity: whereby it appeareth that our first Reformers were not enemies to Degrees, either in Schools or in Church.

But to return to the State: By the travels of the Superintendents matters for that time were transacted betwixt the Regent and the Duke in this manner. That

'That the Duke should come to *Glasgow*, and submit himself to the Kings Authority. That he and his friends should be restored to their honours and possessions. That he should give surety for his and their continuing in the Kings obedience; and that the rest who were joyned with him in that cause should be all accepted upon the same conditions. This Transaction not contenting the Earls of *Argile* and *Huntley*, they refused to be comprised under it, either thinking to obtain better or more easie conditions of the Regent; or animated by the Queen of *Scots* Letters, who had then conceived some hopes of liberty.

The Duke, hearing that they would not accept the conditions, did forthink what he had done, and at the day appointed for giving in his surety, though he came himself to *Edinburgh*, made divers shifts, desiring that all matters might be continued to the 10 of *May*, when the two Earls were expected, and the Queens mind would be better known. It was told him, That the Earls were treating severally for themselves, so as he needed not to wait on their coming. And for the Queens approbation, being asked if she would deny it, what in that case he would do; more ingenuously than profitably for himself he answered, that he was drawn against his will to make the promise he had made, and that if he were freed of it, he would never consent to the like. Thereupon was he and the Lord *Hereis* (who accompanied him, and was thought had diverted him from his former resolution) committed in the Castle of *Edinburgh*.

The Earls of *Argile* and *Huntley*, who were at the same time making their own appointment, had a day assigned them at *S. Andrews*, whither *Argile* came first; and with him the difficulty was not great, because in the last Tumults he had carried himself more moderately than others: wherefore of him no more was craved, but that he should swear obedience to the King and Authority in time coming, as he did. The business with *Huntley* was greater; for he during the Regents absence had usurped the Royal power, placing Lieutenants in the Countries of *Angus*, *Mernis* and *Strathern*, and committed great spoils upon the subjects in those parts. Therefore when as divers of the Council did advise to put all things past in oblivion, it was by others opposed, That the example of such impunity would prove hurtful: for when they that had continued in the Kings obedience, and sustained loss in their goods, should perceive the Rebels after a manner rewarded, and no regard taken of their losses, they would undoubtedly grudge, and if troubles should afterwards arise, be more slack to do service; yea, granting there were no such inconvenience to be feared, yet neither the Regent nor yet the King himself could by law remit the robbing of another mans goods, unless restitution was made of that which was spoiled. And whereas some did object his greatness, and that his lying out might cause great unquietness; It was an idle fear: for was not his father a man of greater wealth and wisdom easily brought under foot, when he set himself against the Authority? And shall he, who hath not as yet repaired the calamities of his House, be able to withstand the forces of a whole kingdom? It is more foolish, they say, that he will seek to some foreign Prince, and so endanger the Country; for whom shall he find? Princes are not wont to make account of strangers farther than may serve to their own commodity. To accept him in favor, they said, was sufficient, albeit he gave satisfaction to the subjects whom he had wronged. This opinion prevailing, it was concluded that, after trial of the complaints, he should satisfy those that he had wronged, at sight of the Council.

But then arose another question, Whether all that had assisted him in these last Troubles should be comprised in his remission, and power given him to compone with them for satisfying such as complained; or that they should be severally called, and every man fined as he should be tried to have offended. They who thought the Earl too rigorously used in the point of satisfaction, held that to be the smallest favour which could be done to him, to remit his followers to himself. But to the contrary it was answered, That in civil wars nothing was so much to be looked unto as the weakening and dissolving of Factions, which is the most easily wrought, when the Prince reserves to himself the power of Pardon and Punishment. It was farther said, That a several examination was necessary, because all had not offended alike; and that no man

An. 1569.

He forthink-
eth his yield-
ing.The Duke and
Lord Hereis
committed to
the Castle of
Edinburgh.A Treaty with
Argile and
Huntley.Huntley remit-
ted upon some
conditions.

An. 1569.

The Regents expedition into the North.

The Lord Boyd bringeth Letters from both Queens to the Regent.

A Letter from Sir Nicholas Throgmorton to the Regent.

A Letter from Sir Nicholas to Lethington.

was so unfit to take that trial as the Earl himself, because in all probability they should have most favour at his hand who had been most forward in his service, and so the least guilty should bear the heaviest punishment. Upon these considerations it was thought meet to convene his followers severally, remitting his domesticks only to be used by him at his pleasure. And thus was he received into grace; which done, the Regent made an expedition into the North, where having kept Justice-Courts at *Aberdene, Elgin and Innerneß*, he settled all those parts in peace, and for observing the same took pledges of *Huntley*, and the principal Clannes of the Country. In his return the Lord *Boyd*, who was lately come from *England*, did meet him at *Elgin* with Letters from both the Queens, and some others written by his private friends in the *English* Court. The Queen of *England* in her Letters made offer of three conditions in behalf of the Queen of *Scots*, requiring one of the three to be accepted. These were, That she should either be absolutely restored to her Royal Dignity, or be associated in the Government with her Son, and in all Letters and publick Acts honored with the Title of a Queen, the administration of affairs continuing in the Regents hands till the King should be 17 years of age; or if none of these could be granted, that she might be permitted to return unto her Country, and live a private life, having honorable means appointed for her entertainment. The Queen of *Scots* desired that Judges should be appointed for cognoscing the lawfulness of her Marriage with *Bothwell*, and if the same was found contracted against the Law, it might be declared null, and she made free to marry where she pleased. From private friends, especially by a Letter of *Sir Nicholas Throgmorton*, the Regent was advertised, that the Marriage of the Duke of *Norfolk* with the Queen of *Scots* was concluded, and that they did wait only the opportunity of performance. Wherefore he wished him to concur with his best friends in that matter, and to do it with such expedition and good affection, as it might not appear either to the Queen his Sister, or others who had interest in the business, that his consent was extorted, and not willingly given. To this effect he advised him to send the Laird of *Lethington* to *England* with speed, as the wisest and most sufficient man he could chuse, who would provide for him and thereto that had assisted him substantially and assuredly. His conscience, he said, and some over-precise objections might perhaps trouble him; but if he could have espied any other thing than his overthrow in resisting, he would not have written so peremptorily unto him. Then concluded with these words, No mans friendship will be more embraced than yours, no mans estimation be greater if you shall conform your self, and concur with your friends in this: contrariwise, if you understand, or become an adverse party, you will be so incumbered both from hence, from thence, and all other places, as no man can advise you what to do. Therefore God send you to direct your course for the best.

This Letter was accompanied with another from *Sir Nicholas* to *Lethington*, wherein he shewed, that according to his advice he had written to the Regent with a great zeal and care of his well doing (these were the words he used) and requested he should hasten his coming to Court for that business, the same being as yet concealed from the Queen, till he as the fittest Minister might propound the same in behalf of the Regent and Nobility of *Scotland*; whereunto he held it assured the Queen would assent, as preferring her own surety, the tranquillity of her Kingdom and conservation of her people, before any device that might proceed from the inconsiderate passions of whomsoever. And that he might be the more encouraged, he did inform him particularly of the Duke of *Norfolk's* consent, and the approbation of the Earls of *Arundel, Pembroke, Leicefer, Bedford, Shrewsbury*, and the rest of the wisest, noblest, ablest and mightiest of that Realm. And it was truth that he wrote of their consenting, howbeit with a condition, so that the Queen of *England* was not against it: yea, beside these divers well affected both to Religion and State did with the purpose a good success; for perceiving no inclination in the Queen of *England* her self to take a Husband, they feared the Queen of *Scots*, who was her undoubted Heir, by matching with some foreign Prince, might endanger both Religion and State; and therefore desired the Marriage with the Duke might take effect, he being a Nobleman of *England*, beloved of the people, and educated in the

Protestant

Protestant Religion. For by this Match, as they made account, if it should happen the young King to die, the two Kingdoms might be united in a Prince of the *English* Nation; or if he lived unto a ripe age, he might be married with the Dukes youngest Daughter, who was near of the same age, and that way the two Crowns be made one. But these devices proved idle and vain, as we shall hear.

The Regent, for answering these Letters, did appoint a meeting of the Estates at *Perth* in July thereafter. At which time an Assembly of the Church was also kept in *Edinburgh*, and from it Commissioners directed to the Convention, to renew the Petitions made the year preceeding, that as yet had received no answer. And farther, to desire that a portion of the Tithes might be allotted for sustentation of the poor; the labourers of the ground permitted to gather the Tithes of their proper Corns, paying for the same a reasonable duty; and that the Thirds of Benefices being really separated from the two other parts, the Collectors of the Church might peaceably intromit therewith, for the more ready payment of Ministers according to their assignments. But these Petitions, in regard of the more weighty business, were deferred to another time.

And the Convention falling to consider the Letters sent from *England*, did hardly accord upon an answer. Beginning with that of the Queen of *England*, they judged the First Condition so derogatory to the Kings Authority, as they did simply reject it. The Second, of Association, was held dangerous; and the Third only thought reasonable, and meet to be accepted. But when they came to speak of the Queen of *Scots* desires, the contention was great. They that stood for the Kings Authority taking exception, first, at her imperious form of writing, and that she did command them, as though she were their absolute Queen: then at the desire it self they excepted, not holding it safe to condescend unto the same before the Queen of *England* should be acquainted therewith; for they conceived some other thing to be lurking under that purpose of Divorce than was openly pretended. Such as affected the Queen, and were privy to the Marriage intended with *Norfolk*, excusing the form of writing, and laying the blame upon her Secretaries made offer to procure new Letters in what terms they pleased, so as Judges were named to proceed in the Divorce: and when they saw this not to be regarded, in a chafing mood they said, That it was strange to think, how they that not many months passed seemed to desire nothing more than the Queens Separation from *Bothwell*, should now when it was offered decline the same. It was answered again in heat, That if the Queen was so earnest in the Divorce, she might write to the King of *Denmark*, and desire him to do justice upon *Bothwell* for the Murther of the King her Husband. That done, the Divorce would not be needful, and she freed to marry where and when she pleased.

The Convention breaking up, and neither the Queens Faction obtaining what they desired, nor *Lethington* the employment which he affected, new suspicions began to rise on both sides, and, as in the most secret practices somewhat always is bursting forth, a rumor went rise amongst the common sort, that some great enterprise was in hand, which would bring with it a wonderful change in both Kingdoms. Mr. *John Wood*, one of the Regents domesticks, being sent with the answer of the Convention, did signifie to the Queen of *England* the business made about the Divorce, and what was done concerning it: but she, not seeming to regard the matter, professed that she was not satisfied with the answer of the Convention, and desired they should think better of the Conditions proposed. The truth was, that she held not the Gentleman of sufficient quality to deal in such business; for otherwise she was not ignorant of the cause wherefore the Divorce was sought, and had warned *Norfolk*, to take heed on what pillow he laid his head; yea, she took so ill the Queen of *Scots* carriage in that matter, as shortly after she caused her to be removed to *Coventry*, more within the Countrey, and gave her in custody to *George Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury* and *Edward Hastings* Earl of *Huntington*.

The Regent upon his servants return convened the Nobility again at *Striveling*, where in effect the same answer that of before was given to the Propositions made by the Queen of *England*; and herewith *Robert Pitcarne* Abbot of *Dunfermlin*, a man of good sufficiency, was directed, who was willing to say for the point of Association,

An. 1569. ciation, That the same could not be granted, as tending to the utter overthrow of the Kings Authority, and the endangering of his Person. For besides that the participation of a Crown was obnoxious to many perils, there could be no equality of Government betwixt an infant King and a woman of mature age, who would find a thousand ways, being once possessed with a part of the Rule, to draw the whole unto herself. And if it should fall that she matched with some foreign Prince or other great Personage who must needs be partner with her in the Government, the danger would be so much the greater. These and the like reasons he was willing to use for the Queen of England's satisfaction. But before his coming to Court the face of things was quite changed; the Duke of Norfolk committed to the Tower, and the Bishop of Ross put in the keeping of the Bishop of London. After which brake shortly forth that Rebellion in the North part of England, whereof Thomas Percy Earl of Northumberland and Charles Nevil Earl of Westmerland were the heads. A Rebellion that in the beginning caused great stir, and put the Queen of England in such fears, as once she resolved to send the Queen of Scots by Sea to the Regent; but the sudden dispersing of the Rebels altered that resolution.

The two Earls fleeing into Scotland, Northumberland was not long after put out by some Borderers to the Regent, and sent to be kept in Lochleven: Westmerland found the means to escape into Flanders, where he lived long in a poor and contemptible estate.

Lethington perceiving all his devices frustrated, and being conscious to himself of divers ill practices, remained for the most part with the Earl of Athol at Perth; who being sent for to come to the Regent, made divers excuses, and when he could not shift his coming any longer, intreated Athol to accompany him, that if need was he might use his intercession. Being at Striveling in Council, Captain Thomas Crawford, servant to the Earl of Lennox, did openly charge him with the Kings Murther: whereupon he was committed in a Chamber within the Castle of Striveling. And at the same time were certain directed to apprehend Sir James Balfour, who was guilty of the same crime; but he made an escape. Lethington was sent prisoner to Edinburgh (where he was to have his Trial) under the charge of Alexander Home of North-Berwick, a trusty Gentleman.

Having stayed some days in lodging not far from the Castle, the Laird of Grange, counterfeiting the Regents hand, came about ten of the clock at night, and presented a Warrant for receiving the prisoner in his keeping. The Gentleman, taking no suspicion, obeyed, for he knew no man to be more inward with the Regent than was Grange. And he indeed unto that time did carry the reputation of an honest man, nor was any one thought more sure and fast than he was. But from thenceforth he became hated of all good men, and was in no esteem, as having abused his credit, and deceived the Regent, to whom he was many ways obliged. For, besides other benefits, he had preferred him before all his own friends to be keeper of the Castle of Edinburgh. The next day being sent for to come to the Regent he refused. Notthels the next day following (so careful the Regent was to reclaim the man) he went himself to the Castle, and conferred a good space with him, accepting the excuse he made, and contenting himself with a promise to exhibit Lethington when he should be called to his trial.

After which keeping his journey to the Borders which he had intended, he went by the Mers, and as he was accustomed took up his lodging in the Castle of Home. But there he was coldly received, the Lord of the place having changed his party, and taken himself to the contrary Faction. From thence he went to Teviotdale; and though he was advised by his friends, because of his small company, to return, and defer his journey to another time, he would needs go on, and had great obedience shewed in all the parts to whom he came.

All the time of this expedition he had warning given him daily of some practices against his life, wherein Grange was ever named as one of the principals. But he, not trusting these informations, sent the copies of all his advertisements to Grange: whose purgations were so slender, as he was ever after that time held suspected. Soon after the Regents return from the Borders, the Abbot of Dunfermlin

The Earl of Northumberland imprisoned in Lochleven.

Lethington charged with the Kings Murther.

The Laird of Grange counterfeits the Regents hand, and taketh Lethington to the Castle.

The Regent makes an expedition to the Borders.

He is informed of practices against his life.

lin came home from England, shewing that the Queen had taken in good part the answer of the Council, and was specially pleased with the taking of Northumberland, which she promised to remember with all kindness.

And now the Diet approaching of Lethingtons Trial, because of the numbers that were preparing to keep the day, the Regent disliking such Convocations, and for that he would not have Justice out-bragged, did prorogate the same for four months.

The adverse Faction finding his Authority daily to increase, and despairing of any success in their attempts so long as he lived, resolved by some violent means to cut him off; and to bring the matter to pass, one James Hamilton of Bothwell-haugh did offer his service. This man had been imprisoned some time, and being in danger of his life, redeemed the same by making over a parcel of land in Lothian, called Woodhously, that came to him by his Wife, to Sir James Ballenden Justice Clerk. How soon he was set at liberty he sought to be repossessed to his own, and not seeing a way to recover it (for the Justice Clerk would not part therewith) he made his quarrel to the Regent, who was most innocent, and had restored him both to life and liberty. The great promises made him by the Faction, with his private discontent did so confirm his mind, as he ceased not till he put to execution the mischief he had conceived against him; and having failed the occasion which he attended at Glasgow and Striveling, he followed the Regent to Linlithgow, where lurking privately in the Archbishop of St. Andrews his lodging, the next day, as the Regent did pass that way, he killed him with the shot of a bullet, that entering a little beneath the navel, and piercing the bowels, did strike dead the horse of a Gentleman who was riding on his other side. The Regent had warning given him the same morning, that one did lye in wait for his life, and had the house designed where the man did lurk; but giving small ear unto it, answered, that his life was in the hands of God, which he was ready to yield at his good pleasure. Only he resolved to pass out of the Town by the same Gate at which he entered, and to turn on the back of the Town unto the way that led to Edinburgh, whither he was purposed. But when he had taken horse, either that he would not seem fearful, or then hindered by the throng of horsemen that attended, and thinking to ride quickly by the house that was suspected, he changed his resolution: but the throng there working him the like impediment, the Murtherer had the occasion to execute his Treachery.

How soon the Regent perceived himself stricken, he lighted from his horse, and returned on foot to his lodging. The Chirurgeon at the first inspection of his wound did affirm it not to be deadly, yet after a few hours his pain increasing he began to think on death. They who stood by saying, that he had lost himself, by his clemency, having spared that Miscreant whose life he might justly have taken: he answered, that they should never make him forthink any good he had done in his life. Thereafter giving order for his private affairs, he seriously commended the care of the young King to such of the Nobility as were present, and died a little before midnight. This fell out the 23 of January, 1569, being Saturday.

The Murtherer escaping by the Postern-gate of the Garden came the same night to the Town of Hamilton, where at first he was welcomed with many gratulations and made much of; yet shortly after, to decline the envy of the fact, which they heard was universally detested, they gave him a little money and sent him away into France. Thuanes writeth in his Story, that not long after he came thither he was solicited to undertake the like enterprise against Gaspar Colignie, that worthy Admiral of France; and that he did answer, that he had no warrant from Scotland to commit Murthers in France; and howbeit he had taken revenge of the wrong done to himself, he was not either for price or prayer to undertake other mens quarrels. Whether this was so or not, I leave it upon the credit of the Writer.

The death of the Regent was by all good men greatly lamented, especially by the Commons, who loved him as their Father whilst he lived, and now mourned grievously at his death. The great things he had wrought in his life (having in the space of one year and a little more quieted the State, which he found broken

Lethingtons Trial deferred.

James Hamilton of Bothwell-haugh taketh in hand the Regents Murder.

The Regent killed by the shot of a bullet.

The Murtherer escapeth.

Thuanus 46.

The death of the Regent greatly lamented.

An. 1569. and disordered) made his very enemies speak of him after his death with praise and commendation. Above all his virtues, which were not a few, he shined in Piety towards God, ordering himself and his Family in such sort, as it did more resemble a Church than a Court. For therein besides the exercise of Devotion, which he never omitted, there was no wickedness to be seen, nay, not an unseemly or wanton word to be heard. A man truly good, and worthy to be ranked amongst the best Governours that this Kingdom hath enjoyed, and therefore to this day honoured with the Title of *The good Regent*.

A Prediction
of John Knox.

There fell out the next day after his death a thing which I thought was not to be passed. He was killed on the *Saturday*, and died (as I have said) a little before midnight. The word of his death coming to *Edinburgh*, *Thomas Maitland*, a younger Brother of *Lethington* (this is he whom *Buchanan* makes his Collocutor in the Dialogue *De jure Regni*) knowing what esteem *John Knox* made of the Regent, and loving none of the two, caused a writing to be laid in the Pulpit where *John Knox* was that day to preach, to this sense, and almost in the same words; *Take up the man whom you accounted another God, and consider the end whereto his Ambition hath brought him. John Knox* finding the Paper, and taking it to be a memorial for recommending some sick persons in his Prayers, after he had read the same, laid it by, nothing as it seemed commoved therewith; yet in the end of the Sermon falling to regrave the loss that the Church and Commonwealth had received by the death of the Regent, and shewing how God did often for the sins of the people take away good Rulers and Governours, *I perceive*, said he, *albeit this be an accident we should all take to heart, there be some that rejoyce in this wicked fact, making it the subject of their mirth; amongst whom there is one that hath caused a writing to be cast in this place, insulting upon that which is all good mens sorrow. This wicked man, who soever he be, shall not go unpunished, and shall die where none shall be to lament him.* The Gentleman was himself present at Sermon, and being come to the lodging, asked his Sister, who was also there, if she did not think *John Knox* was raving to speak so of the man he knew not. But she weeping said, that *she was sorry he had not followed her counsel; for she had dissuaded him from that doing. None of this mans denunciations*, said she, *are wont to prove idle, but have their own effect.* Shortly after, the Troubles of the Countrey increasing, the Gentleman betook himself to travel, and passing into *Italy* died there, having no known person to attend him. This I thought not unworthy of record, being informed thereof by the Gentlemans Sister to whom these speeches were uttered, and who was privy to the whole purpose, for an advertisement to all persons, not to make a light account of the threatnings of Gods Servants. The Gentleman was otherwise a youth of great hopes, learned and courteous, but miscarried with affection, and not to be excused in this, that he took pleasure in the fall of him whom he judged an enemy; a thing inhumane and abhorred of the very Heathen.

An Ambassa-
dor sent from
England.

The word of the Regents death carried in haste to *England*, the Queen sent *Thomas Randolph*, Master of her Posts, Ambassador into *Scotland*, partly to confer with the Council upon the surest means to keep affairs in the state they were, and partly to complain of the Incurision lately made in *England*. For the very night after the Regents Murther, *Walter Scot* of *Baclegugh* and *Thomas Ker* of *Pharnerst* had invaded the Countrey bordering upon them, and practised greater Hostility than was accustomed, of purpose to embroil the two Kingdoms in a publick War, which they of the *Scottish* Queens Faction most earnestly desired. The Ambassador was no sooner come, but he had hearing given him by the Council; to whom after he had spoken a few words concerning her Majesties good affection to the Realm in general, and in her name commending to their care the preservation of Religion, the safety of the young King, and the punishment of the late Murther; he did much aggravate the insolence of the Borderers, and the spoil they had made in *England*, saying, 'That his Mistress knew sufficiently that these things were not done by publick allowance, and therefore meant not to make quarrel to the Countrey, but take her self to the Actors, whom if they by themselves could not suppress, her Majesty would either joyn her power to theirs, or, if they thought

'meet,

'meet, send an Army into *Scotland*, which, without doing harm to any good subject, should only punish the committers of that Insolence.

An. 1570.

The Council returning many thanks to the Queen for her kind Ambassage, excused themselves by the present Troubles, that no determinate answer could as then be given to his Propositions, and therefore besought him to have patience unto the first of *May*, at which time the Estates of the Realm were to meet, by whom her Majesty should receive all satisfaction. The Estates convening at the day, *William Douglas* of *Lochlewin*, Brother uterine to the late Regent, preferred a Petition to the Council for some course to be taken in the revenge of his Brothers Murther, considering he was taken away in the defence of the common cause of the Realm, and not upon any private quarrel. The Petition was held reasonable by all that were present, every one consenting to the pursuit and punishment of the Murtherer and his complices. But in the manner they agreed not. Some advising that not the Murtherer only, but all who were suspected to have had a hand in the Treachery, should be called to underly the ordinary trial of Law at a certain day. Others esteeming such a form of process unnecessary with them who had already taken Arms to maintain the fact; and that the best course were, to pursue with all hostility both these that were delated of the recent crime, and such as had been forfeited in the Parliament preceding. Many inclined to the last course, yet because it was opposed by divers of special note, there was nothing concluded in the business; which was generally ill taken of the people, who construed the delay to proceed of some private favour carried to the enemies, and to be done of purpose, that either with time the hatred of the Murther might be lessened, or the adversaries might have leisure to make themselves more strong.

The delay ill
taken of the
people.

The Assembly of the Church in the mean while (which was then convened at *Edinburgh*) to declare in what detestation they had the Murther committed, did ordain the Murtherer to be excommunicated in all the chief Burghs of the Realm, and whosoever afterwards happened to be convicted thereof to be used in the same manner. In this Assembly divers Constitutions were made for Discipline, and amongst others an Act for the publick inauguration of Ministers at their entry, whereunto the revolt of some Preachers gave occasion, that, forsaking the Pulpit, took them to the pleading of Causes before the Lords of Session. It was then also condescended, that forth of the Thirds five thousand Marks should be yearly paid for the furnishing of the Kings House, and the Church burthened with no farther duty.

Some few days after, the principals of the Queens Faction being convened at *Glasgow*, the Earl of *Argile* and Lord *Boyd* did write to the Earl of *Morton*, and offer to joyn with the rest of the Nobility in the trial and punishment of the Regents Murther, so as the meeting were appointed at *Striveling*, *Falkirk* or *Linlithgow*, for to *Edinburgh* they would not come. This Letter (as he was desired) he communicated with the Secretary, who was after the Regents death come forth of the Castle, and by the Earl of *Athol* brought again unto the Council, having first purged himself of the accusation laid against him, and promised to submit himself unto the most severe trial that could be taken. His advice to the Earl *Morton* was, that the Noblemen should all be brought to *Edinburgh*, which for those of the Queens party he undertook to do, and to that effect he sent Letters unto the principals of that Faction, shewing that they had no cause to fear, being in forces superior to the others, and having the Laird of *Grange* on their side (for he had then plainly declared himself for the Queen) who was both Provost of the Town and commanded the Castle. Thus about the midst of *March* the Earls of *Huntley*, *Athol* and *Crawford*, with the Lords *Ogilvy*, *Home* and *Seaton* did meet at *Edinburgh*. The Earl of *Argile*, the *Hamiltons*, and the Lord *Boyd* came as far as unto *Linlithgow*; but by occasion of a tumult raised amongst some Souldiers, they were forced to disperse their companies, and return home to their dwellings. Within a few days the Earls of *Marre* and *Glencarn* came likewise to *Edinburgh*; after whose coming the Lords of both Factions meeting to confer, did think fit to continue all things till the Earl of *Argile* was advertised, whose authority was great in those times. And

The principals
of the Queens Faction
write to the Earl of
Morton.

Lethington of-
fereth himself
to a trial.

A Meeting at
Edinburgh of
the Noblemen
of both parties
in *March*.

when

The Amba-
sadors speech
in Council.

An. 1570.

They deliberate upon the choice of a Regent.

An Ambassador from France.

A meeting at Linlithgow of the Noblemen that stood for the Queen.

They give out a Proclamation.

when it was known that he was gone back from *Linlithgow*, the Earl of *Huntley* followed to persuade his return; but he would not consent. They write the Secretary should have privily dissuaded him, as one who loved to keep all things loose; but I do not see what advantage he could expect that way, and think rather that, as his estate then stood, he did earnestly desire to have matters accorded. The true causes of *Argiles* declining that Conference seems to have been the averseness of his Brother and others of his friendship, who refused to follow him in that quarrel, and carried a constant affection to the maintaining of the Kings Authority.

Whenas the other Noblemen perceived that *Argile* would not come, they began to treat of the choice of a Regent in place of him who was taken away. Here first they fell to question their own power and authority, which some maintained to be sufficient, because of the Patent the Queen had given at first for the administration of affairs in her Sons Minority, in which seven Noblemen were named, besides the late Regent, and that of this number they might chuse, as they said, any one. Others reasoned that no respect ought to be had to that Patent, the same being expired by the creation of the last Regent, for which only at the time it was granted. The more moderate gave their opinion, that all proceeding in that business should be delayed till the convention of the Estates in *May* next. This was likewise opposed by a number that esteemed the protracting of time dangerous, and thought that it concerned the Noblemen who had first assisted the Coronation of the King, and continued firm in his obedience, to nominate a Regent that would be careful of the young King his preservation, and of the quiet and tranquillity of the Realm. But this opinion, as tending to the fostering of discord, was rejected. So that meeting dissolved without any certain conclusion.

At the same time one Monsieur *Verac*, Cubiculaire to the French King, landed at *Dumbarton*, bringing Letters to the Noblemen of the Queens Faction, full of thanks for the constant affection they had shewed in maintaining the cause, and promises of present succours. This did so animate them, as in a frequent meeting kept the first of *April* at *Linlithgow* they began to discover the intention which before they had concealed of making War upon *England*; for this, as they judged, would serve to obliterate the late Regents Murther. And to give the more authority to their proceedings, they took purpose to remove to *Edinburgh*, using all means to draw the Town to be of their party, which they thought would be easily obtained by reason of *Grange* his Commandment; and if they should once compass this, they put no doubt to draw the rest of the Countrey their way in a short time. But first they resolved to advertise the Town of their coming, and to intreat their favour. The Magistrates answered, That their Gates should be patent to all that professed themselves subjects to the King; but they would neither receive the English Rebels (meaning the Earl of *Westmerland* and Lord *Dacres*, who were in company with the Lords) nor the *Hamiltons* and others suspected of the Regents Murther, nor yet permit any Proclamations to be made derogatory to the Kings Authority.

The conditions seemed to them hard, yet, hoping by conversation to win the people to their side, they came forward. The next day after their coming to the Town, they gave out a Proclamation, 'Declaring their good affection towards the maintenance of true Religion, their Sovereign, the Liberty of the Countrey, and the settling of the present Divisions, which must, as they said, unless timely remedy were provided, bring the Realm to utter destruction. They desired therefore all men to know, that they had esteemed the enterprise taken by some Noblemen against the Earl of *Bothwell*, for revenging the Murther of the King, and setting of the Queen at Liberty, both good and honourable, whereunto they would have given their assistance if the same had been duly required. And for the things that had intervened, which they did forbear to mention lest they should irritate the minds of any, their desire was the same might be in a familiar and friendly Conference calmly debated, and a peaceable course taken for removing the Differences. Mean while, because they understood that some unquiet spirits gave out, that their present convening was for the subversion of the Religion presently professed; as they could not but give notice to all the subjects, that

they

they who were now assembled were for the most part the first and chiefest instruments in advancing Religion, and had still continued in professing the same, with a resolution to spend their lands and lives in maintenance thereof: so they desired to have it known, that their meeting at that time did only proceed from a desire they had to see a perfect Union and Agreement established in the Realm; for which they were ready to meet with those of the Nobility that differed from them in judgment, and condescend (after the ground of the Differences was ript up) upon such overtures as should be found agreeable to the setting forth of God his honour, the strengthening of the Royal Succession, the preservation of the young Prince, the entertaining of Peace with foreign Nations, and the settling of Accord amongst the Noblemen and other subjects. This they declared to be their sole intention; and rather than the same should not take the wished effect, they were content to yield unto any Conditions that should be thought reasonable; under protestation, that if this their godly and honest purpose for the re-union of the State was neglected and despised, the inconvenients that ensued might be imputed to the refusers, and the Noblemen presently convened be discharged thereof before God and man. This was the substance of the Proclamation, in the end whereof the Lieges were charged to concur with them in forthsetting that godly purpose, and a prohibition made under great pains to joyn with any others that should attempt under the cloak of whatsoever Authority to hinder the same.

But neither did this Declaration nor the great travel taken by the Earl of *Athol* at the same time prevail with the other Noblemen to bring them to this Meeting, for still they excused themselves by the Convention appointed in *May*, 'which, they said, there was no necessity to prevent; or if any extraordinary occasion did require it, the same being signified to the Earl of *Morton*, who lay at *Dalkieth*, upon his advertisement they should be ready to meet. So finding their hopes this way disappointed, by advice of the Secretary (whose directions only they followed) they took purpose to deal with the Earl of *Morton* apart. To this effect the Earl of *Athol*, the Prior of *Coldingham*, Brother to the Secretary, and the Lord *Boyd* were selected to confer with the Earl of *Morton* and Abbot of *Dunfermlin*; but they could come to no agreement. For the Earl of *Morton* (of whom they had conceived some hope) would not hearken to any Conditions, except they did acknowledge the King for their Sovereign. Hereupon they fell to other counsels: and first, to have the Town of *Edinburgh* at their direction, they craved the Keys of the Gates to be delivered; which being refused, they resolved to contribute moneys for hiring of Souldiers, and to draw so many of their friends and followers thither as with help of the Castle might command the Town. But as they were about these devices, advertisement was brought of an Army come to *Berwick* under the command of the Earl of *Suffex*, which troubled all these projects. To remain in *Edinburgh* they held it not safe; yet left it should be thought that they left the Town for fear, the Magistrates were privately desired to intreat them to depart, lest the English should fall upon the Town and make a spoil of it. So making a shew to please the Town, by whom they had been very courteously used, they went to *Linlithgow*, and abode there the rest of that month. Before their parting, they gave a warrant to the Laird of *Grange* for fortifying the Castle, and dimitting the Lords *Home* and *Hereis*, who had been committed by the late Regent. The Duke of *Chattellerauld* was some days before put to liberty. The Lord *Home* had a part of the moneys which were contributed for levying of Souldiers given him to defend his bounds against the English; but when the Laids of *Baclough* and *Farnherst* desired the like, they were refused, and went away in a great discontent.

About the end of *April* the Army of *England*, entering into *Teviotdale*, burnt the Towns of *Hawick* and *Crawling*, with the Castles of *Farnherst* and *Branxholm*, and divers houses belonging to the *Kers* and *Scots*; and in their return to *Berwick* besieged the Castle of *Home*, which was rendred by the keepers to Sir *William Drury*, at the Lord *Home* his direction, for he reposed much in his friendship. The Lord *Scroop*, at the same time invading the West-borders, made a great spoil upon the *Johnstons* and others who had accompanied *Baclough* in his incursion. The

Lords

An. 1570.

They deal with the Earl of Morton, but he will not hearken to them.

An Army cometh to Berwick under conduct of the Earl of Suffex.

The Lords forsake Edinburgh upon the report.

They give warrant for fortifying the Castle.

The Army of England entereth in Scotland.

An. 1570.
The Lords
desire a Truce
from the Earl
of *Suffex*, which
he refused.

Lords that kept together at *Linlithgow* having advertisement of these proceedings of the *English*, and suspecting they had some other intentions than the spoiling of the Borders, sent a Gentleman to the Earl of *Suffex* to request a Truce, till they might inform the Queen of *England* of the estate of things, and receive her Majesties answer. The Earl opening the Letters that were directed to the Queen (for he had warrant so to do) and seeing them full of vain and idle brags (for, to shew the strength of the Faction, they had set down a Roll of all the Noblemen of their party, inserting therein both some of their opposites, and some that had carried themselves neutrals in all these Broils) returned answer by the messenger, that he would do as he was directed, and not grant any Truce nor keep the Army at their pleasure without employment.

A Convention
of the Estates
at *Edinburgh*.

An offer of
Peace to those
of the Queens
party.

The Queens
Authority
proclaimed.

A Proclamati-
on made by
the Estates.

The Conspi-
rators ranked
in three Or-
ders.

The time of the Convention approaching, they who favoured the King his Authority came in great numbers to *Edinburgh*. At their first meeting it was thought convenient, seeing the adverse party professed a desire of Peace, to make trial of their disposition; and thereupon a Gentleman was sent with this message, *That if they would joyn for revenge of the Murder of the Kings Father and Regent, and would acknowledge the King for their Sovereign, what soever else in reason they could crave should be granted unto them.* The answer was short and peremptory on their part; *That they acknowledge none for their Sovereign but the Queen, and that she having committed the Government of affairs to the Earls of Arran, Argile and Huntley, they would follow and obey them in her service.* Then they caused proclaim the Queens Authority, with the several Commissions of their Lieutenandries, and in the Queens name indicted a Parliament to be kept at *Linlithgow* in *August* ensuing.

The Estates, perceiving there would be no agreement, gave forth a Proclamation to this effect; 'First, they said, that it was not unknown to all the subjects in what a happy state the Realm stood under the Government of the late Regent, and what Calamities it was fallen into by his death, divers Lords and other subjects conspiring with them having presumed to erect another Authority, under the name of the Queen his Majesties Mother. But as such treasonable attempts had been often taken in hand, and as often through Gods favour disappointed, to the shame and ignominy of the enterprisers; so they wished all men should understand what sort of people they were that had massed themselves together in the present Conspiracy.

'The Conspirators they ranked in three orders. The principals (they said) were the Authors of the cruel Murders of the King his Father and Regent; others were manifestly perjured, as having bound themselves by their Oaths and Subscriptions to defend the King his Authority, which now they impugned; a third sort were such as had servile minds, and without regard to Conscience or Honour did follow those to whom they had addicted themselves: All which did pretend the maintenance of true Religion, the Liberty of the Countrey, and the preservation of Peace both abroad and at home. But with what probability, any man of judgment might consider: for neither could he who was known to have been a persecutor of the Truth, and now carried the chief sway amongst them (meaning the Archbishop of *St. Andrews*) be thought a maintainer of Religion; nor could they be esteemed favourers of their Countrey and the quietness thereof, who without any just provocation had invaded the neighbor Realm of *England*, and publicly entertained the Queens Rebels, professing enemies to God and Religion. As to the care they professed of the Kings preservation, any man might conjecture how he should be preserved by them who exiled his Grandfather, murdered his Father, did wickedly counsel his Mother, led her on courses that had brought her to shame and dishonour, and now at last had unworthily cut off his Uncle and Regent, by suborning a mischant to kill him treacherously. Is it like (said they) that they will be content to live subjects to a King descended of that House which they have so long a time persecuted; and will they not fear, if God shall bring him to perfection of years, that he will be avenged of his Fathers and Uncles Murder? Neither can any beignorant what the hope of a Kingdom will work in ambitious spirits, especially when they find them-

selves

selves in a possibility to succeed unto the present possession. And these are the men (said they) who seek to rule and command under the name of her whom they have undone by their wicked practices. Of this they thought fit to advertise the subjects, and to inhibit them from giving any assistance to the said Conspirators under pain of death. Such as of simplicity or ignorance had joyned with them they commanded to separate and return to their houses within the space of 24 hours, promising in that case impunity and pardon for their by-past defection; those only excepted who were suspect of the foresaid Murthers, and had resset the Queen of *Englands* Rebels, and violated the publick Peace betwixt the two Realms.

This Proclamation was indited with much passion, and matters now reduced to these terms, that each side prepared to maintain their quarrel with the destruction of their adversaries. The Queens Faction dispatched *Verack* to *France*, to inform how matters went, and to farther the supply promised.

The Lord *Seaton* was sent to *Flanders*, to intreat the Duke of *Alva* (at that time Governour of the *Netherlands* for the King of *Spain*) for some aid of moneys and men, and to impede the traffick of the *Scottish* Rebels (so they termed them that acknowledged the Kings Authority) in those parts. For the point of Traffick the Duke excused himself, saying, *That he could not inhibit the same, it being against the Liberty of the Low-countries; but in other things he would do his best to further the Queen of Scots cause.*

Like as shortly after he sent Mr. *John Hamilton*, Parson of *Dunbar* (who lay armed with him for the *Scottish* Queen) to the Earl of *Huntley* with great store of Armor and gunpowder, and the sum of ten thousand Crowns to levy Soldiers. The Lord *Seaton* in the mean while, who could not be idle wheresoever he was, and had a great desire to approve himself by some service to the King of *Spain*, dissembling his habit, went into the United Provinces, and dealt with *Scottish* Captains and under-Officers to make them leave the service of the Estates, and follow the King of *Spain*; which being detected, he was apprehended, and by sentence of the Council of War condemned to ride the Cannon; yet by some help he escaped, and fled to the Duke of *Alva*, who sent him home laden with promises, and rewarded with some little present for himself, because of his good affection.

The Lords on the other side who stood for the Kings Authority sent to the Earl of *Suffex*, intreating the assistance of his forces, or some part thereof, because of the common danger: and to move him the more, they advertised that the Earl of *Westmerland* and other *English* Rebels were with the Lords convened at *Linlithgow* in Arms, with intention, as it seemed, to work some mischief, which had need for the good of both Realms to be prevented, which they doubted not (so the Letters bear) having his assistance to do, and to put them off the fields; whereas if supply were not sent in time, and that matters should happen to be put to a day amongst themselves, the issue might prove dangerous. Answer was made, *That the forces should be sent upon sufficient Hostages for their surety during their remaining in Scotland.* Withal he craved, *that the English Rebels whom the Lords had in their hands, and such others as should happen to be apprehended, might be delivered to him, as the Queens Lieutenant, and left to her Majesties disposition.* For the Hostages, it was condescended that the chief Noblemen should deliver some of their friends to remain in *England* during the abode of the *English* forces, and their safe return assured, the chance and fortune of War only excepted, which should be common and alike both to the Scots and them. But touching the delivery of the *English* Rebels, the Lords intreated that the same might be continued unto the return of her Majesties answer to the Instructions sent by the Abbot of *Dunfermlin*, who was upon his journey, and had warrant from them to satisfy her Majesty in that point. To this the Earl consented, providing the Noblemen would give their Bonds for the safe custody of the Rebels, and the performance of that which her Majesty and the Ambassador should agree unto.

The Laird of *Grange* and Secretary *Lethington*, who as yet made a shew to desire Peace, labored by their Letters to keep back the *English* forces, offering what satisfaction the Earl of *Suffex* in name of her Majesty would require. The Earl

An. 1570.

The Lord *Seaton* sent to *Flanders*.

The Parson of *Dunbar* brings monies and Armor to *Huntley*.

The Lords who stood for the King sent to *Suffex* for supply.

Grange and *Lethington* seek to stay the *English* forces upon offers.

An. 1570. Earl answered, *That if the Lords at Linlithgow would disannul the Proclamation of the Queen of Scots Authority, and discharge all Capitulations for aid out of France and all other parts beyond the Sea, remitting the present dissension to the hearing and ordering of the Queen his Mistress, and obliging themselves by their Subscriptions to stand at her Majesties determination, he should stay his forces and detain them with himself, till he received new direction from her Majesty.*

Sir William Drury entered in Scotland with an Army.

Though these answers did in no ways please them, yet to gain some time they gave hopes, that after Conference with the Lords at Linlithgow he should receive all satisfaction. But he smelling their intentions, after he had received the Bonds and Pledges from the Noblemen of the Kings party, sent Sir William Drury Governour of Berwick with a thousand foot and three hundred horsemen into Scotland. How soon the Lords that were convened at Linlithgow heard of their coming, and that the Earl of Lenox was in their company, they departed towards Glasgow, and besieged the Castle, purposing to raze it, lest it should be useful to the Earl of Lenox, who was now returned from England. But the House was so well defended by a few young men (they passed not 24. in all) that the Siege, after it had continued the space of five or six days, brake up upon the rumour of the Noblemen and the English forces their approaching. The Duke of Chatterault went with the Earl of Argyle into his Country, the Earl of Huntley and the rest into the North.

The Castle of Hamilton rendered.

The Noblemen assisted with the English forces coming to Glasgow, after a short stay marched to Hamilton, and laid siege to the Castle, which at the sight of the Ordinance that was brought thither for the battery was yielded to the English by Andrew Hamilton of Meriton Captain, upon promise to have their lives spared. The Castle was set on fire and pitifully defaced, as also the Dukes Palace within the Town of Hamilton, and divers other Houses in Cliddisdale. In their return to Edinburgh they destroyed the Houses and Lands pertaining to the Lords Flemyn and Levingston, with the Dukes lodging in the Town of Linlithgow, the Houses of Kinneill, Pardomy, Peill of Levingston, and others that appertained to the Hamiltons in that Shire. This done, the English forces returned to Berwick, and were accompanied thither by the Earl of Morton, who received again the Hostages that were delivered in England.

The Abbot of Dunfermlin Ambassador in England. His Instructions.

Whilst these things were adoin at home, the Abbot of Dunfermlin was following his Legation in England. His Instructions from the Noblemen of the Kings party were, 'First, To shew the Queen, that by the delay of her Majesties Declaration in the cause of the Kings Mother all these Commotions had been raised, and therefore to intreat her Majesty plainly to declare her self, and take upon her the Protection of the young King. Secondly, To inform her of the difficulties they had in electing of a Regent, and crave her opinion therein. Thirdly, To shew what a necessity there was of intreating some forces of foot and horse, till the present Troubles were pacified: and in regard of the publick burthens, to request her for moneys to maintain 300 Horse, and 700 Foot, which was esteemed sufficient for repressing the adversaries power. Lastly, Concerning the Rebels of England who were in hands, to give her Majesty assurance that they should be safely kept, and to beseech her Highness, if she would have them delivered, that some respect might be had to their credit, and mercy shewed so far as could stand with her Majesties safety and the quiet of the Realm. For the other Rebels that were as yet in the Country, he was desired to promise in their name all diligence for their apprehension; and if it should happen them to be taken, that they should be committed in sure custody till her Majesties pleasure was known.

The Queens answer to the Instructions.

These things proponed to the Queen, she answered; *That having heard nothing from the Lords since the late Regents death, and being daily importuned by forein Ambassadors, she had yielded to a new hearing of the Controversies betwixt them and their Queen, and that she intended to have a meeting of the Commissioners of both parties ere it was long; and therefore desired them to cease from using farther Hostility, and not to precipitate the Election of a Regent, the delay whereof would work them no prejudice.*

This

This answer reported to the Lords did trouble them exceedingly: from the one part they saw a necessity of accommodating themselves and their proceedings to the Queen of Englands pleasure; and on the other they did find a great hurt by the want of a Regent, that adverse Faction having thereby taken occasion to erect another Authority, and divers of their own partakers falling back from their wonted forwardness, as not knowing on whom they should depend. After long consultation this expedient was taken; That a Lieutenant should be appointed for certain time with full authority to administrate all affairs, and notice sent to the Queen of England of the necessity they stood in of a Regent, and that there was no other way to keep the subjects in obedience. Choice accordingly was made of the Earl of Lennox; Grandfather to the King, and a Commission of Lieutenantry given him to endure to the 11 of July next; at which time the Estates were warned to meet for the election of a Regent. Letters were also directed to the Queen of England, requesting her advice in the choice, and an answer to the other Petitions moved by the Abbot of Dunfermlin.

The Queen, who was put in hope that Westmerland, and the other Rebels of England entertained by the Queen of Scots Faction should be delivered unto her, had shewed her self very favourable unto them, but hearing that they were escaped, she made answer as follows: *That she did kindly accept the good will of the Noblemen testified by their seeking her advice in the choice of a Regent, being a matter of such importance, and so nearly touching the estate of their King and Realm. That her mind once was, they should do best to continue the Election for a time; but now considering the disorders that were raised, and possibly thereafter might arise, if some person was not placed in that charge, she did allow their resolution. And seeing the abilities of men for that place were best known to themselves, she should be satisfied with their choice what soever it was. Howbeit out of the care she had of the young King, she would not dissemble her opinion, which was, that the Earl of Lennox her Cousin, whom, as she was informed, they had made Lieutenant of the Realm, would be more careful of his safety than any other. But in any case desired them, not to think that in so doing she did prescribe them any choice, but left it free to themselves to do what was fittest. Farther, she desired them to rest assured, notwithstanding of the reports dispersed by their adversaries, that she had neither yielded nor would yield to the alteration of the state of their King and Government, unless she did see a more just and clear reason than had yet appeared. For howbeit she condescended to hear what the Queen of Scots would say and offer as well for her own assurance as for the good of that Realm (a thing which in honor she could not refuse) yet not knowing what the same would be, she meant not to break the order of Law and Justice, either to the advancing or prejudging of her cause. Therefore finding the Realm governed by a King, and him invested by Coronation and other Solemnities requisite, as also generally received by the Three Estates, she minded not to do any act that might breed alteration in the Estate, or make a confusion of Governments. But as she had found, so to suffer the same continue, and not permit any change therein so far as she might impede the same, except by some eminent reason she should be induced to alter her opinion. In end she desired them beware, that neither by misconceiving her good meaning towards them, nor by the insolent braggings of their adversaries, they should take any course that might hinder or weaken their cause, and make her intentions for their good ineffectual.*

This Letter communicated to the Estates convened at Edinburgh the twelfth of July, and a long discourse made to the same effect by Mr. Thomas Randolph her Ambassador, they were exceedingly joyed. So following the advice given them, they made choice of Matthew Earl of Lennox, declaring him Regent and Governor of the Realm unto the Kings Majority, or till he were able by himself to administrate the publick affairs. This was done with the great applause of all that were present, and published the next day at the Cross of Edinburgh.

In an Assembly of the Church kept the same month there was some business moved by Mr. James Carmichael, then Master of the Grammar-School of S. Andrews, against Mr. Robert Hamilton Minister of the City, for some Points of Doctrine delivered

The Earl of Lennox created Regent.

An Assembly of the Church at Edinburgh.

An. 1570.

Commissioners directed from the Assembly of the Church to the Lords of the Queens party.

The Regent goeth to impede the Parliament indicted at Linlithgow.

A parliament indicted at Edinburgh.

The Regents Expedition to Brichen.

An Ambassador to Denmark.

livered by the said Mr. Robert in Pulpit. The Points are not particularly exprest, but in the sixth Session of that Assembly, Mr. James Macgill Clerk of the Register, Mr. John Bellenden of Auchinole Justice Clerk, and Mr. Archibald Douglas one of the Senators of the College of Justice, were directed from the Chancellor and Council to require them to forbear all decision in that matter, seeing it concerned the Kings authority, and contained some heads tending to Treason (so is it there said) which ought to be tried by the Nobility and Council, willing them notwithstanding to proceed in such things as did appertain to their own jurisdiction; which was judged reasonable, and agreed unto by the Church. So far were they in their times from declining the King and Council in Doctrines favouring of Treason and Sedition, as they did esteem them competent Judges thereof. In the same Assembly Commission was given to Mr. David Lindeſay and Mr. Andrew Hay to travel with the Duke of Chastellerauld, the Earl of Argyle, Eglinton and Cassils, the Lord Boyd, and other Barons and Gentlemen in the West parts, for reducing them to the obedience of the King and his Authority. The Like Commission was given to the Laird of Dun for the Earl of Crawford, the Lord Ogilvy and their assistants in Angus; and certification ordained to be made unto them, that if they did not return to the Kings obedience, the Spiritual Sword of Excommunication should be drawn against them: which I cannot think was really intended, considering the quality and number of the persons.

The Regent immediately upon his creation, and observing the Laws and Liberties of the Realm, prepared to keep the Diet appointed at Linlithgow by the Lords of the Queens party, who were said to be gathering forces for holding the Parliament they had indicted; and because much depended upon the success of that business, he sent to the Earl of Suffex for assistance of his forces and to the Laird of Grange (with whom he kept some correspondence) for some Field-pieces, and other things belonging to their furniture. Grange at first made fair promises, but shifting those who were sent to receive the munition, said, that his service should not be wanting to the making of a Concord, but he would not be necessary to the shedding of the blood of Scottish men. The Earl of Suffex deferred his answer likewise, till the Queen should be advertised. Notwithstanding the Regent observed the Diet, accompanied with 5000 Gentlemen, none of the adverse party appearing.

Thereafter a Parliament was indicted to hold at Edinburgh the tenth of October; and the Regent understanding that the Earl of Huntley had sent some 160 souldiers to Brichen, and given order for providing victuals to the Companies who were there to meet him, made an hasty Expedition thither, and having sent the Lords Lindeſay and Ruthven, with Sir James Haliburton Provost of Dundy, a little before himself, went nigh to have intercepted the Earl of Crawford, the Lord Ogilvy and Sir James Balfour, who were there attending Huntley. But they escaping, the souldiers fled to the Steeple of the Church and Castle, which they had fortified. The Steeple at the Regents first coming did yield, & so many as were therein had their lives saved: the Castle held out some days, till they heard the Cannon was at hand, and then rendred at discretion. Cap. Cowts with 30 of his souldiers were executed, because they had once served, & made defection. The rest were pardoned, upon surety not to carry arms against the present Authority. This Expedition ended, the Regent returned to Edenb.

In the Month of August by Letters from Denmark it was advertised, that Colonel John Clerk, who had served the King there in his Wars with Sweden, was imprisoned by the suggestion of some countrymen that labored for Bothwells liberty. Whereupon Mr. Thomas Buchanan, brother to Mr. George Buchanan the Kings Tutor, was sent in Ambassage to Denmark, to require that Bothwell might be delivered and sent into Scotland, to the effect justice might be done upon him, or then that he might be judged there, for the detestable Murder committed upon the person of the Kings Father, and receive his due punishment. This had before that time been often desired, but was delayed by divers occasions: and now the report of Bothwells greater liberty, and that he had been permitted to accuse Colonel Clerk, a Gentleman well esteemed, and of good reputation for his service done both at home and in parts abroad, the Regent and Council took occasion to put that King in re-

membrance of their former requests; and if any doubt was made in those parts of Bothwells guiltiness, they offered to clear the same by evident probation; and thereupon intreated him, by the communion of blood and nigh kindred betwixt him and the King of Scotland, that he would not suffer such a nefarious person to escape. In the same Letters they requested that the Colonel might be set at liberty, and restored to the Kings wonted favor, or then be licensed to return into Scotland, where there was present use for his service. This Ambassage was not without fruit, and put Bothwell out of all credit; so as desperate of liberty, he turned mad, and ended his wicked life some years after (as before was touched) most miserably.

All things now went ill with the Queens Faction, neither saw they a way to subsist but by laboring an Abstinence, which the Secretary earnestly went about, and prevailed so far with the two Liegers of France and Spain, as they brought the Queen of England to a new Treaty with the Scots Queen, and to hearken unto some overtures which she did make both for the Queens assurance, and for the settling of a perfect Peace betwixt her and her Son, and those that stood in his obedience. This moved the Regent, he did greatly oppose it; yet the Queen of England would needs have him agree to the Abstinence for the space of two months, in which it was thought the Treaty should take an end. Great dispute there was about the tenor and form of the Abstinence, which at last was accorded in these terms. That the Regent should oblige himself and his partakers to cease from Arms, and not to molest any that pretended obedience to the Kings Mother, during the space of two months, which should be understood to begin the third day of September; providing that no Innovation should be made in the Government, and all things continue in the same estate wherein they were at the death of the late Regent: As also that the ordinary administration of the Law and Justice in Parliament, Session and other Courts, with the punishment of thieves and trespassers, might proceed in the mean time by Law or force in the Kings name, and under his Authority, without any opposition. This granted, by a second Letter the Queen of England signified, That she had appointed Sir William Cecil her principal Secretary, and Sir Walter Mildmay Chancellor of the Exchequer, to repair to the Queen of Scots, and learn what offers she would make for her Majesties surety, and the not disturbing the Realms, if she should be put to Liberty. In which Treaty she minded not to neglect the surety of the young King, and the estate of the Nobility adhering to him; whereof she would be no less careful than of what concerned her self most. But in regard that Treaty could take no good effect, if the Regent and the Nobility on his side should do any thing to the prejudice of the Queen of Scots and her party, she desired that no Parliament should be kept during the time of the Treaty; or if it had taken beginning before the receipt of the Letter, that nothing should pass therein which might give her cause to complain. And for the Abstinence taken unto the third of November, seeing there was no likelihood the Treaty should take an end in so short a time, he was farther desired to prorogue the same for other two months. The Letter, dated at Windsor the seventh of October, was brought to the Regent the thirteenth, some two days after the Parliament was begun.

This Treaty did much perplex the Regent; for albeit he was advertised before of the Queen of Englands condescending to hear what the Scottish Queen would say in her own cause, yet he did not expect any such sudden dealing, or that it should have begun without his knowledge. But making the best construction of all things, he answered, That the Parliament had taken a beginning before her Majesties Letters came to his hand, and for the reverence he did carry to her, he had abstained from all proceeding in any matters, only his office of Regiment was confirmed, and the Parliament adjourned unto the month of January, before which time he hoped the fruit of that Treaty would appear. For the prorogation of the Abstinence, he had declared at the first how hurtful the same was to the King his affairs, and that there was no true meaning in the adverse party, as did manifestly appear by the arresting of the Ships and goods of the Scottish Merchants professing the King his obedience, in the Kingdom of France, and other divers insolences practised at home, since

An. 1570.

An Abstinence agreed unto.

A Treaty with the Queen of Scots.

The Regents Letter to the Queen of England.

An. 1570.

Secretary Leithington denounced Rebel, and loses his office.

The Secretaries Declaration.

The Regents reply.

the granting thereof. That howsoever he was persuaded her Majesty had not a mind under colour of the Abstinence to ruine the young King, and those that stood in defence of his Authority; yet they had received more hurt thereby than they could have done if open hostility had been professed. Therefore he desired that before he was urged with a farther cessation, the ships and goods stayed in France might be set free, the injuries committed at home repaired, & all things innovated in the Government since the late Regents death disannulled by Proclamation: which things performed, he should willingly obey her Majesties desire. Upon this last part of the Letter many debates arose amongst the parties, and divers particulars on either side were exhibited in writing to the Earl of *Suffex*, for verifying a breach of the Abstinence against others. That which I find most insisted upon was the denouncing of Secretary *Leithington* Rebel, who, being cited to appear at a certain day before the Regent and Council, was for his contumacy sentenced to lose his Office, and have his goods confiscated. The Regent challenged of this point made answer, *That the Secretary could claim no benefit by the Abstinence, seeing he was the Kings subject, and stood to the defence of the Kings cause both in England and Scotland, professing himself as much displeased with the Proclamation of the Queens Authority as any man else. And howbeit of late he had accompanied the contrary Faction, yet he never declined his subjection to the King. That being required to attend his office he had refused, whereupon the same was justly taken from him: and for the Confiscation complained, if he would yet declare on what side he was he should be reasonably used.*

The Secretary, who had often changed his party, finding that now he must declare himself on the one side or the other, sent to the Earl of *Suffex* this answer; 'That he did think it strange the Regent should enquire on which side he was, seeing his speeches, writings and actions had declared the same. Always now he would plainly profess, that he was not of the Lord Regents side, nor would he acknowledge him for Regent. That he was of that side which would perform their duties to the Queen of *Scotland* and to her Son; so as neither of them should have cause to find fault with him that he was of that side which wished to either of them the place which in reason and justice they ought to possess; and that he was of that side which requested the Queen of *England* to enter into good conditions with the Queen, whereby *Scotland* might be brought in an union, and she restored to her Liberty and Realm. He confessed that he did not allow of the proclaiming of the Queens Authority, nor of the Parliament indited by those of her part, because he foresaw the same would impede the Treaty betwixt the two Queens, and might do hurt many ways, and hinder the good he was about to do. But that would not infer an allowance of their doings. And this (he said) might give the Regent to understand on what side he was.

This answer, neither expressing a reason of his falling away from the Kings obedience, nor discovering plainly, as was desired, of what side he should be esteemed, being delivered to the Regent, received this reply. 'That it was no marvel he should not acknowledge him for Regent, having deserved so ill at his hands, and being attainted of the foul and cruel Murder of his Son, the Kings Father. That his Declaration did not satisfy that which was demanded: for where he made a shew to observe a duty both to the Queen and to her Son, and would have it appear that he was about the effecting of great matters; the duties he had done to either of them were well enough known, neither could any man look for any good to proceed from him. Therefore howsoever he had against his promise and subscription declined from the Kings party, he must still be subject to answer such particulars as should be laid against him in the Kings name. And seeing it was neither her Majesties meaning, that any person guilty of the Kings Murder should enjoy benefit by the Abstinence, he that was challenged thereof in the late Regents time, and had in Council offered himself to the severest trial that could be taken, could not complain of the breach of Abstinence for any thing done or intended against him. But that neither this particular nor any other should be an occasion to dissolve that Treaty begun, he said, that he was content the notes of all injuries alledged on either side, should be delivered in writing

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to the Earl of *Suffex*, and the trial or redress thereof continued, till it should appear what effect the Treaty brought forth. The prorogation of the Abstinence in the mean time, as was desired by the Queen of *England*, was yielded unto, and subscribed the fourth of November, with this provision, *That the goods and the ships of the Scottish Merchants arrested at that time in France should be released, and no stay made of such as should happen to repair thither during the time of the Abstinence.*

Whilest these things were debating, the copy of the Articles proposed by the Commissioners of *England* to the Queen of *Scots* for the surety of the Queen were sent to the Lords of her Faction to be considered, which were as followeth.

Articles proposed to the Queen of Scotland.

1. That the Treaty at *Leith* should be confirmed; and that she should not claim any Right nor pretend Title to the Crown of *England* during the life of Queen *Elizabeth*.
2. That she should not renew nor keep any League with any Prince against *England*, nor yet receive foreign Forces into *Scotland*.
3. That she should neither practise nor keep intelligence with *Irish* or *English* without the Queens knowledge, and in the mean time cause the *English* Fugitives and Rebels to be rendered.
4. That she should redress the wrongs and harms done by her Faction in the Borders of *England*.
5. That she should not joyn in Marriage with any *Englishman* without the consent of the Queen of *England*, nor with any other against the liking of the Estates of *Scotland*.
6. That she should not permit the *Scots* to pass into *Ireland*, without licence obtained from the Queen of *England*.
7. That for the performance of these Articles, her Son should be delivered to be brought up in *England*, and six other Hostages, such as the Queen of *England* should name, should be sent thither. The Castles of *Home*, *Fast-Castle*, kept by the *English* for the space of three years, and some Fort in *Galloway* or *Cantrie*, be put in the *English* mens hands, for restraining the *Irish Scots* from going into *Ireland*.
8. That she should do justice according to the Law upon the Murderers of her Husband and the late Earl of *Murray*.
9. That she should set her hand, and cause the Commissioners to be appointed by her party set their hands and seals to these Articles.
10. And lastly, that all these particulars should be confirmed by the Estates of *Scotland*.

Now albeit divers of these Articles were disliked by the Lords of her Faction; yet conceiving thereby some hope of her Restitution, they dispersed certain copies in the Country, to encourage those that professed her obedience, holding back such of the Articles as seemed most hard, trusting to obtain a mitigation thereof in the conference. And she indeed, I mean the *Scottish* Queen, shewed her self pleased withal; only she remitted the full answer to her Commissioners that should come from *Scotland*. The rumor of the Accord held good a few days, and amused the Regent and other Noblemen not a little; till a Letter directed by Sir *William Cecil* from *Chatterworth* in *Derbyshire*, where the Queen of *Scots* then lay, did otherwise inform, which was to this effect: 'That he was put upon that employment much against his heart, and yet had not dealt therein but with a great regard of the safety of the young King and whole Estate: and that all he had done touching *Scottish* affairs was under Protestation, that it should be in the power of those whom the Queen and Regent should send in Commission to change, diminish or augment the Articles at their pleasures. Therefore did he advise the Regent to send a Nobleman with some other well learned and practised in the affairs of the Country, to deal in these matters; taking care that the persons he chused were constant and firm, and such as would not be won from him, nor from the cause.

Sir William Cecil his Letters to the Regent.

An. 1570.

The Earl of
Suffex his ad-
vertisement to
the Regent.His particu-
lar advice.The Regents
answer.

This Letter of the date the thirteenth of October 1570, written in so friendly and familiar a manner (for therein he named some whom the Regent had lately employed, of whom he willed him to beware) gave him to understand that matters were not so far gone as his adversaries did brag.

After a few days the Earl of Suffex advertised the Regent, 'That the Lords of the other Faction had made choice of certain Commissioners to attend the Treaty begun betwixt their Queen and the Queen of England, desiring that no trouble nor molestation should be made to them and their train in that journey; as also to send some special persons instructed with Commission from the King and the Nobility of his side, to give their best advice for the surety of the King and his dependents, if matters should happen to be accorded. And if it fell out otherwise, to consider what should be the most sure course for continuance of Amity betwixt the two Realms, the preservation of the young King, the reducing of the subjects to his obedience, and the defence of the Isle against foreign Invasions. These Commissioners he desired to be sent with expedition, for that her Majesty longed to have an end of the business, and could not grow to any Resolution till she had conferred with them, and understood their minds.

This he did by direction from the Queen his Mistress, as he wrote, howbeit he himself had thought of some particulars that he held convenient to be thought upon both for the Kings security and theirs, if his Mother should be set at liberty, wherein he prayed him familiarly to shew what was his opinion. As first, *If she should happen to be restored to her Crown, and the King to be made to dimitt the Authority, it might be upon condition that in case of her death, or the breach of the present Agreement, he might re-enter to the Kingdom without any Solemnities to be used.* Next, *That a Council of both parties might be provided to her by the Queen of England, for avoiding all sorts of practices.* Thirdly, *That the young King should be educated in the Realm of England, under the custody of such persons as the Nobility of his party should appoint; which would be the greatest surety for those that depended on him, and tie his Mother to the performance of the Articles.* Fourthly, *That a new Act of Parliament should be made for the establishing of true Religion, and oblivion of all injuries committed on either side.* Fifthly, *That the Queen should give some principal men of her side Hostages to remain in England for fulfilling the heads of the Agreement.* Lastly, *He advised the Regent to send with the Commissioners that should be employed in that errand a Writing signed and sealed by all the Noblemen of the Kings party, to shew who they were that stood on that side: because, besides the credit it would bring to the cause, the same would be to good purpose howsoever matters went. For if the Treaty should break off, it would be seen who would maintain and defend the King; or if otherwise an Accord were made, it would be known for what persons the Queen of England was to provide a surety.*

Whether these Propositions were made (as he gave out) of his own head, or which would rather appear, that he was set on by the Queen of England to try the Regent and Nobilities mind, he answered very advisedly, and beginning at the last, he said, 'That he held his opinion good touching the Sealing of a Writing by the Nobility of the Kings party, whose number would not be found so great as he wished, because there were divers Neuters that adhered to no side, and many that desired to keep things loose, some for impunity of crimes whereof they were suspected, and others hoping to better their condition in an unquiet time; yet he trusted to obtain the subscriptions of a sufficient number who had sincerely continued in the profession of true Religion, and his Majesties obedience, and from their hearts abhorred the Murderers of the King his Son and the late Regent. For the other Points he said that he could not give his private opinion in matters so important, by reason of his Oath made at the acceptance of the Government to have no dealing in matters of that kind without the knowledge of the Nobility and Council. And touching the Commissioners which the Queen required to be sent, there should be diligence used therein, how soon they understood of what quality the others were that the Lords of the Queens party did

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chuse. Neither should any molestation be made to them in their journey, so as their names, the number of their train, and the way they minded to take were notified: for otherwise, as he said, the King and Estate might receive hurt, and some that were culpable of those odious Murthers steal away privately in their company. Meanwhile he shewed, that till Commissioners might be chosen by the advice of the Noblemen then absent, the Council had appointed the Abbot of Dunfermlin Ambassador to the Queen of England, and given him such Instructions as they held needful for the time, by whom she should be more fully advertised of their minds in all matters.

About the midst of November the Abbot of Dunfermlin (then made Secretary) went into England. He was desired to shew the Queen, 'How it was the expectation of all the good subjects in Scotland, that she would never forget the motherly care she had professed to have of the innocent person of their young King; nor yet be unmindful of the Noblemen and others professing his obedience, who had studied to maintain Peace betwixt the two Realms ever since her Majesties entry to the Crown: and that they being required as well by Letters from her Lieutenant in the North, as by her Ambassador resident amongst them, to direct some special persons towards her for communicating such things as they thought requisite for the security of their King and themselves, although they had resolved upon a number sufficient for that Legation, yet they deferred to send away, till they should understand who were nominated for the Lords of the other party, to the end they might equal them in birth and quality. That in the mean time, lest they should be thought more negligent than became them in matter of such importance, they had laid upon him the charge to come and signifie to her Majesty the opinion that was held in Scotland of the Articles framed at Chattefworth, which the adversaries gave out to have been craved by her Majesty, and esteemed a sufficient security for the Queen of Scots. And if he did find her Majesty inclining thereto, then to remember her with what a person she had to do; a Prince's by birth, in Religion Popish, one that professed her self a Captive, and as joyned with an Husband (suppose in a most unlawful conjunction) and that any one of these would serve for a colour to undo whatsoever thing she agreed unto at the present: for her Majesty could not be ignorant, how after her escape out of Loch-lewin she revoked the Dimission of the Crown, made in favors of her Son, (though the same was done for good respects) upon a pretext of fear, and that she did the same being a Captive. As likewise she knew the Papists Maxime of not keeping faith to Hereticks, which would serve her for a subterfuge to break all Covenants when she saw her time: and that to dimitt her upon any surety would prove no less dangerous to her Majesties own estate than to Scotland, considering the claim she had made in former times to the Crown of England, and the attempts of her Rebels at home, not yet well extinct, upon the same grounds. In regard whereof there was nothing could assure the quiet of both Realms in their opinions but her Detention under safe custody, which could not be esteemed dishonorable, the just causes and occasions being published and made manifest to the world. As to the power of foreign Princes whereof they boasted, the same was not much to be feared, so long as her person was kept sure; and if War for that cause should be denounced, the peril should be less than if she were set at Liberty and restored to the Crown; for so she should have her forces & friendship ready to joyn with other Princes in all their quarrels, against which no Hostages could serve for assurance.

This was the sum of his Instructions. He had presence of the Queen the penult of November, and perceiving that none of these Articles were concluded, he did communicate all his Instructions unto her, as he was desired. She having perused them, and reasoned thereupon with her Council, returned this Answer: *That she found in his Instructions divers things worthy of consideration, which behoved to be farther debated and gravely weighed, because of their importance: therefore desired some men of credit to be directed unto England, that an end might be put to that business. For as to the Restitution of the Queen, seeing it appeared they had reason to oppose it, she would not have the Regent or those of his party to think that she intended*

The Abbot of
Dunfermlin
made Secretary,
and sent
into England.The Queen of
England's an-
swer, ult. No-
vembris. 1570.

An. 1570. ded to wrong them in any sort; for if they should make it appear that nothing was done by them but according to Justice, she would side with them and maintain their quarrel. And otherwise, if they were not able to justify their Cause by such evident reasons as might satisfy her Majesty in Conscience, and make her answer the world in honor, she would nevertheless, for that natural love she bare to the King her near Kinsman, and the good will she carried to the Noblemen that stood for his Authority, leave no means unprovided for their safeties. But in regard a great part of the time appointed in the last prorogation of the Abstinence was already spent, she desired the same to be prorogated unto March next; and would desire them to agree thereto, in regard they that stood for the Queen had condescended to the same, and as much more time as she should think fitting. This answer, of the date at Hampton Court the 7 of December, came unto the Regent the 15, who thereupon advertised the Noblemen to meet at Edinburgh with all diligence for taking deliberation of things desired.

The Laird of Grange raiseth a trouble in Edinburgh and breaks out in open Rebellion.

The Laird of Grange, whether to impede the meeting, or to divert the Council from trying a Conspiracy which was then discovered, and said to have been devised in the Castle against the Regents life, it is uncertain, raised a great Trouble in the Town of Edinburgh about the same time. One of his servants, called James Fleming, being imprisoned by the Magistrates for a slaughter committed by his direction, he in the evening, whilst all men were at supper, made the Garrison of the Castle to issue forth, and break open the prison doors, playing all the while upon the Town with the Cannon, to terrifie the inhabitants from making resistance. This being complained of to the Regent, he was called to answer for the Riot, but refused to appear, and presently brake out in open Rebellion, fortifying the Castle, and conducting a number of souldiers, who did afterwards greatly annoy the Citizens.

Commissioners sent into England.

The Nobility notwithstanding did keep the Meeting, and made choice of the Earl of Morton, the Abbot of Dunfermlin, and Mr. James Macgill, to go unto England; withal they agreed to the Abstinence required, adjourning the Parliament to May thereafter. How soon these Commissioners were come to London, the Earl of Leicester and Sussex, the Lord Keeper, the Chamberlain, Sir William Cecil Secretary (then made Lord Burleigh,) Sir Walter Mildmay and Sir Francis Knolls were appointed to confer with them. These meeting in the Secretaries Chamber at Court, after salutations and some general speeches, the Lord Burleigh said, 'That they were desired to come into England upon occasion of a Treaty begun betwixt the two Queens, and that her Majesty did now expect to receive from them such evident reasons for their proceedings against their Queen, as wherewith she might both satisfy herself, and with honor answer to the world for that which she did: Or if they could not be able so to do, that matters might be composed in the best sort for their safeties, which her Majesty would by all means procure. The Commissioners answered, That they had before that time imparted the truth of all things to her Majesty, which they thought might satisfy to clear them from the crimes objected; yet if she stood doubtful in any point, the same should be cleared and their doings justified by most evident reasons. Nothing farther was said at that time, but continued to the next day. And then having again met, the Earl of Morton made a long discourse of the reasons and grounds of their proceedings, answering the objections which he thought could be made against what he had spoken. His discourse ended, they were desired to put their reasons in writings; which was with some difficulty yielded unto, and under condition, that if the reasons propounded by them did not content her Majesty, the Writing should be redelivered, and no Copy taken thereof; otherwise, if her Majesty did like and allow them, they were content the same should be put in Record, if so it pleased her Highness.

Reasons justifying the Queen of Scots Deposition.

The last of February (for albeit the 20 of that month they came to London) they presented a number of Reasons for justifying the Deposition of their Queen, and cited many Laws both Civil, Canon and Municipal, which they backt with examples drawn forth of Scottish Histories, and with the opinions of divers famous Divines. The Queen of England having considered their reasons, was not a little displeased both with the bitter speeches and with the liberty they had used in

depressing the Authority of Princes, and thereupon told them, 'That she was in no sort satisfied with their Reasons, willing them to go unto the second Head, and devise what they thought meetest for the Safety of their King and themselves. But said they, refusing, That they had no Commission to speak of any thing that might derogate from the Kings Authority; and if such a Commission had been given them, they would not have accepted it.

In these terms matters continued some days, till the Commissioners for the King of Scots suting to be dimitted were sent for to Greenwich, where the Queen had a long speech, tending all to declare what a good will she had carried to the young King, and to those that professed his obedience, & wondering they should be so wilful as not to deliberate of such things as served to their own safety. The Commissioners answering, that they believed the Reasons produced would have satisfied her Majesty touching their proceedings, which (as they esteemed) were sufficient to prove that they had done nothing but according to Justice; Yet I (saith the Queen) am not satisfied neither with your Reasons, nor Laws, nor Examples; nor am I ignorant of the Laws my self having spent divers years in the study thereof. If ye your selves will not (saith she) propone any thing for your own Sureties, yet I would have you hear what my Council is able to say in that matter, and I hope it shall content you.

They answered, That their respect to her Majesty was greater than to refuse any good advice which she and her good Council should give them; but that they had no power to consent to any thing that might infer an alteration of the present State, or diminish the Kings Authority.

The next day the Articles following were given them, and they desired to consider of the same and set down their Answer in writing.

Articles proposed to the Commissioners of Scotland.

1. That in regard her Son had been crowned King by virtue of her Dimission, and his Coronation ratified by the Three Estates of Parliament, and that since that time a great number of the subjects had professed obedience to him and his Regents, which was to be interpreted in the best part, as done out of duty, and not out of any ill mind towards their Queen, the obedience so yielded to the King and his Regents should be allowed from the time of the Dimission of the Crown made by her, unto the Resumption of the same: and all manner of AEs done since that time in the administration of Justice and for Government of the State should be reputed good and lawful, or at least reviewed, and confirmed in the next Parliament after consideration taken of the same by twelve Lords, whereof six should be named by the Queen and her Commissioners, and the other six by the Commissioners for the Kings part.

2. That all Statutes and Ordinances made concerning matters of Religion and the Ministers thereof since the same time should be observed by all the subjects of Scotland, and no pardon nor dispensation granted in time coming to any person not observing the same, without consent of the said twelve Lords.

3. That all Proceses, Sentences and Judgments given either in causes civil or criminal since the said time, wherein the order of the Laws of the Realm had been observed, should remain in force, and only such Sentences as had been pronounced either in the name of the King or Queen against any person for not obeying or acknowledging either of their Titles be rescinded; the Sentences always pronounced against the Earl of Bothwell or any others for the Murder of the Queens Husband standing good and valid.

4. That all Ecclesiastical Benefices and temporal Offices, which have usually continued in the person of any during term of life, should remain with the same persons that held them at the time of the Queens Dimission; such excepted as may be proved to have consented to the Murder of her Husband, or that have left them upon recompence and with their own consents: In which cases the present possessors should enjoy the same, unless they were incapable, and declared by the twelve Lords to be such.

5. That all Strengths, Castles and Houses appertaining to the Crown should be restored to the possession of those who held them at the time of the Queens Dimission, except they had parted therewith upon agreement: In which case the

Queen,

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Queen, with consent of the said twelve Lords or the most part of the Council, should dispose thereof.

6. That the Jewels, Plate, Moveables and Implements of Houses belonging to the Queen at the time of her Dimission should be restored, provided the monys which any had laid out for the same were repayed: And for such as had been put away by the direction of the Regents or Council, that recompence should be made by the Queen to the party according to their just value.

7. That a Law should be established in Parliament for Oblivion and remission of all things done since that time, after the same manner that was done in the year 1563: Providing not the less, that the Comptroller, Theasurer, and other receivers of the Crown-Revenues, should give an account to the Queen of all sums of the mony or other profits which had not been expended *bona fide* for the affairs of the Realm, or by order and warrant from the Regent and others trusted with those affairs; neither should the remission be extended to any that had taken by force any Houses, Castles, Lands or Heritages belonging to others, but restitution should be made thereof to the party dispossessed, or to his heirs, till the same by order of Law be justly determined. In like manner concerning goods moveable taken away from the owners against their wills, and being yet in their own nature extant, that restitution should be made thereof. And because many doubts might arise upon this Article, the same should be determined by the aforesaid twelve Lords, or otherwise as was devised for the execution of the Act made Anno 1563.

8. That for the more quiet government of the Realm, there should be appointed a Privy Council, which should consist of twelve Lords Spiritual and Temporal, besides the other ordinary officers that do usually attend. And that the said Council should be established with the like provisions that were made at the return of the Queen out of France, Anno 1561: so many as were then Counsellors, and yet alive, being counted of that number: and that the Earl of Lennox, because he was most bound by nature to take care of the King, should be one of the Council, and have place therein according to his degree.

9. That for the greater safety of the Kings person, he should be brought into the Realm of England, and there governed by such Noblemen of Scotland as depend of him; so as he may be ever ready to be restored to the Crown, if the Queen his Mother break the Covenants agreed betwixt her and the Queen of England.

10. That for his entertainment he should not only have the Revenues which the Princes of Scotland in former times possessed, but also the Rents and Offices belonging sometime to the Earl of Bothwell.

11. And last, that a convenient number of Hostages, being all Noblemen, and of those who have adhered to the Queen, and solicited her delivery, should enter in England to remain there for assurance of observing the Conditions made both to the King of Scots and the subjects under his obedience, and to the Queen of England for the peace and quiet of her dominions; and that the said Hostages should be entered in England before the Queen of Scots shall be put to Liberty.

Answer to the
aforesaid
Articles.

These Articles delivered to them were answered the next day as followeth. We have seen and considered the note of the Heads which we received from your Lordships for pacifying the Controversies between the Queen our Sovereigns Mother, and the King her Son and his Subjects, touching the Title of the Crown of Scotland, if it be found that her Dimission either was or may be lawfully revoked by her; and therewithal having diligently perused our Commission and Instructions, to know how far we might enter in Treaty upon the same Heads for satisfaction of the Queens Majesty and your Lordships to whom the hearing of the cause is committed, we find our selves no ways able nor sufficiently authorized to enter into a Treaty or Conference touching the King our Sovereigns his Crown, the Abdication or Diminution of the same, or yet the removing of his Person from the place where he abideth: for as we confess our selves his Highness Subjects, and have all our power and Commission from him, to treat in his name, in matters tending to the maintenance of true Religion, his Honor and estate, and for the continuance of Amity betwixt the two Realms; so we cannot presume to abuse our Commission in any thing that may prejudice him, wherein we trust your Lordships shall allow and approve us.

At

At the same time, and whilst these things were a-doing with the Kings Commissioners, some others were appointed to confer with those of his Mothers party: And to them it was proposed, That, for the Security of the Queen of England, and the Noblemen that followed the King of Scots, the Duke of *Chattellerault*, with the Earls of *Huntley*, *Argile*, the Lord *Home*, and any other Noblemen they pleased to name, should be delivered as Pledges, and the Castles of *Dumbar*, and *Home* be put in the hands of *English*-men, to be kept for three years. The answer they gave was, That She, who of her own motive committed herself to the protection of the Queen of England, would most willingly give her satisfaction in all things which conveniently might be done; but to deliver those great men and the Fortresses required, was no other thing but to spoil and deprive the distressed Queen of the succour of her most faithful friends, and the strength of those places: yet if in all other points they did agree, they made offer that two Earls (one whereof should be of the number nominated) and two Lords should enter as Hostages, and remain in England for the space of two years; but for the Holds and Castles they could not, because of the League with France, put them in the hands of *English*-men, unless others were put also in the hands of the French.

The Queen of England, perceiving that there were on both sides great impediments, sent for the Kings Commissioners, and told them how she had considered that the Articles proposed could not be resolved but in Parliament; and therefore leaving the Treaty for a time, seeing she understood there was a Meeting of the Estates appointed in May next, she held it meetest they should return, and in that meeting condescend upon an equal number of both parties that should have power to compose all matters; the Abstinence in the mean time being renewed, in hope that all Differences should be taken away, and matters peaceably agreed. This she would cause signifie to the Agents of their Queen, and doubted not but they would assent thereto. Yet when it was moved unto them, they refused to agree to any delay, till they should know what was her own mind. Hereupon the Kings Commissioners were commanded to stay till her Answer should be returned.

In this time the Bishop of *Galloway* and the Lord *Levingston*, trusting to speed better by Conference with the Earl of *Morton* and the rest, sent to desire a meeting of them: which was yielded unto, provided the Bishop of *Ross* came not in their company; for him they would not admit, as being the Kings Rebel. Having met, they talked kindly one to another. But that the Queen should be restored to her Authority, in no condition (though divers were proposed) could be admitted. Which when she heard, and that the Queen of England had taken a course to delay things, she grew into a great choler, and inhibited her Commissioners to treat any more. This reported to the Queen of England, she sent for the Earl of *Morton* and his Associates, and told him, that their Queen took in evil part the motion she had made: And seeing it is so, said she, I will not detain you longer, ye shall go home; and if afterwards she be brought to agree to this course, as I hope she shall, I have no doubt but you will for your parts do that which is fitting. Thus were they dimitted.

Whilst these things were doing in England, the Factions at home, notwithstanding of the Abstinence, were not idle, but taking their advantage of others. Lord *Claud Hamilton* ejecting the Lord *Semple* his servants forth of the House of *Passay*, placed therein a number of souldiers, and by them kept all these parts in fear. The Regent upon this gathering some forces besieged the House, and had it rendred to him within a few days. The souldiers were conveyed to *Edinburgh*, and hanged on the Gallows without the Town. Not long after, upon intelligence that the Castle of *Dumbar* was negligently kept and might easily be surpris'd, he sent three Companies, under the command of Captain *Crawford*, Captain *Home*, and Captain *Ramsay*, to give the attempt. Ladders and other necessities for scaling being prepared, they went thither in the night, conducted by a fellow that had served in the House, and as then had quit his service upon a private discontent. A little before day, carrying the Ladders with the least noise they could make, they placed the same in the most commodious part for ascent, and, notwithstanding

Passay taken by
Lord Claud
Hamilton, and
recovered by
the Regent.

The Castle of
Dumbar
surprised.

An. 1570.
Propositions
made to the
Queen of Scots
Commissioners.

The answer.

The treaty
continued to
a more convenient
time.

An. 1570. standing of sundry difficulties that happened, got up in the end to the top of the Rock: There having a wall of stone likewise to climb, Captain Alexander Ramsay, by a Ladder which they drew up after them, was the first that entered, and for a short space defended himself against three watchmen that assailed him. Crawford and Home following quickly with their Companies, the watchmen were killed, and the Munition seized. The Lord Fleming, who commanded the Castle, hearing the Tumult, fled to the neather Balze (so they call the part by which they descend to the River) and escaped in a little Boat. The soldiers and other servants yielding were spared, and freely dimitted. Within the Castle were the Archbishop of S. Andrews, Monsieur Veras the French-man, the Lady Fleming, John Fleming of Boghall, Alexander Levingston, son to the Lord Levingston, and John Hall an English-man, who were all made prisoners. The next morning the Regent came thither (for he was lying at Glasgow) and using the Lady honorably, suffered her to depart with her Plate, Jewels, and all that appertained either to her or to her Husband. Veras was sent to be kept at S. Andrews, and permitted afterwards to depart. The English-man Hall was delivered to the Marshal of Berwick. Boghall and the Lord Levingstons son were detained. The Archbishop was sent to Striveling, and the first of April publickly hanged on a Gibbet erected to that purpose.

The Arch-
bishop of S. An-
drews execu-
ted.

His Declaration
at his death.

This was the first Bishop that suffered by form of Justice in this Kingdom. A man he was of great action, wise and not unlearned, but in life somewhat dissolute. His death, especially for the manner of it, did greatly incense his friends, and was disliked of divers, who wished a greater respect to have been carried to his age and place. But the suspicion of his guiltiness in the Murthers of the King and Regent made him of the common sort less regraded. It is said, that being questioned of the Regents Murther, he answered, *That he might have stayed the same, and was sorry he did it not.* But when he was charged with the Kings death, he denied the same. Yet a Priest called Thomas Robinson, that was brought before him, affirmed that one John Hamilton (commonly called Black John) had confessed to him on his death-bed that he was present by his direction at the Murther. Whereunto he replied, *That being a Priest he ought not to reveal Confessions; and that no mans Confession could make him guilty.* But for none of those points was he condemned, nor the ordinary form of Trial used, though he did earnestly request the same; only upon the forfeiture laid against him in Parliament he was put to death, and the execution hastened, lest the Queen of England should have interceded for his life.

They who
stood for the
Queen take
Arms and come
to Edinburgh.

They who stood for the Queen, upon advertisement that the Treaty was dissolved, and that she had recalled the Bishop of Galloway and the Lord Levingston, did presently take Arms. The Laird of Grange, to keep the Town of Edinburgh under command, did plant in the Steeple of S. Giles some souldiers, and transport all the Armor and Munition which was kept in the Town-house to the Castle. After a few days the Duke of Chattellerault came thither, with the Earls of Argile and Huntley, the Lords Hereis, Boyd and divers others, to stay the holding of the Parliament, which had been adjourned to the fourteenth of May. At their coming they compelled the Clerks and keepers of the Register to deliver the Books of Council and Parliament, and seized on every thing which they thought might hinder the States to convene. The Ministers were commanded in their publick prayers to make mention of the Queen their Sovereign Princess; which they refused. John Knox withdrew himself and retired to S. Andrews, Alexander Bishop of Galloway preaching in his place.

The Regent
resolveth to
hold the Par-
liament.

The Regent on the other side with the Nobility that adhered to the King came into Leith with a resolution to hold the Parliament, whatsoever should follow; and because it would be a difficult work to recover the Town, conclusion was taken to keep the Parliament in that part of the Cannon-gate which is subject to the Towns jurisdiction: the Lawyers having resolved, that in what part soever of the Town the Estates should convene, their meeting would be found lawful. Thus on Monday the fourteenth of May, which was the Diet appointed, the Parliament according to the custom was fenced in a house with-

out

out the Gates, yet within the Liberties of the Town. The Saturday preceding the Regent had by advice of the Council sent some men of war to possess that part of the Town, who were assisted by certain Noblemen volunteers that joynd in the service. And notwithstanding the continual playing of the Ordnance upon that part from the Castle, both that day and all the time the Parliament sate, not a man (a thing most strange) of the Regents side was either hurt or killed. There were cited to the Parliament young Lethington, his Brother Mr. John Maitland, Prior of Coldingham, Gawan Hamilton, Abbot of Kilwinning, with his eldest Son, and a base Son of the late Archbishop of S. Andrews, who were all declared culpable of Treason: Young Lethington, because of his foreknowledge and counsel given to King Henry his Murther; the rest for their Rebellion against the King and his Regents. As in such a troubled time the Parliament was very frequent; for of the Nobility were present the Earls of Morton, Marre, Glencarn, Crawford (who some months before had forsaken the Queens Faction, and submitted himself to the King) Bucquhan and Menteith, the Lords Keith and Graham, as proxies for their Fathers, the Earls of Marshal and Montrose, with the Lords Lindeisay, Ruthven, Glamis, Zeister, Methven, Ochiltree, Cathcart, two Bishops, nine Abbots and Priors, with twenty Commissioners of Burghs. The forfeiture pronounced the Estates took counsel to dissolve, because the danger was great, and prorogued the Parliament to the third of August, appointing the same to meet at Striveling.

Persons for-
feited in this
Parliament.

A new Civil War did then break up, which kept the Realm in trouble the space of two years very nigh, and was exerceed with great enmity on all sides. You should have seen Fathers against their Sons, Sons against their Fathers, Brother fighting against Brother, nigh Kinsmen and others allied together as enemies seeking one the destruction of another. Every man, as his affection led him, joynd to the one or other party; one professing to be the Kings men, another the Queens. The very young ones scarce taught to speak had these words in their mouths, and were sometimes observed to divide, and have their childish conflicts in that quarrel. But the condition of Edinburgh was of all parts of the Countrey the most distressed, they that were of quiet disposition and greatest substance being forced to forsake their houses; which were partly by the Souldiers, partly by other necessitous people; (who made their profit of the present Calamities) rifled and abused. The nineteenth day of May the Regent and other Noblemen leaving the Cannon-gate went to Leith, and the next day in the afternoon took their journey towards Striveling, where the ordinary Judges of Session were commanded to sit for ministring Justice to the Lieges. As they were taking horse, the forces within Edinburgh issued forth, making shew to fight, yet still they kept themselves under guard of the Castle. The Earl of Morton parting from the Regent at Corstorphin, had the foot-souldiers left with him to withstand the enemy, if he should make any sudden attempt. Nor did there many days pass when the Earl of Huntley and Lord Claud Hamilton with their forces enterprised the burning of Dalkieth. Morton, who remained there, being forewarned of their coming, took the fields, and entertained a long fight with them, though in number he was far inferior. Divers on either side were killed, 25 of the Earl of Mortons men taken prisoners, and of the adverse party Captain Hackerston. Neither had the Conflict ended so soon, if they had not been separated by an accident that happened in the time. The Earl of Huntley and Lord Claud had carried with them a great quantity of powder, wherewith the Souldiers striving to furnish themselves, and one of the matches falling amongst the powder, it took fire, and with a terrible noise overthrew all that stood by. Captain James Melvil and a number of his company were thereby killed in the place, many died a few days after of the hurt they received at that time.

The Civil war
renewed.

The Regent
goeth to Stri-
veling.

A Conflict be-
twixt Morton
and the Lords
at Edinburgh.

The Earl of Morton by this Invasion being taught to look unto himself, did hire a band of soldiers that was lately come from Denmark under the command of Captain Michael Weymes, or, as others write, Capt. David Weymes. The Lords that remained at Edinburgh, thinking to intercept him and his Company, as he cross-

The Earl of
Morton hired
Souldiers.

Z

sed

An. 1571. fed the river of *Forth*, employed Mr. *James Kircaldy*, Brother to the Laird of *Grange* (who a few days before was come from *France* with a supply of money and Arms) and Capt. *Cullen*, a man well skilled in Sea affairs, to lie in wait for their landing. But the purpose being detected to the Earl of *Morton*, he came upon them at *Leith* as they were taking Boat so unexpected, as 16 of the number were taken prisoners; which served to redeem certain of Capt. *Weymes* Company, that were the next day taken at Sea, for he himself with the greatest part arrived safely at *Leith*.

The Queen of England, sendeth to Sir *William Drury*, to try the estate of things.

The Regent having advertised the Queen of England of those Troubles, and by the common danger of both the Realms intreated that she should no longer remain a neuter, she sent Sir *William Drury* Marshal of *Bermick*, to try the estate of things, the power that the Regent had, and the means whereby the Castle of *Edinburgh* might be recovered: and perceiving by the information returned, that without her assistance neither could that strength be regained, nor the waged Souldiers be kept long together; because as yet she held it not fit to declare her self for the King, she began of new to treat with both parties for a surceasance of Arms, and that the Town of *Edinburgh* might be freed of the Souldiers, and left patent for the Court of Justice, the Captain of the Castle having in the mean time a convenient revenue (for guarding the House) allowed unto him. But this turned to no effect, for the Conditions for the surceasance required could not be agreed unto by either side. For the Regent would have the Town of *Edinburgh* put in the estate wherein it was at the going of the Commissioners to the Court of England in *January* preceding, and *Grange* to content himself with such an ordinary Garrison as other Keepers of the Castle were accustomed to entertain. The other Faction was content to leave the Town patent, but so, that neither the Regent nor the Earl of *Morton* should come unto it: and for the surety of the Castle, they would have *Grange* to retain 150 Souldiers besides the ordinary guard, who should lodge in that part of the Town which was nearest unto the same.

The Lords on the Queens party hold a Parliament at *Edinburgh*.

A Supplication presented in name of the Queen.

The Conditions of either side rejected, they of *Edinburgh*, not to be wanting of the authority of a Parliament, kept a publick Meeting in the Town-house the 12. day of *June* (to which day they had indicted a Parliament) where a Supplication was presented in name of the Queen, bearing, 'That it was not unknown how 'certain of her Rebellious Subjects having imprisoned her person in the Tower 'of *Lochleven*, did hereafter constrain her to make a Dimission of the Crown in 'favours of her Son, which by the advice of Mr. *John Spence* of *Condy* her Advocate she had lawfully revoked; albeit otherwise the same could not subsist, being 'done without the consent and advice of the Estates, and upon a Narrative of her 'inability and weakness, which any of mean judgment may consider to be a mere 'forgery, seeing her weakness to govern cannot be esteemed so great as is the 'weakness of an Infant lying in the Cradle, neither can he who hath the present 'administration of affairs compare with her in any for aptness and ability to govern. Therefore was it desired that the Nobility and Estates there convened, 'after they had examined the grounds of the said Dimission, and found them in 'reason naught, should discern the same to be null in all time coming.

The Queens Resignation of the Crown deemed null.

The Supplication once or twice read, as the custom is, it was pronounced as followeth: *The Lords Spiritual and Temporal with the Commissioners of Burghs presently assembled, being ripely advised with the Supplication presented, have by authority of Parliament ordained the said pretended Dimission, Renunciation and Overgiving of the Crown by the Queen, consequently the Coronation of her Son, the usurped Government of his Regents, and all that hath followed thereupon, to have been from the beginning null and of no force nor effect, for the reasons contained in the said Supplication, and other considerations not our to the whole Estates. And therefore commands all the Subjects to acknowledge the Queen for their only Sovereign, notwithstanding the said Dimission, and as it had never been in rerum natura. Herewith to conciliate the favour of the Church and people, by another Statute they ordained, That none should innovate, alter or pervert the form of Religion and ministration of Sacraments, presently professed and established within the Realm; but that the same should have free course, without any lett or impedi-*

impediment to be made thereto. And therewithal the Superintendents, Ministers, Exhorters and Readers in Churches were commanded in their publick service to pray for the Queen as their only Sovereign, the Prince her Son, the Council, Nobility and whole body of the Commonwealth. These Statutes they caused to be proclaimed at the Market-Cross the day following, which was the 13 of *June*.

Sir *William Drury* finding his labours unprofitable, and preparing to depart, the Lords of *Edinburgh* would needs of courtesie bring him on the way. The Earl of *Morton*, who lay then at *Leith* pained with a Colick, hearing that they were in the fields, and taking it to be done for ostentation of their power, arose from his bed, and putting his men in order, marched to *Restalrig*, which way they were to pass. Sir *William Drury* perceiving the Companies of *Leith* in the way, and sorry that his Convoy should have given the occasion, travelled between them, and by his persuasions made them both to retire. But then the question fell who should first retire: and for this Sir *William* proponed, that he should stand between the Companies, and upon a sign to be given by him both should turn at one instant. The Earl of *Morton* accepted the condition, lest he should offend the Gentleman who had taken such pains amongst them; the others refused, giving forth great brags, that they should make them leave the fields with shame if they did it not willingly. How soon *Morton* was advertised of the difficulty they made, he cried aloud, *On, on, we shall see who keeps the fields last*, and therewith gave so hard a charge upon them, as they disordered both the horse and foot. The Chase held towards the Watergate, where by reason of the skant & narrow passage many were killed and trod to death; but the number of prisoners were greater, for there were 150 taken, amongst whom were the Lord *Home* & Capt. *James Cullen*: the Abbot of *Kilwinning* was killed, a Gentleman of good worth, and greatly lamented; for he was of all that Faction esteemed most moderate. There died some 50 in all, most of them common Souldiers and of mean accompt. On *Mortons* side Captain *Weymes* with one only Soldier was slain. This Conflict happened on *Saturday* the 28 of *June*, 1571.

A Conflict betwixt the Earl of *Morton* and the Lords at *Edinburgh*.

The Lord *Home* taken prisoner.

Advertisement hereof sent to the Regent, he came the next day to *Leith*; where first order was taken with the prisoners, & the Lord *Home* sent to *Tantallon*. But he stayed not long there, for the Lord of *Drumlanrig* being intercepted by Sir *David Spence* of *Wormiston*, as he was making homewards, an exchange was made of the Lord *Home* with him. Captain *Cullen*, a man infamous, and who in the last wars had used great cruelty, was hanged on a Gibbet. The rest upon promise not to serve against the King were dimitted. Resolution then was taken for the Regents abode at *Leith*, and the Countries attendance upon him by quarters, to keep the adversaries busied, and hinder the victualling of the Town. During which time no day passed without one Conflict or other, wherein sometimes the Regent, and sometimes the Queens party had the better. At this time, upon a report carried to the Laird of *Grange* that he was commonly called by those of *Leith* the *Traytor*, he sent a Trumpet to appeal any one of their side to combat that should dare to affirm so much. The Laird of *Garleys* offering to maintain it, time and place were appointed for the fight; and when all were expecting the issue of it, *Grange* excused himself by the publick charge he bare, saying, *that it was not thought convenient he should hazard the cause in his own person.*

The Combat offered by *Grange* is accepted, and thereafter by himself declined.

Notwithstanding of this great heat amongst the parties, the Queen of England ceased not to mediate an Accord, and by a Letter to the Marshal, dated the 19 of *July*, willed him to move them of new for an Abstinence, offering to send persons of authority and credit to the Borders, who should travel to agree them, and remove all differences as well concerning the Title of the Crown as other private matters: and because it was given her to understand that both parties had indicted Parliaments to *August* next, she desired that no proceeding should be made therein, either by making of Laws, or by denouncing any persons forfeited, and that only they should authorize certain persons to meet with her Commissioners for consulting upon the best means to conclude a solid Peace. There was also a Letter of safe conduct sent for any one that *Grange* would direct unto England (for this he had desired) *Lethington* excepted, and those that were suspected of the late Kings Murther.

The Queen of England insisteth for Peace.

An. 1571. ther. But whether this exception gave the cause, or the daily encouragements sent by the French, none was directed thither.

The Regent excuseth his refuse of the Abstinence.

A Parliament kept at Edinburgh by the Lords.

The Regent kept a Parliament at Striveling.

Persons forfeited in the Parliament.

An enterprise of the Lord Claud Hamilton.

The Regent by his answer of the 27 excused the not yielding to the Abstinence, which, he said, *without evident prejudice to the Kings cause could not be granted so long as Edinburgh was detained*. For other points he answered, *That by himself, without the consent of the Nobility and Estates, he could say nothing; but at their meeting in August her Majesty should receive all reasonable satisfaction*. The adversary party in the mean time nothing relenting of their course, did keep a form of Parliament at Edinburgh the 22 August; and though they were but five persons in all present that had any voice in the State, to wit, two Bishops and three Noblemen, they pronounced above 200 persons forfeited. The Regent advertising the Queen of England how they had proceeded, and what disorder, did shew the necessity whereunto they that lived in the Kings obedience were brought, and how it concerned him and the rest to prosecute what they had justly intended, in regard of their enemies precipitation. So in the Parliament kept at Striveling the 28 of the same month, sentence of forfeiture was pronounced against the Duke of Chatterault and his two Sons, the Abbot of Aberbrothock and Lord Claud, the Earl of Huntley, the Laird of Grange, and some others. And for satisfying the Queen of Englands desire, the Earls of Morton, Marre and Glencarn, the Lords Semple, Ruthven and Glamis, with the Bishop of Orkney, the Abbots of Dunfermlin and S. Colmes Inche, Sir John Ballendine Justice Clerk, and Mr. James Macgill Clerk of Register, were nominated by the Estates, and Commission given, or to any four, three, or two of that number, to treat with such as the Queen of England should appoint upon the Differences arisen amongst the subjects by occasion of the late Troubles, and for contracting a League offensive and defensive betwixt the two Realms. Of all that did the Regent give notice to the Queen, beseeching her not to press them with any thing that might seem to call the Kings Authority in question. But before these Letters came to her hands, he was killed, as ye shall hear.

Lord Claud Hamilton having intelligence given him of the security wherein the Regent and Nobility lived at Striveling, and how as in a time of settled peace they did not so much as keep a Watch by night, took resolution to invade them, and was therein greatly encouraged by Captain George Bell (a man born in Striveling, and one that knew all the passages and streets) who made offer to put him and the company he should bring with him safely in the Town. This he communicated to the Earl of Huntley, Walter Scot of Baclenagh, and David Spence of Wormeston, who were all content to joyn in the enterprise. The second of Sept. they went from Edinburgh a little before Sun-setting, accompanied with 200 horse & 300 foot; and left their journey should be suspected, they made the rumor go, that they went towards Jedburgh, to compose a discord fallen out betwixt the Town and the Laird of Farnberst. To ease the footmen they had taken all the horses which came the day before to the Market, and as many as they could otherwise purchase by the way; and so marching with a wonderful confidence (for by the way all their discourse was whom they would kill, and whom they would save) they came about the dawning of the day to the Town, and found all things so quiet, as not a dog was heard to open his mouth and bark; whereupon having planted the Soldiers in the most commodious parts of the Town, & enjoined them to suffer no person to come unto the street, they went to the Noblemens lodgings which were designed unto them, and found there little or no resistance. The Earl of Morton defended the lodging wherein he was some little time, but fire being put to the house he rendred to the Laird of Baclenagh. The Regent was taken with less ado, his servants making no defence. In like sort were the Earls of Glencarn & Eglington made prisoners with divers others. The Earl of Marre hearing the noise, issued forth of the Castle with 16 persons only, and entering the back of his new lodging which was not then finished, played with Muskets upon the street, so as he forced them to quit the same. The Townsmen and others, upon this taking courage, gathered together, and put the enemy to flight, pursuing them so hotly as they were constrained to quit their prisoners, and some to render themselves to those they were leading captive. The Regent, who was

was Wormestons prisoner (for to him he had rendered) being carried a little without the Port, when they saw the rescue coming, was shot by Captain Calder, and with the same bullet Wormeston (who did what he could to save the Regent) was stricken dead.

The death of this Gentleman was much regrated of both Factions, for that he was for manly courage and other vertues as well of body as mind inferior to none of his time. There fell at this time on the Regents side some 24, amongst whom the most eminent were George Ruthven, Brother to the Lord Ruthven, and Alexander Stewart of Garleis. Of the other side as many were slain, and divers taken prisoners; amongst whom were the two Captains Bell and Camder, who were executed as Traitors. The Lord Claud with the Earl of Huntley and the rest escaped, and had all been taken if there had been horses to pursue them; but the borderers that followed Baclenagh, men accustomed with such practices, had emptied the Stables at the first entry into the Town. It was certainly a bold enterprise, whereof we will not find many the like in Story. So few men leaving their strength to take so long a journey, and enter upon a Town full of enemies (for there were in it 500 able and resolute men at least, besides the inhabitants) was a great audaciousness; and then to get in their hands the chief of their adversaries, whereby they were once in a possibility to have returned absolute victors; yea when the courle altered, to save themselves with so little loss, was held strange, and made the enterprise to be counted no less fortunate than it was bold and venturous.

It was also observed, and is worth the reporting, that the young King, who was brought from the Castle to the Parliament-house at their first sitting, after a short speech which they had put in his mouth, espying in the Table-cloth, or as others have said, in the Top of the house, a little hole, cried out, that *There was a Hole in the Parliament*. An ominous speech, and so interpreted by some that were present, which the event made the more remarkable; for before the Parliament was at an end, a great Hole was made in it by the death of him that began the same. The Regent, though the wound was mortal, did not light from his horse till he came to the Castle. By the way when his friends did encourage him, he still answered, *If the Babe be well* (meaning the King) *all is well*: and being laid in bed and his wound dressed, after they had told him that his bowels were cut, calling the Nobility he spake unto them a few words to this effect.

I am now, my Lords, to leave you, at God his good pleasure, and to go into a world where is rest and peace. Ye know it was not my ambition, but your choice, that brought me to the Charge I have this while sustained; which I undertook the more willingly, that I was persuaded of your assistance in the defence of the Infant King, whose protection by nature and duty I could not refuse. And now, being able to do no more, I must commend him to the Almighty God, and to your care, intreating you to continue in the defence of his Cause, (wherein I do assure you in Gods name of the Victory) and make choice of some worthy person, fearing God and affectionate to the King, to succeed unto my place. And I must likewise commend unto your favour my servants, who never have received benefit at my hands, and desire you to remember my love to my wife Meg, (so he was accustomed to call her) whom I beseech God to comfort. This said, he took leave of them all one by one, requesting them to assist him with their prayers, in which he himself continued some hours, and so most devoutly ended his life. A man he was of noble qualities, tried with both fortunes, and if he had enjoyed a longer and more peaceable time, he had doubtless made the Kingdom happy by his Government.

It is time that we return to the Church, and consider what the estate thereof was amidst the civil Dissentions. In the Countries where the Queens Faction ruled, the Ministers in their prayers did always recommend the Queen as Sovereign, serving the affection of those that commanded in the bounds, albeit the Assembly of the Church had otherwise appointed. John Knox, as we shewed, had left the Town of Edinburgh, and was gone to S. Andrews, where he had strong opposition made him by Mr. Archibald and Mr. John Hamilton, Professors of Philosophy in the new College, who stood fast to the Queens Cause, and drew many of the

The number of the slain on both sides.

An ominous speech of the King, being yet a Child.

The Regents speech to the Nobility.

An Assembly of the Church at Striveling.

An. 1572.

An Assembly
of the Church
at Leith.Commission-
ers named for
the Council
and Church.Articles agreed
unto by the
Council and
Church.

of *Farnherst* and *Baclough* did assail *Jedburgh*, a little Town, but very constant in maintaining the Kings Authority. Lord *Claud Hamilton* belyed *Pastry*. The Castle of *Broughty* on the River of *Tay* was surpris'd by *John Seaton* of *Perbroath*. And in divers other parts Troubles were rais'd of purpose to divide the Regents forces, and to withdraw him from *Leith*, that the Town of *Edinburgh*, which was then in some scarcity of victuals, might be relieved.

In the month of *January* an assembly of the Church convened at *Leith*, where after great instance made with the Regent and Council for settling the Policy of the Church, it was agreed that six of the Council and as many of the Assembly should be selected to treat, reason, and conclude upon that business. For the Council *James Earl of Morton* Chancellor, *William Lord Ruthven* Treasurer, *Robert Abbot of Dunfermlin* Secretary, Mr. *James Macgill* Keeper of the Rolls, Sir *John Ballenden* Justice Clerk, and *Colin Campbell of Glenorchy* were named; and for the Church, *John Ereskin* of *Dun* Superintendent of *Angus*, Mr. *John Winraine* Superintendent of *Fife*, Mr. *Andrew Hay* Commissioner of *Cliddisdale*, Mr. *David Lindesay* Commissioner of the West, Mr. *Robert Port* Commissioner of *Orkney*, and Mr. *John Craig* one of the Ministers of *Edinburgh*. These twelve convening, after divers meetings and long deliberation grew to the conclusions following.

1. That the Archbishopricks and Bishopricks presently void should be disposed to the most qualified of the Ministry.
2. That the spiritual Jurisdiction should be exercised by the Bishops in their Dioceses.
3. That all Abbots, Priors and other inferior Prelates, who should happen to be presented to Benefices, should be tried by the Bishop or Superintendent of the bounds, concerning their qualification and aptness to give voice for the Church in Parliament, and upon their collation be admitted to the Benefice, and not otherwise.
4. That to the Bishopricks presently void, or that should happen hereafter to fall, the King and the Regent should recommend fit and qualified persons, and their Elections to be made by the Chapters of the Cathedral Churches. And forasmuch as divers of the Chapters Churches were possessed by men provided before his Majesties Coronation, who bare no office in the Church, a particular nomination should be made of Ministers in every Diocese to supply their rooms until the Benefices should fall void.
5. That all Benefices of Cure under Prelacies should be disposed to actual Ministers, and to no others.
6. That the Ministers should receive Ordination from the Bishop of the Dioceses, and where no Bishop was as yet placed, from the Superintendent of the bounds.
7. That the Bishops and Superintendents at the Ordination of Ministers should exact of them an oath for acknowledging his Majesties Authority, and for obedience to their Ordinary in all things lawful, according to the form then condescended.

Order also was taken for disposing of Provestries, College-charges and Chaplains, and divers other particulars most profitable for the Church, as in the Records extant may be seen; which were all ordained to stand in force until the Kings Majority, or till the Estates of the Realm should otherwise appoint.

In *August* thereafter, the Assembly of the Church meeting again at *Perth*, report was made of these Conclusions, and exception taken by some at the Titles of Archbishop, Dean, Archdeacon, Chancellor, and Chapter, as being Popish and offensive to the ears of good Christians: whereupon it was declared, that by using these Titles they meant not to allow of Popish Superstition in any sort, wishing the same to be changed in others not so scandalous. As the name of Bishop to be hereafter used for Archbishop, the Chapter to be called the Bishops Assembly, the Dean to be called The moderator of the said Assembly; and for the Titles of Archdeacon, Chancellor,

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lor, Abbot and Prior, that some should be appointed to consider how far these Functions did extend, and give their opinion for the interchange thereof with others more agreeable to the word, and the policy of the best Reformed Churches, reporting their opinions at the next Assembly. But I do not find that any such report was made; like it is the wiser sort esteemed there was no cause to stumble at Titles, where the Office was thought necessary and lawful. A Protestation always was made, that they received these Articles for an interim, till a more perfect order might be obtained at the King his Regent and the Nobilities hands. According to these Conclusions Mr. *John Douglas* Provost of the New College of *S. Andrews* was provided to the Archbishoprick of that See, Mr. *James Boyd* to the Archbishoprick of *Glasgow*, Mr. *James Paton* to the Bishoprick of *Dunkeld*, and Mr. *Andrew Ghrane* to the Bishoprick of *Dumblane*.

About the end of *January*, the Regent advertised of the peril wherein the Town of *Jedburgh* stood, and of the great preparation that *Farnherst* and *Baclough* made to surprise it (for they had besides their own forces drawn all the people of *Eske*, *Ewisle* and *Liddesdale* to joyn with them in hope of spoil, and from the *English Borders* divers that were given to robbery, to the number of 3000 and above) sent the Lord *Ruthven* with some forces to defend them. Before his coming, *Walter Ker* of *Cesford*, a man of good worth, who had ever assisted the Kings party, was joyned with them. Their enemies notwithstanding esteeming themselves strong enough by reason of their numbers, went forwards with an assurance of victory. The Lord *Ruthven* having notice given him by the way of their diet, and the time they had appointed to invade the Town, did use the more speed, and came in fight thereof just as the enemies appeared. They fearing to be inclosed betwixt the Town (who shewed themselves in the fields ready to fight) and the forces the Lord *Ruthven* brought with him, did presently retire and give back. *Farnherst* and *Baclough* went to *Hamick*, and were followed the next day by the Lord *Ruthven*, who came upon them so unlooked for, as they were cast into a great fear. The principals that had horsed away, the rest betook them to a little bush of wood, where being environed on all sides they yielded at discretion: the prisoners were many, of whom some few were retained as pledges, and the rest dimitted upon promise to enter themselves at a certain day. The rest of the winter and all the next spring was spent in light skirmishes, with small loss on either side; for they of the Queens Faction did seldom come to the open fields, or if they shewed themselves at any time, upon the first onset they took the flight and retired to the Town.

Whilst matters did thus proceed in the Queen of *Scots* quarrel at home, the Bishop of *Ross* in *England* renewed the purpose of Marriage with the Duke of *Norfolk*, and practised with divers for setting the Queen at Liberty. This being discovered, the Duke was committed to the Tower of *London*, and being arraigned at *Westminster-Hall* the 16 of *January*, was convicted of Treason and condemned to die, yet was the Execution delayed to the *June* after. The Bishop of *Ross* called also in question, defended himself by the privileges of his Ambassage, saying, That he had done nothing but what his place and duty tied him unto, for procuring the Liberty of his Princess; and that he came unto *England* with sufficient authority, which he had shewed, and was at the time accepted. When it was replied, That the privileges of Ambassadors could not protect them who did offend against the Majesty of the Princes they were sent unto, and that they were not to be reputed other than enemies who practised Rebellion against the State: he answered, That he had neither raised nor practised Rebellion; but perceiving the adversaries of his Princess countenanced, and her out of all hope of Liberty, he could not abandon his Sovereign in her affliction, but do his best to procure her Freedom. And that it would never be found that the privileges of Ambassadors were violated via juris, by course of Law, but only via facti, by way of fact, which seldom had a good success. After long altercation he was sent to the Isle of *Ely*, and from thence brought and imprisoned in the Tower, where he remained nigh two years. Some ten days after *Norfolks* Execution, the Queen of *England* directed certain of her Council to the Queen of *Scots*, to expostulate with her for making suit to the Pope and King of

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The Lord
Ruthven sent
to assist the
Town of *Jed-
burgh*.The Bishop of
Ross called in
question for
the Queens
Marriage with
Norfolk.The Bishop of
Ross imprison-
ed at *Ely*.The Duke of
Norfolk exe-
cuted.

An. 1572. Spain, and for receiving Letters from the Pope, together with a Sentence declaratory published against her self, whereunto (after protestation that she was a free Queen and Subject to none) she answered, *That she had indeed by Letters solicited both the Pope and King of Spain for restoring her unto her Kingdom, which was no prejudice to the Queen of England that she had received godly and consolatory Letters from the Pope. But for the Sentence given by him, she never knew thereof till a printed copy was brought unto her, which after she had read she did cast into the fire.* These answers did not satisfy the Queen of England, who having understood that she had entered in a secret confederacy with the Spaniard, kept her from that time in a more strict custody than before.

Certain of the Council directed to the Queen of Scots.

The Queen of England treated for Peace amongst the parties.

The Earls of Crawford and Buchan directed against Adam Gordon.

The Castle of Blacknes betrayed by the Keeper.

Ambassadors from France and England.

The Lord Fleming unhappily killed.

Yet at the request of the French King he sent of new Sir William Drury unto Scotland to treat for Peace; and if that could not be wrought, to procure a Cessation of Arms for a certain space. But he prevailed nothing, the Wars being then very hot, and the parties mightily incensed against others. No quarters were given, nor interchange of prisoners made, but all that were taken on either side presently executed. This device was held to proceed from the Earl of Morton, who thought the Troubles would not hastily cease if a greater severity were not used towards them who withstood the Kings Authority. But whose device soever it was, it proved exceeding hateful. The common sort taking it to have come of Morton, called the Wars of that time *the Douglasses wars*. This form of doing continued from the 16 of April to the 8 of June; at which time both parties wearied of execution daily made, were content to cease from such rigour, and use fair Wars, as in former times. In the North Adam Gordon, after the Forbesses were defeated, found no resistance, and following his fortune, reduced all beyond the River of Dee to the Queens obedience. To impede his proceedings (for he had entered then into the Country of Mernis, and was besieging the House of William Douglass of Glenberwy) the Regent directed the Earl of Crawford and Buchan, with the Lord Glamis, and Master of Marshal. These Noblemen meeting at Briehen, and waiting there till forces should assemble, Adam Gordon came upon them in the night, and killing the watches that were placed at the Bridge on the North side of the Town, had very nigh taken them all in bed; but they wakened by the noise of the Trumpets escaped: many were taken prisoners, and some 39 persons slain within the City. This done, he besieged the Town of Montrose, and forced them to pay a great sum of money: which put the Town of Dundee in such fear, as they were driven to seek aid of their Neighbors in Fife.

At the same time the Castle of Blacknes, a Fort on the South-side of the River of Forth, was sold by the Keeper to the Hamiltons, & thereby the Navigation betwixt Leith and Striveling barred. At Edinburgh were divers skirmishes betwixt them and the Companies that lay at Leith, and (which was greatly lamented of both parties) the Lord Methuen killed by a shot of Cannon from the Castle. The Duke in the mean time having proclaimed a Justice-Court at Hamilton, and divers persons within the Sheriffdom of Ransfrew and Lennox to answer to certain crimes whereof they were delated; the Regent prepared to keep the Diet, and leaving the Earl of Montrose and the Lord Lindesay to follow the service at Leith, took journey to Glasgow, and from thence to Hamilton. But neither the Duke nor any in his name appearing to hold the Court, he appointed the Lord Semple Lieutenant in those West parts for the King, and returned to Striveling.

He had intended an Expedition in the North, but upon advertisement that two Ambassadors were arrived at Leith he turned thither; the one was Monsieur de Crook employed by the French, the other Mr. Randolph by England, who professed both of them to be sent for negotiating a Peace amongst the parties; yet was it thought the French did not much affect the Peace. For even then the Lord Fleming came from France with moneys to pay the Souldiers that served the Lords at Edinburgh. This Nobleman some ten days after, walking in the street, was unhappily wounded in the knee by the shot of an Harquebuze, whereof he died the sixth of September. As to the Queen of England, howbeit she desired Peace to be made, yet she would have it in such manner as both Factions might depend on her; and so

so she had carried her self in all the late Treaties, as however she favoured the Kings party most, the other party did never despair of her good will.

The two Ambassadors having tried the minds of both parties, they found them more tractable than they expected, and after some travel taken amongst them, obtained a Cessation of Arms, and for the space of two months (continuing from the first of August to the first of October) upon the Conditions following.

An. 1572. A Cessation from War concluded.

The Articles of Abstinence.

1. That the Regent, Nobility, and all other Subjects of the Realm partakers with them in the present Troubles, should faithfully promise during the said space to abstain from all Hostility.
2. That before expiring of the said Abstinence, the Nobility and Estates should convene and advise upon the best means to establish a final Peace; and if any difficulty should arise in the said Treaty which amongst themselves could not be composed, that the same should be remitted to the determination of the most Christian King and Queen of England.
3. That the Town of Edinburgh should be set at liberty, and made patent to all the subjects, and no place thereof be withholden or fortified with Garrisons, the Castle only excepted, which before these Troubles arose was accustomed to be kept and guarded with Souldiers.
4. That all the subjects, of whatsoever quality and condition they were, should freely converse together without trouble or molestation to be offered them by word or deed, excepting such as should be found guilty of the Murder of the King his Father and Regents, the Thieves and broken men of the Borders and Highlands, with the disturbers of the publick Peace betwixt the Realms of Scotland and England; none of which should be comprised in the present Abstinence, but remitted to the trial and censure of the Common-Law, and wheresoever they might be apprehended presented.
5. And last, because there were divers persons who in the time of these Troubles had possessed themselves in other mens lands, and the tenths whereof in that season were to be collected; to the effect no impediment should be made to the Peace intended, it was agreed that the Corns and Fruits growing upon the said lands should be gathered and put in Granges, or stalked upon the fields, and not applied to any private use, before the expiring of the Abstinence.

These Articles were published the first day of August both at Edinburgh and Leith, and the same day the Duke with the Earl of Huntley and their followers departed from Edinburgh, leaving the Town free and patent, as was agreed. This beginning of Peace joyed not a little the good Subjects, for which publick thanks were given in all the Churches, and solemn prayers made for the continuance and perfection thereof. At this time, or much about the same, the Earl of Northumberland, who had been kept a long time at Lochleven, was delivered by the Earl of Morton to the Lord Hunsdon Governor of Berwick, and shortly after beheaded at York. Hereat many did offend, esteeming the fact dishonourable, and a discredit to the whole Nation: others did excuse it by the necessity of the time, and the inconvenience that the publick affairs might receive, if the Queen of England should be in any sort displeased. But so much the worse it was taken, that, as the rumor went, Morton received for his delivery in England a great sum of money, and so the Nobleman thought rather to be sold than delivered.

The next day after the publication of the Abstinence the Regent and Nobility adhering to the King did enter into Edinburgh, where the Ambassadors after thanks given them for their pains they had taken were courteously dimitted. It was the 27 of Sept. some three days only before the expiring of the Abstinence, that the Noblemen did meet (as was appointed) to consult upon the means of a perfect Peace. Whereupon it was first agreed that the Abstinence should be prorogued unto January next: after that, falling to treat of the business it self, they agreed in many Points, and even then had made a final Accord, if the Laird of Grange had not married the same with his Petitions. These were as followeth.

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1. He craved a discharge to himself and all that were in the Castle of all things which they or any of them had committed since the beginning of the Troubles, and that all Acts, Decrees and Sentences pronounced against them, either in Parliament, secret Council, or before the Justice general and his Deputies, might be declared null and of no effect.
2. That they should be repossessed in their rooms, heritages and possessions, without any challenge to be made thereafter of the same by whatsoever person or persons.
3. That the heirs of the Lord Fleming, the Lord of Wormeston, and others who were slain in the Queens cause, might enter to their heritage and rooms, as though they had never been forfeited.
4. That the Castle of Edinburgh should be consigned in the hands of the Earl of Rothes, with the whole furnishing, munition and rent belonging there to the Captain, making an account of the Jewels and other goods which he received with the House; as also restoring all the goods of the people of Edinburgh that were put in his custody, which he was content to do, he being freely discharged of all, and secured by Act of Parliament.
5. That the Castle of Blacknes should be put in the keeping of some one of their side, and the Rents appertaining thereto assigned for the entertainment of a Garrison within the same.
6. In respect of the great debt he had contracted in these Wars, he craved the sum of twenty thousand marks to be given him for satisfying his creditors.
7. That the Earl of Morton should resign the superiority of the lands of Grange & other lands annexed thereto, to be holden of the Crown in all time coming. And lastly, that the Lords within the Castle might be licensed to go into the Kingdom of France, or any other Countrey they pleased forth of Scotland; and that the Earl of Rothes should be surety for the accomplishment of the whole premises.

The Regent and Council do answer to the Articles.

These Articles being presented to the Regent and Council were for the first three judged reasonable: but to commit any places of strength to others than those who had constantly adhered to the King, they esteemed it not safe; and to give him any recompence that was known to be the author of the last Troubles, they said it would be a matter of ill ensample. For the licence craved to those of the Castle to go out of the Country, they held the Petition very suspicious, and could not think there was a sound meaning in them that had moved the same: yet was it not thought meet to answer him by a simple denial at that time, but rather to keep him in hope, and appoint a new Diet for pursuing the treaty begun. Thus by consent the Abstinence was prorogued, and the last of October assigned for a new meeting at Perth.

The Regent dieth at Striveling.

The delay grieved the Regent exceedingly, and (as it was supposed) partly for this, and partly for the crossings he found in the publick affairs, he contracted a sickness, whereof he died at Striveling the 8 of October. The adversary Faction, flattering themselves in their own conceits, made the like construction of his death which they had made of the other Regents that proceeded, saying, That it was an evident sign of Gods displeasure with the present courses, and that none of those who joynd in the enterprise against the Queen could prosper better. But to measure Gods love or hatred by these outward accidents is folly, seeing they fall out alike to all, both good and wicked: and for this Nobleman, howsoever he was taken away to the Countrey untimely, he died happily for himself, and well reported of all. Before his dying, he commended the care of the Kings person in most earnest manner to his Lady, and to Alexander Ereskin his Brother, appointing him Keeper of the Castle till his Son should be grown up and be of a perfect age; and giving most wise directions both for the one and the other, ended his days in great quietness and in the assurance of that better life.

He commended the care of the Kings person to his Lady and Brother.

The description of John Knox his Life and Death.

In the next month John Knox, who had returned a little before to Edinburgh, departed this life. The Reader will pardon me if here I make a little digression, to

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to shew what a man this was both in his Life and Death; the rather because some malicious and wicked spirits have studied by many forged lies to deprave his fame; only out of hatred of true Religion, whereof he was a zealous promoter. He was only out of hatred of true Religion, whereof he was a zealous promoter. He was born in Gifford within Lothian, of a mean, but honest, parentage, and being put to school, made such profit in his studies under that famous Doctor Mr. John Major, as he was held worthy to enter into Orders before the years allowed. By reading the Ancients, especially the works of S. Austin, he was brought to the knowledge of the Truth, and for the profession thereof endured many troubles as well in the Cardinals life as after his death. Having happily escaped these dangers, he went into England, and became a Preacher of the Gospel, making his chief abode in the Towns of Barwick and Newcastle. In the beginning of Queen Maries Persecution he fled in the company of some other Ministers to Geneva, and served with them in an English Congregation, which was there gathered, until the year 1559; at which time he was called home by the Noblemen that enterprised the Reformation, and, how soon the Church got liberty, placed Minister at Edinburgh: in this charge he continued to his last, for the Civil Troubles which forced him to leave the Town ceased no sooner than he returned to the place. But his body grown infirm, and his voice so weak as people could not hear him, teaching in the ordinary place, he made choice of another more commodious within the Town, reading to his Auditory the History of the Passion, in which he said it was his desire to finish and close his Ministry. Thus he continued Preaching, though with much weakness, two months and more after his return; and knowing that he was not to remain a long time with them, he was instant with the Council of the Town to provide themselves of a worthy Person to succeed in his place. Mr. James Lawson, who at that time professed Philosophy in the College of Aberdene, being commended for a good Preacher, Commissioners were directed from the Superintendent of Lothian, the Church of Edinburgh, and Mr. John Knox himself, to desire him to accept the Charge. To the Letter that the Commissioners carried after he had set his hand, he added this Postscript, *Accelera, mi frater, alioqui sero venies*, Make haste, brother, otherwise you come too late: meaning that if he made any stay, he should find him dead and gone. These last words moved Mr. Lawson to take journey the more quickly. When he was come to the Town, and had preached once or twice to the good liking of the people, order was taken by the Superintendent for his admission, and the Diet appointed, at which John Knox himself would be present and teach, though he could scarce walk on foot to the Chair. At no time was he heard to speak with greater power and more content to the hearers; and in the end of his Sermon, calling God to witness that he had walked in a good Conscience amongst them, not seeking to please men, nor serving either his own or other mens affections, but in all sincerity and truth preached the Gospel of Christ, with most grave and pithy words he exhorted them to stand fast in the Faith they had received: and having conceived a zealous prayer for the continuance of Gods blessings upon them, and the multiplying of his spirit upon the Preacher who was then to be admitted, he gave them his last farewell. The people did convey him to his lodging, and could not be drawn from it, so loth they were to part with him; and the same day in the afternoon by sickness was forced to take bed.

Mr. James Lawson admitted Minister at Edinburgh.

During the time he lay (which was not long) he was much visited by all sorts of persons, to whom he spake most comfortably: among others to the Earl of Morton, that came to see him, he was heard say, *My Lord, God hath given you many blessings, he hath given you wisdom, riches, many good and great friends, and is now to prefer you to the Government of the Realm. In his name I charge you that you use these Blessings aright, and better in time to come nor ye have done in times past. In all your actions seek first the Glory of God, the furtherance of his Gospel, the maintenance of his Church and Ministry; and next be careful of the King, to procure his good and the welfare of the Realm. If ye shall do this, God will be with you and honor you; if otherwise ye shall do it not, he shall deprive you of all these benefits, and your end shall be shame and ignominy.* These speeches the Earl nine years after, at the time of his execution, called to mind, saying that he had found them to be true, and him therein a Prophet.

John Knox his Speech to the Earl of Morton.

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An. 1572.
His last speech
to the Ministers
and Elders of
the Church.

His last Speech to the Ministers.

A day or two before his death he sent for Mr. David Lindsay, Mr. James Lawson, and the Elders and Deacons of the Church, to whom he said, *The time is approaching for which I have long thirsted, wherein I shall be relieved of all cares, and be with my Saviour Christ for ever. And now God is my witness, whom I have served with my spirit in the Gospel of his Son, that I have taught nothing but the true and solid Doctrine of the Gospel, and that the end I proposed in all my Preaching was, to instruct the ignorant, to confirm the weak, to comfort the Consciences of those who were humbled under the sense of their sins, and bear down with the threatenings of Gods judgments such as were proud and rebellious. I am not ignorant that many have blamed, and yet do blame, my too great rigor and severity; but God knows that in my heart I never hated the persons of those against whom I thundered Gods judgments: I did only hate their sins, and labored at all my power to gain them to Christ. That I forbore none of what soever condition, I did it out of the fear of my God, who had placed me in the function of the Ministry, and I knew would bring me to an account. Now, brethren, for your selves I have no more to say, but to warn you that you take heed to the Flock over whom God hath placed you overseers, and whom he hath redeemed by the blood of his only begotten Son. And you, Mr. Lawson, fight a good fight, do the work of the Lord with courage and with a willing mind; and God from above bless you and the Church, whereof you have the charge. Against it, so long as it continueth in the doctrine of Truth, the gates of Hell shall not prevail.*

The Ministers
carry a Com-
mission to the
Laird of
Grange from
John Knox.

This spoken, and the Elders and Deacons dimitted, he called the two Preachers unto him, and said, *There is one thing that grieveth me exceedingly: You have sometime seen the courage and constancy of the Laird of Grange in Gods cause, and now unhappy man he hath cast himself away. I will pray you two, take the pains to go unto him, and say from me, that unless he forsake that wicked course wherein he is entred, neither shall that rock in which he confideth defend him, nor the carnal wisdom of that man whom he counteth half a God (this was young Lethington) make him help, but shamefully he shall be pulled out of that nest, and his carcass hang before the Sun. The soul of that man is dear unto me, and, if it be possible, I would fain have him to be saved. They went as he had desired, and conferred a long space with Grange, but with no persuasion could he be diverted from his course; which being reported he took most heavily.*

His giveth or-
der for making
his Coffin.

The next day he gave order for making his Coffin, wherein his body should be laid, and was that day (as through all the time of his sickness) much in prayer, ever crying, *come Lord Jesus; sweet Jesus, in thy hands I commend my spirit.* Being asked by those that attended him if his pains were great; he answered, *that he did not esteem that a pain which would be to him the end of all trouble, and beginning of eternal joys.* Oftentimes, after some deep meditations, he burst forth in these words; *O serve the Lord in fear, & death shall not be terrible to you. Blessed is the death of those that have part in the death of Jesus.* The evening which was to him the last of this wretched life, having slept some hours together, but with great unquietness (for he was heard to send forth many sighs and groans) Robert Campbell of Knize cleugh, and John Johnson (called of Elphinston) which two gave diligent attendance upon him, ask'd after he awaked how he did find himself, & what it was that made him in his sleep mourn so heartily: to whom he answered, *In my life I have often been assaulted by Satan, and many times he hath cast in my teeth my sins, to bring me into despair, yet God gave me to overcome all his temptations; and now that subtle Serpent, who never ceaseth to tempt, hath taken another course, & seeks to persuade me that my labours in the Ministry, & the fidelity I have shewed in that service, hath merited Heaven and immortality. But blessed be God who brought to my mind these Scriptures, What hast thou, that thou hast not received? and, Not I, but the grace of God in me. With which he is gone away ashamed, and shall no more return; and now I am sure my battel is at an end, and that without pain of body or trouble of spirit I shall shortly change this mortal and miserable life, with that happy and immortal life which shall never have end.* The prayers which ordinarily were read in the house being ended, it was inquired if

if he heard them: He answered, *Would to God you had heard them with such an ear and heart as I have done: adding, Lord Jesus, receive my spirit.* After which words, without any motion of hands or feet, as one falling asleep rather than dying, he ended his life. He was certainly a man indued with rare gifts, and a chief instrument that God used for the work of those times. Many good men have disliked some of his Opinions, as touching the Authority of Princes, and the form of Government which he laboured to have established in the Church: yet was he far from those dotages wherein some that would have been thought his followers did afterwards fall; for never was any man more observant of Church-Authority than he, always urging the obedience of Ministers to their Superintendents, for which he caused divers Acts to be made in the Assemblies of the Church, and shewed himself severe to the transgressors. In these things howsoever it may be he was miscarried, we must remember that the best men have their errors, and never esteem of any man above that which is fitting. As to *The History of the Church* ascribed commonly to him, the same was not his Work, but his name supposed to gain it credit: for besides the scurril discourses we find in it, more fitting a Comedian on a Stage than a Divine or Minister, such as Mr. Knox was, and the spiteful malice that Author expresth against the Queen Regent; speaking of one of our Martyrs, he remitted the Reader to a farther declaration of his sufferings to the Acts and Monuments of Martyrs set forth by Mr. Fox an Englishman, which came not to light some ten or twelve years after Mr. Knox his death. A greater injury could not be done to the fame of that worthy man, than to father upon him the ridiculous toys and malicious detractions contained in that Book. But this shall serve for his clearing in that particular. He died the 27 of November in the 67 year of his age, and had his body interred in the Church-yard of S. Giles.

The History
given forth in
his name was
not of his in-
diting.

In the end of this month the Estates convening to elect a Regent, made choice of the Earl of Morton, as the man in that time of greatest courage and counsel. The Oath accustomed being ministred unto him, because through the last Regents death the Meeting appointed at Perth had failed; first, a conclusion was taken for calling a Parliament at Edinburgh the 26 of January; next the custody of the King and Castle of Striveling was confirmed to Alexander Ereskin, the Earl of Marre, being then under age, and he enjoyned to receive none within the house that was known to be Popishly affected, or of the Queens Faction; for others it was ordained, that an Earl accompanied with two servants only, a Baron with one, and private persons them alone (but all unarmed) should have access permitted, when their occasions required. To the Regent himself it was enjoyned, 'That if any place or Office should fall void, he should prefer none thereto but such as was found in Religion, and for other qualities apt and worthy. That during his Regency, he should grant no respites nor remissions for heinous crimes. That he should not transport the King forth of the Castle of Striveling, without the advice of the Council. That he should grant no favour to the Murderers of the Kings Father and Regents. That he should neither enter into league with Foreigners, nor denounce War without the consent of the Estates. And that he should be careful to entertain the Amity contracted with the Queen of England. The Estates on the other part did promise to assist him with all their power against the Kings enemies, and to joyn with him in the reformation of whatsoever abuses crept in by occasion of the late Troubles, without offending at the execution of justice upon their nearest and dearest friends. Order was also taken for the entertainment of his house, the settling of a resident Council, and the advancing of the Revenues of the Crown to the best profit. And these were the things done in that Meeting.

The Earl of
Morton elected
Regent.

Rules given
to the Regent
for his Go-
vernment.

Soon after came Sir Henry Killigrew Ambassador from England, partly to declare the content which the Queen had received in the choice of the Earl of Morton to be Regent, and partly to renew the Abstinence which was then near the expiring. Herein he prevailed so far with the Duke and Huntly, as they were brought not only to prorogate the Abstinence, but also to name certain Noble men who should meet for them at Perth, with such as the Regent by advice of the Council

Sir Henry Killigrew sent
from England.

A Treaty of
Peace.

An. 1573.
The Laird of
Grange, resist-
eth to be com-
prehended in
the Treaty.

Council should nominate, for concluding a perfect Peace. The Laird of *Grange* and those that remained with him in the Castle refusing to be comprehended in that Treaty, went on in victualling and fortifying the House; for impeding whereof the Regent did levy some companies of souldiers to inclose the Castle; and because the time of Parliament was approaching, he caused erect Bulwarks in divers places of the street, to secure the people at their meetings to Sermon, and the Judges that convened to the ministration of Justice. *Grange* finding himself thus pent up, did by a Proclamation from the Castle-wall command all the Queens subjects to depart forth of the Town within the space of 24 hours.

He molested
the Town of
Edinburgh, and
fired the
houses.

The time expired, he made the Cannon thunder upon the Town, to the great terror of the Inhabitants; yet there was no great hurt done that way: which when he perceived, he hired one of his soldiers to set fire in the night time to some houses under the wall, which destroyed a number of tenements; for a strong Western wind blowing in the time, the fire did so rage, as from *S. Magdalens* Chappel Westward all was consumed, none daring to put hand to quench the fire, because of the Cannon that played still on the part where they saw any concourse of people. This made him extremely hated, and even they that otherwise wished him well were greatly offended with this doing.

A Parliament
kept at *Edin-
burgh*.

The Parliament notwithstanding kept, and therein divers Acts were made, partly for maintaining the Kings Authority, partly for preservation of true Religion; which causes were held in those days so conjoynd, as the enemies of the one were likewise esteemed enemies to the other. Therefore was it then enacted, That none should be deputed loyal and faithful subjects to the King or his Authority, but be punished as Rebels, who made not profession of true Religion. And that all such as made profession thereof, and yet withstood the Kings Authority, should be admonished by their Teachers to acknowledge their offence, and retain to his Majesties obedience; and if they refused, that they should be excommunicated, and cut off from the society of the Church, as putrid and corrupted members.

The pacifica-
tion conclud-
ed at *Perth*.

The Parliament breaking up, the Regent by advice of the Council directed to the meeting at *Perth*, the Earl of *Argyle* then created Chancellor, the Earl of *Montrose*, the Abbot of *Dunfermlin* Secretary, the Lords *Ruthven*, *Boyd*, and Sir *John Ballenden* Justice Clerk. There met with them the Earl of *Huntley* and Lord *John Hamilton*, Commendatory of *Aberbrothock*, authorised by the rest that maintained the Queens Authority. The English Ambassador assisting them, after some days Conference they were brought to agree upon these Articles.

1. That all persons comprehended in the present pacification should acknowledge and profess the true Religion established and professed within the Realm, and maintain the Preachers and professors thereof against all opposers, specially against the Confederates of the Council of *Trent*.

2. That the Earl of *Huntley* and Lord *John Hamilton*, with their friends and followers, should submit themselves to the King, and to the Government of the Earl of *Morton* his Regent and his successors in the same, acknowledging themselves the Kings subjects by their Oaths and Subscriptions.

3. That they should confess all things done by them, under colour of any other Authority, since the time of his Majesties Coronation, to have been unlawful, and of no force nor effect.

4. That an Act of Parliament should be made with all their consents, ordaining that none of the subjects should assist, fortifie, supply or shew any favour, directly, nor indirectly to those who should happen to practise against the Religion presently professed, the Kings person, his Authority, or Regent: And if they should be tried to do any thing to the contrary, the remissions granted to them, with all other benefits of the Pacification, should be null, and they pursued for their offences past, as if they had never obtained pardon for the same.

5. That all persons professing his Highness obedience, who had been dispossessed during the late Troubles, should be reponed to their Houses, Lands, Livings, benefices, and whatsoever Goods belonging to them, if so the same were

extant

extant in the hands of the intrumetters; Horses and Armor only excepted. An. 1572.

6. That the Master of *Forbes*, *James Glen of Barre* and all other persons should be set at liberty; as likewise the Bonds given by the Lord *Semple* and others for entry of prisoners, or for payment of any ransoms, be discharged.

7. That the Earl of *Huntley* and Lord *John Hamilton* should dimit, and cause all souldiers hired or maintained by them or any of their party to be forthwith dimitted.

8. That all proccesses of forfeiture which had been led, especially the Sentences given against the Earl of *Huntley*, Lord *John Hamilton* and Lord *Cland* his brother, *William* Bishop of *Aberdene*, *Alexander* Bishop of *Galloway*, *Adam Gordon* of *Awchindown*, and the rest of their friendship, for any crimes or offences done in the common cause against the King and his Authority since the 15 of *June* 1577; or for any other cause contained in the Summons of Forfeiture raised against them, should be declared null and of no force, without any other special declaration: And that the foresaid persons should have liberty given them to reduce the said Forfeitures as they should please.

9. That all persons then returning or who should return to the Kings obedience, and for any crime committed in the said common cause since the time aforesaid had been dispossessed of their Lands, Heritages, Benefices, Pensions, heritable Offices and other profits whatsoever, whether the same had proceeded upon sentences of Forfeiture or Barratry, or any other way, should be effectually restored, and be rehabilitated to their bloods and honours; to the end they might enjoy the same as freely as if the said Troubles had never happened.

10. That all actions, crimes and transgressions committed by them and their followers since the 15 of *June* 1567, (Incest, Witchcraft and Theft excepted) should be freely remitted, so as the same did not extend to the Murther of the first and second Regents, which are matters of such importance as the Regent now in place would not meddle with. And yet in respect of the present Pacification, if the same be moved to the Queen of *England* by the committers thereof, whatsoever she should advise to be done therein should be confirmed in Parliament, and the remission under the hand of the Clerk of the Rolls be as sufficient as if the same were passed the great Seal. And if any of them should crave a pardon for other crimes committed before the said 15 day, the same (upon notice given of the persons and crimes) should be granted; the Murtherer of the Kings Father, Fire-raising, Theft, and the rest of Theft, with Incest and Witchcraft, being excepted.

11. That all civil Decrees given since the said 15 of *June*, wherewith the said persons or any of them do find themselves grieved, should be reviewed by the ordinary Judges that pronounced the same, and the parties upon their supplications be heard to propound any lawful defence, which they might have used in the time of the deduction of the process: providing the Supplications be presented and their Petitions exhibited within six months after the date of these Articles.

12. That all persons comprehended in the Pacification, after publication thereof, should indifferently be received in all parts of the Realm as his Majesties good subjects; and that nothing done or that hath occurred during the Troubles should be esteemed a cause of deadly feud and enmity, nor admitted as an exception either against Judge, party or witnesses.

13. That the heirs and successors of persons forfeited, and now departed this life, who are comprehended in this Pacification, should be restored to their lands and possessions, and that it should be lawful for them to enter thereto by Breves, as if their fathers and predecessors had never been forfeited, and had died at the Kings peace; especially the heirs of *John* sometime Archbishop of *S. Andrews*, *Gawan* Commendator of *Kilwinning*, *Andrew Hamilton* of *Cocknow* and Captain *James Cullen*.

Unto these Articles some other particulars were added, which were all confirmed by the Oaths and Subscriptions of the Commissioners and Noblemen in presence of the English Ambassador, and a time given to *Grange* and those of the Castle to accept the Pacification.

An. 1572. to accept or refuse the benefit of the Peace. But that none excepted in the former Abstinence, nor any at that time forth of the Realm should think themselves comprehended therein, it was declared, that the benefit of the present Pacification should not be extended to them. This was done to exclude the Archbishop of Glasgow and Bishop of Ross, Ambassadors for the Scottish Queen, the one in France, and the other in England, against whom the sentence of Barratry had been pronounced.

Sir James Kirkaldy returneth from France.

He takes land at Blacknes, and is delivered by the Captain to the Regent.

The English Ambassador travelleth to make Grange accept Peace, which he refuseth.

The Regent intreateth the Queen of England help for expugnation of the Castle.

Articles agreed betwixt the Regent and the English.

About this time Sir James Kirkaldy brother to Grange, who had been directed to France for supply of those within the Castle, returned, bringing with him a years rent of the Scottish Queens Dowry; but finding the House inclosed, and that there was no safe access thereto, he went to Blacknes, which then professed to hold for the Queen. The Captain had betrayed the same, as we shewed before to the Hamiltons; and now turning his coat to make his peace with the Regent, he offered to put in his hand both the man and the money. The bargain made, the money was given to the Regent, and Kirkaldy detained as prisoner. A few days after, the Captain going abroad to do some business, Kirkaldy enticed the souldiers by great promises to joyn with him, and lay hands upon the Captains brother and a few Gentlemen left to attend him: which they, following their Captains ensample, were easily induced to do. Thus the House was possessed in Kirkaldies name, and he of a Prisoner turned to be chief Commander. But he did not long enjoy this place, for his wife being come thither to visit him, when she was the next morrow to depart, desired the convoy of some soldiers for a mile or two, fearing, as she pretended, to be robbed by Captain Lambie, who lay with a company at Linlithgow not far from thence: and as he, to save her, went forth himself to bring her on a part of the way, suspecting no treachery, he was in his return intercepted by Lambie; and carried first to Linlithgow, then to Dalkeith, where he was kept some days, and afterwards dimitted. In this sort did fortune sport her self with that Gentleman, changing his condition up and down three several times within the space of a few days.

Peace now made with the chief Noblemen of the Queens Faction, it was supposed that Grange and his partakers would likewise be moved to embrace it. Whereupon the Ambassador, taking with him the subscribed Articles, went to the Castle, and, shewing how things had passed, used many persuasions to make them content to be comprehended therein. But they would not, affirming the Conditions to be shameful, and so far to the prejudice of their Queen, as till they were allowed by her self and by the French King they should never admit them. After the Ambassador had ceased to treat with them, the Earl of Rothes and Lord Boyd travelled to the same effect, representing the danger and inevitable ruin they should fall into if they did not yield in time. But they scorned these threats, thinking the strength they were in impregnable, and looking still for some succours from France and the Duke of Alva; or if that should fail, they made no doubt to obtain their Peace at easier Conditions than the Noblemen had accepted.

The Regent offended with their obstinacy, discharged all farther dealing with them, and sent to the Queen of England for a supply of men and munition; which was granted, and Sir William Drury Marshal of Barwick commanded to joyn with him in besieging the Castle. How soon the Regent understood that the direction was given to the Marshal, the Lord Ruthven was sent to confer with him of the order that should be kept in the service. They meeting at the Church of Lamberton in the Mers; for preventing all debates that might arise, did agree as followeth.

1. That neither the Regent nor the General should without the advice and consent of the other transact or make any Composition with the besieged.
2. That if it happen the House to be taken by assault, the munition, plate, jewels, and household stuff pertaining to the King, with the Registers and publick Records of the Kingdom there reserved, should be all delivered to the Regent within three days after the house was recovered, and the rest of the spoil distributed amongst the soldiers.

3. That,

3. That, so far as might be, the persons within the Castle should be reserved to the trial of Law, wherein the Regent should proceed by the advice of the Queen of England.
4. That the Regent should provide the English forces with victuals all and other things necessary during the siege, as likewise assist them with a convenient power of horse and foot.
5. That recompence should be given at the Generals fight to the Wives and nearest friends of the English Souldiers who should happen to be killed.
6. That if any of the Ordnance should break or be otherwise spoiled, the same should be changed with other Pieces of the like quantity within the Castle.
7. That the English General should not fortifie within the ground of Scotland without the Regents advice, and the service finished should immediately retire his forces.
8. And lastly, that for the safe return of the soldiers and munition (the loss which fortune of War should make being excepted) Hostage of Noblemens sons should be delivered to the English, and entertained in the parts most adjacent to Scotland.

An. 1573.

These Conditions made, and the Masters of Ruthven and Semple, John Cunningham son to the Earl of Glencarn, and Douglas of Kilspindie being entred in Barwick as pledges, Sir William Drury marched with his forces into Scotland, and came to Edinburgh the 25 of April. The Regent giving out a Proclamation (wherein was shewed the care that the Queen of England had taken for the Peace of the Realm in times past, and the liberal succours she had granted at the present for the expugnation of the Castle, reasonably detained and fortified by the Laird of Grange) Did require and charge all good subjects to carry themselves as became them towards the English General and his company, and not to injure them either by word or deed, except they would be esteemed enemies to the Peace, and partakers to the Traitors in their Rebellious attempts.

A Proclamation given out by the Regent.

The next day the Castle was summoned, and offer made of their Lives if they should yield before the planting of the Cannon: but the Captain, in stead of answer, set upon the highest Tower his Ensign for a token of Defiance. Then the Pioneers were put to work, and begun to cast Trenches, and raise Mounts for planting the Artillery. The besieged made all the hinderance they could, playing with their Ordnance upon the workmen, and killing divers ere the Mounts were brought to perfection. How soon they were erected (being five in all, and entituled by the names of their several Commanders) the Artillery was planted, 31 Pieces in number, more and less. All things prepared, and the Parliament finished, which the Regent had called to the last of April for ratifying the Articles of Pacification, the Battery began the 17 of May. On the 27 the Castle was made assailable, the Cannon having made great breaches in the fore and back Walls; and the Tower called Davids Tower being also demolished. The 26 early in the morning the assault was given in two places. At the West Part, where the ascent was most difficult, the assailers were repuled after an obstinate fight that continued 3 hours, and 24 persons killed: on the East side the Blockhouse called the Spurre was taken with less resistance, which put the defendants in fear, and made them demand a Parly. This granted, a Truce was taken for the space of two days, in which time the English General used many persuasions to the Captain to make him render the House; neither was he then unwilling, so as the lives and honors of these within might be saved: but the Regent would give no condition, and have him simply to yield. The Captain seeing nothing but extremity, resolved to stand to his utmost defence: yet when he came back to the House, he found them all within divided, and the greater part so discouraged as they refused to undergo the hazard of a second assault; which forced him to other counsels, and so following Lethingtons advice, upon the 29 of May being let down by a rope over the wall, he and Pittadrow his Constable did yield themselves and the House to the English General in the name of his Queen, whose discretion (misknowing the Regent) they were willing to abide. The General

The Castle summoned.

The Captain answereth by a token of Defiance.

The Castle made assailable.

A Truce taken, and the Captain willing to yield upon Conditions.

The Castle rendered to the English General.

An. 1573. neral made them to be attended to his Lodging, whither all that were of any note in the Castle were brought. Thereafter they were committed to several places, most of them transported to *Leith*, and some detained in *Edinburgh*, till the Queen of *England* should signify her will concerning them. The Ladies and Gentlewomen were licensed to depart, as likewise the private souldiers, and others of meaner fort.

Leithington
dieth at *Leith*.

It was thought that the Queen, in regard of the render made to her Lieutenant, would take a favourable course with them, and save their lives: but she gave direction to put them all in the Regents hands to be used as he thought meet: which when *Leithington* heard, either despairing of life, or not willing to enjoy it by the mercy of an enemy; he died at *Leith* so suddenly, as he was thought to have made himself away by poison. A man he was of deep wit, great experience, and one whose counsels were held in that time for Oracles; but variable and unconstant, turning and changing from one Faction to another, as he thought it to make for his standing. This did greatly diminish his reputation, and failed him at last: which should warn all Counsellors to direct their courses by the lines of Piety and true Wisdom; without which the most politick Prudence will prove nothing but Folly in the end. His brother, Mr. *John Maitland*, who came afterwards to great honors, had his life spared; and was imprisoned in *Tantallon*. *Robert Creichston* Bishop of *Dunkeld* was sent to *Blacknes*, and the Lord *Home* detained in the Castle, which the Regent gave to his Brother *George Douglas* in custody. Grange himself, with his brother Sir *James Kirkaldy*, and two Goldsmiths, *James Mosman* and *James Cockey*, were publickly hanged in the Mercat-street of *Edinburgh*. Such was the end of Sir *William Kirkaldy* of *Grange*, a man full of valour and courage, who had sometimes done good service to his Country against the *French*, and purchased by that means great honor; but seeking ambitiously to raise his fortunes, and hearkning to perverse counsel, he did break his faith to the Regent, who had put him in trust, and thereby lost all his former esteem, and drew upon himself these troubles wherein he perished. His part was foul in the death of the Cardinal, and for it, when he was in his best estate, many did foredeem that he should not escape some misfortune. Yet herein he was happy, that at his death he expressed a great sorrow for his sins, and departed this life with a constant and comfortable assurance of mercy at the hands of God.

The Queens
Faction quite
defeated.

By this defeat of the *Castilians* (so they were commonly named) the Queens Faction fell quite asunder, nor did it ever after this time make head. The Bishop of *Ros* (who had followed her business as Ambassador in *England*) being at the same time put to liberty, and commanded to depart forth of the Kingdom, went privately to *France*; for he feared the Earl of *Southampton*, and Lord *Henry Howard*, Brother to the Duke of *Norfolk*, whom he had touched in his Examination. When he came to *France*, to mitigate the anger they had conceived, he published an Apology for the Depositions he had made, and whilst he lived ceased not to do the duty of a faithful subject and servant to the Queen, soliciting both the Emperor and Pope, the *French* King and other Catholick Princes in her behalf; who gave many good words, but performed nothing. So little are the promises of Strangers to be trusted, and so uncertain their help to Princes that are once fallen from their Estates. At home the Regent applying himself to reform the disorders caused by the late War, begun with the Borders, who had broken out into all sorts of riot, and committed many insolencies both on the *Scottish* and *English* side. Thither he went himself in person, where meeting with the *English* Wardens he took order for redress of by-past wrongs; and, to secure the peace of the Country, caused all the *Clannes* to deliver pledges for the keeping of good order, and made choice of the fittest and most active persons to rule and oversee those parts. Sir *James Home* of *Cauldknowes* was made Guardian of the East Marches, the Lord *Maxwel* of the West, and Sir *John Carmichael* of the Middle: who, by the diligence and strict justice they observed upon ressetters and entertainers of Thieves, reduced the Country to such quietness as none was heard to complain either of theft or robbery.

The

An. 1574. The next care he took was to order the Revenues of the Crown, and recover such Lands as had been alienated from it, or in any sort usurped; the Jewels impignorated by the Queen he relieved by payment of the Monys for which they were engaged. He caused repair all the Kings Houses, especially the Castle of *Edinburgh*, and furnished the same with munition and other necessaries: and by these doings did purchase to himself both love and reverence, with the opinion of a most wise and prudent Governor.

His care for the
Kings Houses
and Rens.

Yet was it not long before he had lost all his good opinion by the courses he took to enrich himself. Breaking first upon the Church, he subtilly drew out of their hands the Thirds of Benefices, offering more sure and ready payment to the Ministers than was made by their Collectors, and promising to make the Stipend of every Minister local, and payable in the Parish where he served. To induce them the more willingly to this, promise was made, that if they should find themselves in any sort hurt or prejudged, they should be reponed to their right and possession whensoever they did require the same.

He falleth out
with the
Church.

But no sooner was he possessed of the Thirds, than the course he took for providing Ministers was, to appoint two, three and four Churches in some places to one Minister (who was tied to preach in them by turns) and to place in every Parish a Reader that in the Ministers absence might read prayers, who had allowed him a poor Stipend of 20 or 40 pounds *scots*. As to the Ministers, they were put in a much worse case for their Stipends than before: for when the Superintendents did assign the same, the Ministers could come boldly unto them, and make their poor estate known, and were sure to receive some comfort and relief at their hands; but now they are forced to give attendance at Court, begging their assigment and precepts for payment, or, as their necessities grew, seeking augmentation, which seldom they obtained; or if any petty thing was granted, the same was dearly bought with the loss both of their time and means. The Superintendents were no better used, the means allowed to them for their service being withholden; and when they complained, they were answered, that their Office was no more necessary, Bishops being placed in the Diocese, and the Ecclesiastical jurisdiction belonging to them.

Two, three or
four Churches
appointed to
one Minister.

The Superin-
tendents de-
nied payment
of their means.

These things lost him the Church, which then growing sensible of their oversight in denuding themselves of the thirds, craved to be reponed according to promise. But herein divers shifts were made, and after sundry delays it was directly told them, That seeing the surplus of the Thirds belonged to the King, it was fitter the Regent and Council should modify the Stipends of Ministers, than that the Church should have the appointment or designation of a surplus. They, not able to help themselves, did in the next Assembly take order that the Ministers who were appointed to serve more Churches than one should take the charge of that only at which they resided, helping the rest as they might, without neglect of their own Charge. And because the placing of Bishops was taken for a pretext to withhold the Superintendents means, the Bishops were inhibited to execute any part of the Ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the bounds where the Superintendents served, without their consent and approbation. This crossing of one anothers proceedings did set the Church and Regent so far asunder, that whilst he continued in Office there was no sound liking amongst them.

The Church
desired to be
restored to the
Thirds, but
is denied.

An. 1574.

The discontents of the Country were so great by the Justice Aires (as they called them) that went through the Country, and were exercised with much rigour, people of all sorts being forced to compone and redeem themselves from trouble by payment of monys imposed. The Merchants called in question for the transport of Coyn were fined in great sums, and wardened in the Castle of *Blacknes* till they gave satisfaction. Nor left he any means unassayed that served to bring in monys to his Coffers: which drew upon him a great deal of hatred and envy.

The Country
vexed with
Justice Courts.

I find at this time a motion made for compiling a Body of our Law, and making collection of such ancient Statutes as were meet to be retained in practice; which were ordained to be supplied out of the Civil Law where was any necessity, to the end Judges might know what to determine in every case, and the subjects be fore-

A motion for
compiling a
Body of our
Law.

seen

An. 1575. seen of the equity and issue they might expect of their controversies. This was entertained a while, and of good men much desired as a thing beneficial to the Country, and like to have cut off the occasion of many pleas. But it sort to no effect, by the subtle dealing of those that made their gain of the corruption of Law.

Black Ormeston
executed for
the Kings Mur-
ther.

It happened *John Ormeston* (commonly caled *Black Ormeston*, because of his Iron colour) to be apprehended and brought to trial at the same time for the Murther of the Kings Father. This man was thought to be privy unto all *Bothwells* doings, and a more particular discovery expected by him of the form and manner of that Murther. Yet at his Execution he did only confesse that *Bothwell* had communicated the purpose to him, and shewed him the Subscriptions of the Earls of *Argile*, *Huntley*, Secretary *Lethington*, and Mr. *James Balfour*, testifying their consents to that wicked fact. Nottheles the Regent, to the offence of many, did suffer the said *Balfour* to enjoy the benefit of the Pacification, and passed an Act thereof in open Council. Whether the Subscriptions of *Argile* and *Huntley* were counterfeit or not, it was uncertain; but of the other two it was easily believed, as being men universally hated. *Argile* died in September following, in whose place the Lord *Glamis* was created Chancellor.

Adam Heriot,
Minister at
Aberdene, his
death and
qualities.

In the same month *Adam Heriot* Minister at *Aberdene* departed this life, a man worthy to be remembered. He was sometime a Frier of the Order of *S. Austin*, and lived in the Abbey of *S. Andrews*, an eloquent Preacher, and well seen in Scholastick Divinity. The Queen Regent coming on a time to the City, and hearing him preach, was taken with such an opinion of his learning and integrity, that in a reasoning with some Noblemen upon the Article of Real presence, she made offer to stand to *Heriots* determination. Warning of this being given, and he required to deliver his mind upon that subject in a Sermon which the Queen intended to hear, he did so prevariate, as all that were present did offend and depart unsatisfied. Being sharply rebuked for this by some that loved him, he fell in a great trouble of mind, and found no rest till he did openly renounce Popery, and joyn himself with those of the Congregation. Afterwards when order was taken for the distribution of Ministers amongst the Burghs, he was nominated for the City of *Aberdene* (in which there lived divers addicted to the *Roman* profession) as one that was learned in Scholastick Divinity, and for his moderation apt to reclaim men from their Errors. Neither did he fail the hope conceived of him, for by his diligence in teaching Schools and Church he did gain all that people to the profession of the Truth: 14 years he laboured among them, and in end was forced by sickness to quit his Charge. He died of the Apoplexy the 28 of August, in the 60 year of his age, greatly beloved of the Citizens for his humane and courteous conversation, and of the poorer sort much lamented, to whom he was in his life very beneficial.

An. 1575.
A Conflict be-
twixt the Scots
and English.

The next Summer there fell out an accident which was like to have caused great trouble, and divided the two Kingdoms. Sir *John Forrester* Warden of the *English* side and Sir *John Carmichael* of the *Scottish* meeting in the Borders, at a place caled the *Red Swyre*, for redressing some wrongs that had been committed, fell out that a Bill (so they used to speak) was filed upon an *English*, for which *Carmichael*, according to the law of the Borders, required him to be delivered till satisfaction was made. Sir *John Forrester*, either wearied with the multitude of business, or desiring to shift the matter, answered that enough was done that day, and at the next meeting the complainer should have satisfaction. *Carmichael* urging a present performance, they fell foul in words, which made the companies that attended draw their weapons. A great Tumult there was, and at first the *Scots*, being inferior in number to the *English*, gave back. But as they were fleeing they met with a company of *Jedburgh* men, who were come to attend the Warden. This giving them new courage, they turned upon the *English* and made them flee. The chafe held the space of two miles. Sir *George Heron*, Warden of *Tindale* and *Rbedesdale*, with 24 *English*, was killed; the Warden himself, *Francis Russel* son to the Earl of *Bedford*, *Cuthbert Collinwood*, *James Ogle*, *Henry Fenwick*, and many others of good

good note were taken prisoners. When the Regent heard it, he was sore displeased, knowing the Queen of *England* would be much offended; whereupon he sent for the prisoners, and using them with all courtesie, excused what was done, and permitted them to return home. And the Queen indeed at the first report was much incensed, and thereupon sent Mr. *Killigrew* to the Regent to require the delivery of *Carmichael*, which divers of the Council withstood. Yet such was the Regents care to please the Queen, as he caused him enter into *England*, where he was a while detained. But the provocation being tried to have been made by the *English*, the Queen dimitted him honorably, and not without rewards. At his return, the Regent meeting the Earl of *Huntington* the *English* Commissioner at *Foulden*, some two miles from *Barnwick*, all things were peaceably composed.

A meeting in
the Borders
betwixt the
Regent and
the Earl of
Huntington.

This year the Duke of *Chattellerault* ended his life: A Nobleman well inclined, open, plain, and without all dissimulation and fraud, but too easily led by them he trusted, which bred him much trouble; yet, by the goodness of God, who doth always favor the innocent and honest-minded, he went through all, and died honorably and in peace. Not long after his son Lord *John Hamilton* riding to *Aberbrothock*, accompanied only with his ordinary train (for he held himself secured by the Pacification) was pursued by *William Douglas* of *Lochlevin*, who did lie with a number in his way of intention to kill him. As he was refreshing himself at *Couper*, he was advertised of the danger, and presently resolved to single himself from his company and flee to the Castle of *Lewchars*, deeming (as also it fell out) that they would follow the greater company, which he directed to keep together, and take the South of the River of *Edin*. Neither had they passed far when they were invaded by a troop of horsemen, and forced to yield themselves. The Nobleman beholding this from the other side of the River, and knowing how soon they found themselves deceived that they would make haste to overtake him, changed his first resolution, and fled to the House of *Darsey*, where he was received. *Lochlevin* belayed the house, and kept him inclosed all that night and the day following. But being charged by an Herald of Arms to dissolve his forces, and hearing that the Noblemans friends were gathering for his release, he departed home.

Duke Hamil-
ton dieth.

Lord Aber-
brothock pur-
sued by *Loch-
levin*.

He is saved in
the house of
Darsey.

Being called before the Council for his insolvency, and charged with the breach of the Pacification, he alledged the exception of the first Regents Murther; but that being found no warrant, and he refusing to give assurance for keeping peace, was committed to the Castle of *Edinburgh*, where he remained till surety was given.

In the Church this year began the Innovations to break forth that to this day have kept it in a continual unquietness. Mr. *Andrew Melvil*, who was lately come from *Geneva*, a man learned (chiefly in the Tongues) but hot and eager upon any thing he went about, laboring with a burning desire to bring into this Church, the Presbyterian Discipline of *Geneva*; and having insinuated himself into the favor of divers Preachers, he stirred up *John Dury*, one of the Ministers of *Edinburgh*, in an Assembly which was then convened, to propound a question touching the Lawfulness of the Episcopal Function, and the authority of Chapters in their Election. He himself, as though he had not been acquainted with the motion, after he had commended the Speakers zeal, and seconded the purpose with a long discourse of the flourishing estate of the Church of *Geneva*, and the opinions of *Calvin* and *Theodore Beza* concerning Church-Government, came to affirm, That none ought to be Office-bearers in the Church whose Titles were not found in the Book of God. And for the Title of Bishops, albeit the same was found in Scripture, yet was it not to be taken in the sense that the common sort did conceive, there being no Superiority allowed by Christ amongst Ministers; He being the only Lord of his Church, and all the same Servants in the same degree, and having the like power. In end he said, that the Corruptions crept into the estate of Bishops were so great, as unless the same were removed it could not go well with the Church, nor could Religion be long preserved in purity.

Innovations
in the Church
of Mr. *Andrew
Melvil*.

The Episcopal
Function cal-
led in question.

This his discourse was applauded by many, and some brethren set apart to reason and confer upon the question proposed. For the one part Mr. *David Lindesay*, Mr. *George*

Some brethren
selected to
confer upon
the question.

An. 1575. Mr. George Hay, and Mr. John Row were nominated: These three sustained the Lawfulness of Episcopal Function in the Church. For the other part, Mr. James Lawson, Mr. John Craig and Mr. Andrew Melvil were chused to impugn the same. After divers meetings and long disceptation amongst themselves, they presented their Opinions to the Assembly in writing as followeth.

1. First that they did not hold it expedient to answer the questions proponed for the present: but if any Bishop was chosen that had not qualities required by the Word of God, he should be tried by the General Assembly.
 2. That they judged the name of a Bishop to be common to all Ministers that had the charge of a particular flock; and that by the Word of God his chief Function consisted in the Preaching of the Word, the ministration of the Sacraments, and exercise of Ecclesiastical Discipline, with consent of his Elders.
 3. That from among the the Ministers some one might be chosen to oversee and visit such reasonable bounds, besides his own Flock, as the General Assembly should appoint.
 4. That the Minister so elected might in those bounds appoint Preachers, with the advice of the Ministers of that Province, and the consent of the Flock which they should be admitted to.
- And, fifthly, that he might suspend Ministers from the exercise of their office upon reasonable causes, with the consent of the Ministers of the bounds.

The Bishops present in the Assembly.

There were present in this Assembly the Archbishop of Glasgow, the Bishop of Dunkeld, Galloway, Brichen, Dumblane and Isles, with the Superintendent of Lothian and Angus; all of them interested in that business. Yet neither were they called to the Conference, nor doth it appear by the Register of those proceedings that they did so much as open their mouths in defence of their Office and Calling. What respect soever it was that made them keep so quiet, whether, as I have heard, that they expected those motions should have been dashed by the Regent, or otherwise that they affected the praise of humility, it was no wisdom in them to have given a way to such Novelties, and have suffered the Lawfulness of their Vocation to be thus drawn in question.

Another Assembly of the Church.

In the next Assembly I find the same matter moved of new, and put to voices, but with a little change of the question, which was thus formed; *Whether Bishops as they were then in Scotland had their Function warranted by the Word of God.* The Assembly, without giving a direct answer, after long reasoning, did for the greatest part (so the Records bear) approve the opinions presented in the last meeting, with this addition, *That the Bishops should take themselves to the service of some one Church within their Diocese, and condescend upon the particular Flocks whereof they would accept the charge.*

The Regents motion to the Assembly.

The Regent hearing how the Church had proceeded, and taking ill the deposition of Mr. James Patton Bishop of Dunkeld, who was in the former Assembly deprived for delapidation of his Benefice, sent to require of them whether they would stand to the Policy agreed unto at Leith; and if not, to desire them to settle upon some Form of Government at which they would abide. The Assembly taking the advantage of this Proposition answered, that they were to think of that business, and should with all diligence set down a constant Form of Church-policy, and present the same to be allowed by the Council. To this effect they nominated Mr. Andrew Melvil, Mr. Andrew Hay, Mr. David Cunningham, Mr. George Hay, Mr. Alexander Arithbuthnet, Mr. David Lindefay, and a number more: the Archbishop of Glasgow was named among the rest, but he, being urged to take the charge of a particular Flock, excused himself, saying, *That he had entered to his Office according to the order taken by the Church and Estates, and could do nothing contrary thereto, lest he should be thought to have transgressed his Oath, and be challenged for altering a member of the Estate.* Yet that it might appear how

The Archbishop of Glasgow urged with a particular Flock, answereth the Assembly.

how willing he was to bestow the gifts wherewith God had endued him to the good An. 1576. of the Church, he should teach ordinarily at Glasgow, when he had his residence in the City, and when he remained in the Sheriffdom of Aire, he should do the like in any Church they would appoint; but without astringing himself unto the same, and pre-judging in any sort the jurisdiction he had received at his admission. This his declaration made, he was no more troubled with that employment.

Mr. Patrick Adamson provided to S. Andrews.

Meanwhile the See of S. Andrews falling void by the death of Mr. John Douglas, the Regent did recommend to the Chapter his Chaplain Mr. Patrick Adamson for the place. The Chapter continuing the Election till the Assembly of the Church did convene, imparted to them the warrant they had received: and Mr. Patrick being enquired (for he was present at the time) whether he would submit himself to trial, and receive the Office with those Injunctions the Church would prescribe, answered, that he was discharged by the Regent to accept the Office otherwise than was appointed by mutual consent of the Church and Estate. Hereupon the Chapter was inhibited to proceed. Nottheless upon a new charge given them they convened and made choice of him, which did so irritate the Church, as in the next meeting they gave Commission to the Superintendent of Lothian Mr. Robert Pont, Mr. James Lawson and David Ferguson to call him before them, and prohibit him to exercise any part of his Jurisdiction, till he should be authorized thereto by the Assembly.

The Church offended with the Bishops answer. A form of Policy presented to the Regent.

A form of Church-policy was in the mean time drawn up and presented to the Regent by Mr. David Lindefay, Mr. James Lawson and Mr. Robert Pont. In a short Preface set before it, they protested to wish nothing more, than as God had made him a notable instrument in purging the Realm of Popery, and settling the same in a perfect peace, that he would also honour him with the establishing of a godly and spiritual Policy in the Church; intreating his Grace to receive the Articles presented, and if any of them did seem not agreeable to Reason, to vouchsafe audience to the brethren whom they had named to attend. Not that they did account it a work complete, to which nothing might be added, or from which nothing might be diminished; for as God should reveal farther unto them, they should be willing to help and renew the same. The Regent reading the preface, though he did not like the purpose they were about, gave them a better countenance than in former times, and named certain of the Council to confer with them, and make report of the Heads whereupon they agreed. But the Conference was not well begun, when it brake off by occasion of Troubles that arose.

The Discontents in the Country were great and daily increasing by the Regents severe proceedings. One against Adam Whitford of Milneton did open the mouths of many men against him. This Gentleman was accused as one set on by John Lord Hamilton of Aberbrothock and Lord Claud his Brother to have killed the Regent. The suspicion did arise of some rash and boasting speeches uttered by John Semple of Biltrees, out of his spleen against the Regent for an action intended against him concerning some lands belonging to the Crown, which had been given by the Queen to Mary Levingston his wife, one of her Maids of honour. His words were the more taken hold of, because he was Milnetons Uncle; and upon offer of the Torture he was brought to confession; upon which also he was arraigned and condemned to death, and the Scaffold prepared for the Execution; but was pardoned, which did manifest that which before was suspected, that by under-hand promise, favor he was induced to this confession. The same means were tried with Milneton, to have furnished evidence against these Noblemen for their forfeiture, which was the chief end of this trial. But he upon his Uncles confession being put to the Torture, valuing more his honor nor his safety, endured it with such resolution shewed both by his words and countenance, as was in all mens opinion taken for an undoubted argument of his innocency, and the others testimony nothing regarded: but the Regent much blamed for such rigorous proceedings against him upon a false or faint-hearted mans confession extorted by fear, or drawn from him by other base respects; wherefore he was detested of his nearest kinsmen, as the other

An. 1576. The discontents great in the Country.

John Semple and Adam Whitford accused for conspiring the Regents death.

An. 1577.

[The same story with the former differently worded.]

was honoured in all mens estimation for his courage and constancy. Amongst other proceses he had intended for helping the Revenues of the Crown, one was for the recovery of a parcel of ground which the Queen had gifted to *Mary Levinston* one of her Maids. The Gentlewomans Husband, called *John Semple*, made the best defence he could, and fearing the Regents rigor, had burst forth in some passionate speeches, avowing that *if he did lose the lands, he should lose his life also*. This reported to the Regent brought him to be suspected of some plot, for a speech was given out that Lord *John Hamilton* and his Brother Lord *Cland* were discontented with some of the Regents proceedings, and had instigated this Gentleman with his Nephew *Adam Whitford* of *Milneton* to kill him, as he went down the street towards the Palace, with an Harquebuse. *Semple* called in question for this and his other rash speeches, upon representation of the torture confessed all, for he was a fearful man and of no courage. *Milneton* being apprehended in the Isle of *Bute*, and brought to his examination, denied that any such motion had been made to him, and being put to the torture, endured the same patiently, not confessing any thing. His constancy and the resolution he shewed both in words and countenance made the others confession not to be credited, every one interpreting the same to have proceeded of weakness and want of courage. The Gentlemans case was much pitied, and the mouths of many opened against the Regent for using such rigor, only upon the confession of a fearful and faint-hearted man: but the Troubles we mentioned did arise by another occasion.

The Earl of *Argile* and *Athol* at variance.

In the High-lands one *Allester dow Macallan*, a notorious Thief, who had committed many Robberies, was apprehended by the Earl of *Athol*, who minding to put him to a trial was inhibited by the Council, and Charges directed against him for exhibition of the man. The fellow being presented, after he had stayed a while in prison, was upon *Argiles* desire set at liberty, and, falling to his accustomed depredations, committed divers insolencies in the bounds of *Athol*. The Earl, to repair this wrong done to his people, prepared to invade *Argile*, and he making to defend his Country, all those parts were in an uproar. This reported to the Regent, a messenger of Arms was sent to discharge those Convocations, and cite them both before the Council; but they disobeyed, and by the mediation of friends were shortly after reconciled.

A great insolence committed by *Argile*.

This trouble was no sooner pacified, than upon an injury done by the *Clan-donald* to the Earl of *Argile*, he took Arms; and being charged to dissolve his forces, in stead of obeying, he laid hands on the Messenger, tare his Letters in pieces, and made him and his witnesses swear never to return into *Argile* for the like business. This insolency, whereof the like had not been seen nor heard since the Regents acceptance of the Government, incensed him mightily; but not knowing how to overtake him in that season (for it was done in the beginning of Winter) he resolved to use the course of Law, and proclaim him Rebel.

An. 1577.

Alexander *Areskin* practising a Change.

Argile and *Athol* agreed.

Argile complained of the Regent to the King.

Athol his advice to the King for trying *Argiles* complaint.

Alexander Areskin, who attended the King, having his own discontents, and trusting to better his condition by a change of the Government, dealt secretly with the two Earls, *Argile* and *Athol*, after he understood them to be agreed, and advised them to come, one after another, but much about one time, and mean their case to the King, to whom he promised they should find access. *Argile* coming first complained of the Regents extreme dealing, in that he had denounced him Rebel to his Majesty, whose true and faithful servant he had always been, and requested his Majesty to assemble the Nobility, and do him right according to the Laws: withal he intreated that he might be permitted to remain with his Majesty, till the Nobility should meet for trial of his complaint. The Earl of *Athol* came some two days after, to whom the King did communicate *Argiles* complaint, craving his advice in the business. And he, as though he had known nothing of the matter, answered that the Noblemans Petition seemed reasonable, and that his Majesty could not take a better course than call the Nobility, and by their advice take order for preventing the Troubles that might arise by their dissensions. The King, liking

liking the advice, commanded Letters to be written for all the Noblemen in the Country to meet at *Striveling* the tenth day of *March*: yet the advertisement went only (the two Earls having the direction of the Letters) to those that were their own friends, and enemies to the Regent. Amongst others, the Lords *Maxwel* and *Ogilvy* were invited to come: of whom the first had been lately dispatched from his office of Wardenry in the West Marches, and committed in the Castle of *Blacknes*; the other had of a long time been confined in the City of *S. Andrews*.

How soon the Regent was advertised of *Argile* and *Athols* being with the King, and that they had moved him to call the Nobility to a Meeting upon a pretext of trying *Argiles* complaint, he sent the Earl of *Angus*, the Lord *Glamis* Chancellor, and the Lord *Ruthven* Thesaurer, with a Letter, and certain Notes under his hand to be communicated to the King. In the Notes he made a particular relation of the contempt done by the Earl of *Argile* to his Majesties Authority, and of his practices with *Athol* to disturb the common peace; desiring to know his Majesties pleasure concerning them: 'that if his Highness would allow him to follow the course of Law, he might do his duty; if otherwise his Majesty thought fit to over-see their disobedience, that he would be pleased to disburthen him of his Office, and not suffer his own Name and Authority to be despised in the person of his servant: for as he had at sundry times made offer to dimit the Regiment whensoever his Majesty was pleased to take it in his own hands, so will he now most willingly resign the same, so as a substantial course were taken for the preservation of his Highness Person, the ordering of his Majesties House, and the dispensing of the Revenues of the Crown. Herewith he recommended the keeping of the Peace contracted with *England*, because of the danger that a War might bring not only to the Realm, but also to his Highness Title and right of Succession in that Kingdom. And having recounted the services done by himself from his Majesties birth unto that present, specially his assistance at the Kings Coronation, the danger whereunto he exposed himself and his friends in *Lanside* field and at the siege of *Brichen*, the Legation which he had undertaken to *England*, the recovery of the Castle of *Edinburgh*, the Pacification of the Realm, which at his entry to the Government he found in great trouble, the redeeming of the Jewels and moveables pertaining to the Crown, and the restoring of the Royal Patrimony to some reasonable estate; in regard of all these services he craved no more but an allowance of what he had done in his Office, and a discharge of his intromissions by the Estates of Parliament.

These Notes being shewed to the Noblemen who were about the King (for numbers were come upon the rumor of a Change that was in hand) they did all advise him to take hold of the offer of Dimission made by the Regent, and accept the Government in his own person, after which he might deliberate upon such things as the Regent had moved. Some were of opinion that the King should write to the Regent, and require of him a Dimission: but the greater part, misliking delays, did reckon it more sure to do that which was meant at once, and not to protract time with a communing, such as that manner of proceedings would necessarily breed. The King liking best the persuasions that were given him to Reign (a thing natural to Princes) resolution was taken to discharge the Regent of his Authority, and publish the Kings acceptance of the Government.

This conclusion was the same day imparted to the Regent, who thereupon sent the Laird of *Whittingham* to desire the King, before any Innovation was made, to reconcile those of the Nobility that were in variance with others; thinking this way to hold off the publication intended at least for some days. But it availed nothing, for immediately were the Chancellor and Lord *Here* sent with this Commission to him in writing: *That his Majesty considering the dislike which many had of his Government, and the apparent Troubles to fall upon the Realm, had by the advice of the Nobility determined to accept the Rule in his own Person; and because delay of*

B b 2

An. 1577.

The Regent sendeth to inform the King of *Argiles* contempt.

His offer to dimit the Regency.

The King is advised to accept the Regents Dimission.

A Commission from the King, to the Regent.

An. 1577. *time might breed some farther grudge & inconvenience, he did therefore require him to send his Declaration in writ with all speed, for testifying his obedience and allowance of what was done, and to abstain from all farther administration or exercise of the Office of Regency. As concerning his desires for the Surety of his Majesties Person, the ordering of his house and Revenues of the Crown, with preservation of the Peace with England, and the settling of the Borders, and High-lands, his Highness should omit nothing that lay in his power to do for effecting the same, and therein would follow the counsel which he and the rest of the Nobility should give unto him: and for the discharge of his administration, he should have all granted which with reason he could require; the form whereof his Majesty did will him to draw up, that he might deliberate with his Council what was fit to be done therein, assuring him that he should be well and graciously used. With this Commission they did likewise carry a Letter written by the King himself in very loving terms, declaring, That because he saw no other way to maintain Concord amongst his subjects, he had accepted the Government in his own hands, and that he was confident to have the defects of his age and experience supplied by his Nobility, especially by himself, whom he would ever love and acknowledge as his trusty Cousin, most tender to him in blood (these be the words of the Letter) and one of his true and faithful Counsellors.*

The Kings acceptance of the Government.

The Lord Boyd chideth the Regent for his Dimission.

In the mean time the Kings acceptance was published at Striveling, and the next day being the 12 of March proclaimed at Edinburgh, where the Regent himself was assisting, and took instruments of his Dimission in the hands of two Notaries. It grieved divers of his friends that he had so easily condescended to quit the place, which they thought he might with good reason have kept till a Parliament had been called for that purpose. Amongst others the Lord Boyd, who was most intimate with him, and came to Edinburgh some few hours after his Dimission, did chide him bitterly, speaking to this effect: *That he did presume too much of his own wit, who in a matter of so great moment would not once ask the opinion of his friends; and that in a short time he should find that he had done unwisely, to forsake the place committed to him by the whole Estates of the Kingdom at the pleasure of his enemies. For it is sufficiently known, said he, that the King is a Child, and that these motions have not proceeded from himself. Now when he hath assumed the Government, and ye left the place intrusted to you. Shall he not be governed by those that are about him, whom you know to be your enemies? But ye perhaps do promise ease and safety to your self in a private life: as if you might descend without any danger from the place with ye have held. Wise men have observed that between highest and nothing there is not a mean; and it fears me you have wronged your self in imagining the rest you shall never find. If you had kept your place, they should have seen the faces of men, and not carried things thus at their pleasure; but having forsaken your self, there is nothing left to your friends but to lament your misfortune: and God grant that this be the worst of things.* This said, he went aside, and burst forth in tears. The Regent (whom we will no more call so) excused his doing by the instance that the King made for his Dimission, saying, that his refuse would have made a great Commotion in the Realm; yet did he perceive his error, and in his secret thoughts, which he covered so well as he could, blamed his own rash and precipitate yielding. But there being no place left to refuse, the next best he thought was to secure himself and his friends, by discharge of all things that might be laid to him or them during his administration; and therein he employed the Earl of Angus and the Chancellor, whom he did constitute his Procurators to compier before the King, and make Dimission of his Office with such Solemnities as by Law were requisite.

The Chancellor and Earl of Angus employed in the Regents Dimission to the King.

The Regents discharge of his Administration.

This done, the Discharge was given him in most ample form. Therein, after a general approbation of his service, he was declared not to be accusable of any manner of crime, of whatsoever greatness or weight without exception, that might be alledged to have been committed by him in times past: which declaration was ordained to be as valid and sufficient in all respects, as if the highest crime that could or might be imputed to any person had been especially expref-

expressed in the same. He was also exonerated of all sums of money, rents, and profits, as well of property as casualty intromitted with by him or his factors and servants since his acceptation of the Regiment (the Jewels of the Crown, the Furniture of his Majesties House, Munition and Artillery only excepted.) A provision was adjected, *That the present Discharge should not prejudice the King and his successors in the revocation or reduction of whatsoever infeoffments given of the property during his Highness Minority, or of whatsoever lands, Lordships, Offices or dignities, fallen in his Majesties hands by forfeiture, recognition, bastardy, or by any other right and privilege of the Crown.* In all other points the Discharge was ordained to stand firm and sure for him, his heirs and successors, and the same never to be revoked, or any thing attempted to the contrary: and for his greater assurance, the same was promised to be confirmed by the Estates of Parliament in their first Convention and meeting. The Noblemen and others of the Estates then present with the King did likewise bind themselves, their heirs and successors, to see all the foresaid points truly fulfilled, under the pain of five hundred thousand pound. So as nothing was omitted which he could devise for his securing. Yet in all this he found no assurance: to teach men, that it is not to be had in any worldly thing, but to be sought of God alone. All men are compelled to acknowledge so much in the end, though often too late; which was the case of this Nobleman, as we shall hear. But better late, as the saying is, than never.

An. 1577.

THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

The Sixth BOOK.

The Contents.

The things that happened after his Majesties assuming of the Government in his own Person, unto his happy Succession to the Crown of England.

An. 1577.
Mortons enemies are still practising against him.

THE King was not yet twelve years complete, when in the manner ye have heard they moved him to assume the Government; yet did he shew more judgment in his very beginning than could be expected from one of his years. The Earl of *Mortons* enemies, not satisfied with his displacing, were still casting how to bring him into the Kings dislike. And first shewing that there was a necessity of the Kings residing at *Edinburgh*, where was the place of Justice, they desired he should be charged to render the Castle. Then informed that he had amassed a great Treasure in the time of his Regiment, they moved the King to require of him some moneys for supporting the charges whereunto he would be put at his first entry. They did farther talk of the Mint-house, and the commodity he reaped thereby. And, to denude him of all Power, they desired the state of the Borders to be looked unto, and the office of Lieutenandry, which the Earl of *Angus* his Nephew had in those parts, discharged. To one or other of these they conceived he should be unwilling, and so they should find some matter against him.

The King his calm proceedings with Morton.

But the King, refusing to use him with Charges, took a more moderate course, and sent the Chancellor and Thefaurer to feel his mind in those things. He lay then at *Dalkeith*, and having heard their Propositions, howbeit he knew those motions did proceed from his adversaries, and was not ignorant what they intended, he answered calmly, *That the Jewels and moveables appertaining to the Crown being received of his hand, and he and his Deputies discharged, the Castle should be rendered most willingly.* But for the advancing of moneys he excused himself, saying, *That it was not unknown how he had received his Office in a time full of Troubles, and when the Countrey was embroiled in a Civil War, the burthen whereof he sustained upon his private Charge; and that since the Troubles ceased, he had payed a great many debts, repaired his Majesties Houses and Castles, and put them in a better case than for many years before they had been: That the entertainment of his Majesties House, and maintaining of his own as Regent, was a matter of no small charge, which the ordinary Revenues of the Crown would hardly do; yet when his Majesty should be of perfect age, and his honourable occasions did require it, he should not be wanting according to his ability, and bestow all his means for his Majesties Honour.* Concerning the Mint-house he said, *That he had kept it in the best order he could, and having now no more charge of it, he wished the King to do therewith as he thought best.*

For

For the affairs of the Border, *That he had moved the Earl of Angus to undertake that service for the quietness of the Countrey; but seeing he had no lands in those quarters, and that the Offices of Wardenry might suffice to hold those parts in order, he would advise the King to dispose them to the most sufficient that could be found.*

The Noblemen returning with these answers, the King did rest well satisfied. But a pitiful accident that fell out in the time gave an hindrance to this business. The Chancellor going to the Castle to make his report to the King, as he returned to his lodging did encounter the Earl of *Crawford* in the Street called commonly *The Schoolhouse Wynd*. There had been an old grudge betwixt the two Families, whereupon the Noblemen passed by others without salutations. The Street being narrow, and the companies of each side great, when they were almost parted, two base fellows fell a struggling for the way, and by thrusting one at another raised a tumult, in the very beginning whereof the Chancellor was killed with the shot of a Pistol. It was certainly known that the Noblemen did purpose no harm to others, for *Crawford* did call to his followers to give way to the Chancellor, as he on the other side called to give way to the Earl of *Crawford*; yet by this unhappy accident were the old dissensions that had long slept revived, & a fresh enmity raised, which turned to the great hurt of both. The death of the Chancellor was much lamented, falling out in the time when the King and Country stood in most need of his service. He had carried himself with much commendation in his place, & acquired a great Authority: most careful was he to have Peace conserved both in the Country and Church, & labored much to have the question of Church-Policy settled, upon which subject he interchanged divers Letters with *Theodore Beza*. Some have blamed him of two great curiosity in that matter, but his intention certainly was pious and commendable.

A pitiful Accident.

The Chancellor killed in a Tumult.

Upon his death the Earl of *Athol* was preferred to be Chancellor, at which the Church did mightily offend; as likewise at the admission of the Earls of *Cathnes* and *Eglinton*, with the Lord *Ogilvy*, upon the Council, who were all thought to be Popishly inclined. This being meant to the King, was in some sort satisfied by their promises and subscriptions to the Articles of Religion; yet the suspicions of their unsoundness still continued. And now began they who longed for the change of *Mortons* Government to repent the alteration that was made; for howsoever he did not favor the Novations in Church-Policy urged by some Ministers, he kept a severe hand over Papists, permitting none to enjoy any publick Office who was not sincerely affected to the Truth.

The Earl of Athol created Chancellor.

The first of April the Castle of *Edinburgh* was delivered to the Lords *Ruthven* & *Lindesay*, who were appointed by the King to receive the House, & a discharge given to the Earl of *Morton* of the Jewels, Munition and Moveables within the same. And the same day *John Seaton* of *Touch*, and *John Cunningham* of *Drumwhassil*, received the keys in name of *Alexander Areskin* Uncle to the Earl of *Marre*, upon a Warrant directed to them for that effect. The Earl of *Morton* resolving to live private, and to have no more meddling in publick affairs, retired to *Lochlewin*, where he stayed not long, being recalled to Court by this occasion. The friends of the House of *Marre*, of whom the principals were the Abbots of *Driburgh* and *Cambuskenneth*, out of some jealousy they conceived of *Alexander Areskin* his courses, and a fear that the young Nobleman who was then grown to some years might be prejudged of his right in keeping the Castle, practised secretly to exclude him, and entering one morning with a number of their followers seized upon the keeper of the gate, took the keys from him by force, and putting him and his men forth placed others in their rooms, whom they caused to swear fidelity to the Earl of *Marre*.

An. 1578.
The Castle of Edinburgh delivered to the Earl of Marre.

The Castle of Striveling surprised by the Earl of Marre his friends.

How soon the Council (which then remained at *Edinburgh*) was advertised of this change, they prepared to go to *Striveling*, and for their greater security were furnished with some companies of men by the Town of *Edinburgh*; but by Letters from the King they were stayed. In these Letters the King shewed that it was a private dissension only that had happened betwixt the friends of the house of *Marre*, which he would have peaceably composed, and therefore desired them to come unto him after a day or two in quiet and sober manner, and assist the Reconciliation. They obeyed, and coming to *Striveling*, in a frequent Council kept the third of

The Council goeth to Striveling, and composeth the controversy.

May

An. 1578.

Conditions
prescribed to
the Earl of
Marre.

May the Controversie was in these terms composed: That the Earl of Marre being now come to a reasonable age, he should attend the Kings person, and have the custody of the Castle of Striveling, and that the Master his Uncle should remain Capt. of the Castle of Edinburgh, and when he came to Court have his Table kept as before, and enjoy the place of a Gentleman of his Majesties Chamber. The Conditions prescribed to the Earl of Marre were, That he should guard the Castle, attend the Kings person therein, and not remove him to any place whatsoever without the knowledge and consent of the Council. That he should not receive any within the House whom he knew not to be well affected to the King; admitting an Earl with two only in train, a Lord with one, and Gentleman single: That Mr. George Buchanan and Mr. Peter Young should continue his Instruſters, and no others be admitted without the Councils consent, nor any Religious exercise kept within the Castle but that which the Parliament had approved. For the observing of these Articles the Earls of Athol, Angus, Argile and Montroß, with the Lords Ruthven and Lindeſay, became ſureties. For the Master his Uncle, and his fidelity in keeping the Castle of Edinburgh, with the Jewels, Munition and other moveables, the Earls of Athol, Argile, Montroß, and the Lord Ruthven gave their bond and obligation. Some days after this Broil the Captain his eldest Son (called Alexander) a youth of great hopes, departed this life, as it was thought, of a grief he conceived for the indignity done to his Father.

A Convention
at Striveling.

This Agreement being made, and the Lords being then to return to Edinburgh, the King did signify unto them, that because the Parliament was indicted to the tenth of July, he would before that time call a number of every Estate together for the preparing of matters; and that, all emulations laid aside, they might concur and joyn their counsels for the publick good of the Realm. The Diet for this meeting he appointed at Striveling the tenth of June. The Convention at the time was frequent: of the Clergy, eight Bishops and as many Abbots were present; of the Nobility, nine Earls and eleven Lords, and divers Commissioners of Burghs. The Earl of Morton at the Kings earnest intreaty came also thither, and at his coming was admitted upon the Council, having the precedency allowed him, with the consent of the rest, because of the Regency he had a long time sustained.

The Earl of
Morton com-
meth to Stri-
veling.The Kings
motion to the
Lords and the
rest of the Es-
tates.

In the first meeting the King, after he had given thanks to the whole number for the readines they had shewed to convene in that place, proponed two things. One was touching the Parliament, and the place where it should hold. The other concerned an Ambassage which he intended to send into England. For the Parliament, he said, that he longed to see a meeting of the Estates, & would have the time to which it was called precisely observed, wishing them all to address themselves thereto in time, and to come in a peaceable manner, as men disposed to do good, and seeking the common profit of their Country. And for the place, seeing his own presence was necessary, & that he could not conveniently remove from Striveling, he desired the Parliament to be fenced at Edinburgh at the day appointed, and then prorogated some four or five days, and brought to Striveling. For the Ambassage, he gave divers reasons. First, that having assumed the Government in his own hands, he was bound in courtesie to visit the Queen of England, and give her thanks for the kindness he had received of her in his Minority. Next, that the disorder lately fallen out in the Borders (for about that time some Borderers had entred into England and committed great Robberies) laid a necessity upon him to clear the Country of that fact, and make offer of redress. Thirdly, that he had a private business which touched him nearly, his Grandmother the Lady Lennox being newly deceased, and he being her only Heir, it concerned him, he said, to inquire what her last Will was, and to see that no prejudice was done to him in his Succession to the lands she possessed in England. Lastly, if they did think meet (but this he remitted to their wisdoms) he shewed that he could like well to have a motion made of a more strict League betwixt the two Realms during the Queens life and his.

The Council-
lors dissuade
the change of
the place of
Parliament.

It grieved the ordinary Counsellors much that the place of Parliament should be changed, who therefore labored to dissuade the King from it; but perceiving him resolved that way, they gave their consents, though most unwillingly. When they came to speak of the Ambassage to England, they acknowledged the necessity thereof; but took exception at the League, pretending the ancient League with

France.

France. It was replied, That the case of things was much altered from that in former times; that England and Scotland had now the same enemies because of their common Profession, so as for their own safety it was needful they should joyn together in strict friendship; and that the League with England might be so contracted as the old Amity with France should remain inviolate. The King farther declared, that he did not mean to give power to his Ambassador for concluding a League, wherein he would do nothing rashly, nor without the advice of the Estates; only he desired the same should be moved, and upon the report of the Queens liking thereof, that the Conditions of the League should be well and gravely advised. After long reasoning, the matter being put unto voices, it was by plurality agreed, that the same should be made one of the Ambassadors Instructions: against which the Earls of Argile, Montroß and Cathnes, the Lords Lindeſay and Innermaith, with the Commendatary of Deir, took publick protestation.

An Ambassage
to the Queen
of England.

These things bred a new heart-burning amongst the Noblemen, for they took Morton to be deviser of all, and that he was craftily drawing back the administration of affairs unto himself; which, albeit they dissembled for the present, brake forth after a few days in an open Dissention. The Citizens of Edinburgh were much offended with the Kings remaining in Striveling, and the remove of the Parliament from their Town; and, as it happeneth in such times of discontent, Rumors were dispersed that the King was detained Captive, and was shortly to be sent into England, and the ancient League with France dissolved. This being in the mouths of all men, and talked of not in corners, but in open and publick meetings, a Proclamation was given out the sixth of July, 'Declaring the falshood of those Rumors, and that the same were raised by some seditious spirits that could not live quiet under any sort of Government. For, as to the Kings Detention, it was known to be most false, and that it was his own choicet to remain at Striveling, attended by those whom the Council by common consent had appointed for the safe custody of his Person. And for the Parliament, which they said was to treat of the dissolution of Peace with their old Confederates, and to make up new Leagues with others, there was no such matter; it being his Majesties only purpose to have such things intreated in that Meeting as might tend to the advancement of Gods honor, the safety of his Royal Person, and the establishment of good Laws for the quietness of the Realm: Whereof if any made doubt, they might be resolved at their coming to the Parliament, which was now approaching. Therefore were all good subjects advertised not to believe those seditious Reports, nor suffer themselves to be led by such wicked suggestions into Rebellion.

A Proclama-
tion against
the false Ru-
mors dispersed

This Declaration prevailed little with the most part, for the minds of men were much exasperated. And the time of Parliament come, the Lords that remained at Edinburgh took counsel not to go thither, but to send of their number one or two to protest against the Lawfulness of it. The Earl of Montroß and Lord Lindeſay were chosen to that purpose, who coming to Striveling, shew the King the Noblemens excuse, and declared all they had in Commission to say; wishing his Majesty to prorogate the Parliament unto a better time, and make choice of a fitter place. But he resolved, by the counsel of those that were present, to go on; and coming the next day, which was the 16 of July, to the great Hall where the Estates were advertised to meet, he made a short Speech touching the Liberty of Parliaments, and the necessity he had to keep one at that time and in that place, assuring all persons who had any thing to move or propound, that they should have free access, and receive satisfaction, according to Justice. After the King had closed his Speech, the Earl of Montroß and Lord Lindeſay arose, and in the name of the Council and others of the Nobility adhering to them, protested against the Lawfulness of the Parliament, in so far as it was kept within the Castle, whither they could not safely repair, the same being in the enemies power. The King, offended with the Protestation, commanded them to keep their Lodgings, and not to depart forth of Striveling without his licence: which the Lord Lindeſay obeyed; but Montroß the next day early in the morning went away, and returned to Edinburgh, where it was given out that he had brought from the King a secret direction to the Lords to convene the subjects in Arms, and liberate him out of Mortons hands.

The Lords re-
maining at
Edinburgh
protest against
the holding of
the Parliament.Montroß and
Lindeſay charged
to keep
their lodgings
for using the
Protestation.

Thereupon

An. 1578.
A Declaration
of the Lords
remaining at
Edinburgh.

Thereupon a Declaration was published, bearing, That his Majesty having assumed the Government in his own Person, because of the enormities committed in the time of *Mortons* Regiment, had appointed the Council to remain at *Edinburgh* for the better ministration of Justice. And that by the care they took of affairs, all things had gone well and peaceably till *Morton*, out of his ambitious desire to rule, did suborn some instruments to surprise the Kings House and Person at *Striveling*, injuriously displace the Captain, and put his family and servants to the gates. Of which seditious enterprise although he did pretend ignorance, yet the progress of his actions continually since that time did shew that he was the chief plotter of that business; for after his coming to Court, and admission to be one of the Council, he had disordered all things, thralling the King so far, that his best subjects could have no free access unto him, and usurping the jurisdiction of his Majesties ordinary Council, in translating the Parliament from *Edinburgh*, the principal City of the Realm, unto the Castle of *Striveling*. Like as to bear out his wicked and violent designs he had of late presumed to levy Souldiers at the Kings cost and charge, intending thereby to maintain his usurped Authority, and oppress his Majesties obedient and lawful subjects. In consideration of which abuses, and left notorious presumptions should by their continual patience grow to a farther height, they had resolved, laying aside all difficulties, to withstand the violences practised by him under the title of the Kings Authority, and to hazard their goods, lives and lands for the delivery of his Majesties Person out of his thralldom; protesting that the inconveniencies which should ensue upon the present Troubles should not be imputed to them, inasmuch as they were forced unto it for their own just and necessary defence, the restitution of their native Prince to liberty, and the delivering of the Church and Commonwealth from the Tyranny of such as have ever sought, and still do seek, the ruine and overthrow of both.

Proclamations
to follow the
King or his
Lieutenant.

This Declaration published, all parts of the Realm were in a commotion: Souldiers were levied on either side, horse and foot; and Proclamations sent to the Sherifsdoms of *Edinburgh*, *Haddington*, *Linlithgow*, *Clackmannam*, *Kinross*, *Perth*, *Fife*, *Forfar*, *Lanark*, *Dumbarton*, and to the Bailiaries of *Kyle* and *Cunningham*, to prepare themselves with victuals for 15 days, and be in readiness to follow the King or his Lieutenants upon six hours warning, as they should be directed. Here-with a Commission of Lieutenandry was given to the Earl of *Angus* for convocating the subjects, and pursuing the Rebels who had usurped the Kings Authority with all sort of rigor: Charges were also directed to command the Earls of *Athol* and *Argile* to depart forth of *Edinburgh* within the space of 24 hours, and return to the places of their dwelling, under the pain of Treason: the Magistrates of *Edinburgh* were enjoined to apprehend the persons that had taken Arms within their Town, and not to suffer any armed men to enter in the same, except such as should have direction from his Majesty. Which when the Provost (*Archibald Stewart*) came to excuse, as not being in the Towns power to withstand the forces of the Noblemen, he himself was sent prisoner to the Castle of *Down*.

The Lords
charged to
depart out of
Edinburgh.

The Provost
of *Edinburgh*
committed.

A Proclamation
on dissolving
the forces
convened
at *Edinburgh*.

The Parliament in this mean time went on, and all things proceeded therein as in a time of most secure Peace. Upon their dissolving, when it was told the King that the Lords were gathering forces, and that they gave out the same to be done by warrant from him, he commanded, by a new Proclamation, all that were assembled in Arms to separate and return to their dwellings within the space of six hours, promising pardon to such as obeyed. And lest any should be deceived with the rumors of his Captivity and secret Warrants from himself, he again declared, That it was his own desire to remain at *Striveling* and be served by the Earl of *Marre*, with whom he knew his surety was greater than if he should be at the devotion of those that caused the present troubles, whose meanings towards him could be no better than it had been in times past. For the Warrants they pretended, he called God to witness, that they had neither word nor writ from him; therefore willed all his good subjects to live quiet, and not to be misled by such false informations. This Proclamation the Lords would not suffer to be published at *Edinburgh*, but, making the greater expedition, drew

The Lords
march towards
Striveling.

drew together their Companies, and marched towards *Striveling*. The first night they camped at *Linlithgow*, and the day following having mustered their Army, which they found to be about 4000, they went to *Falkirk*.

The Earl of *Angus*, as Lieutenant for the King, took the fields, and displaying the Royal Banner made towards them. In number he did not equal the others, but they were Gentlemen all, active and resolute. Sir *Robert Bowes*, the English Ambassador, riding betwixt the Armies, travelled earnestly to bring them to an Agreement, and by his intreaties and the proposing of honourable conditions did keep them from joyning. In which time one *Tait*, a follower of *Cesford*, who as then was of the Lords party, came forth in a bravery, and called to the opposite horsemen, asking if any among them had courage to break a lance for his Mistress. He was answered by one *Johnston*, servant to the Master of *Glamis*, and his challenge accepted. The place chosen was a little plain at the river of *Carron*, on both sides whereof the horsemen stood spectators. At the first encounter *Tait*, having his body pierced through, fell from his horse, and presently died. This was taken by those of *Mortons* side to be a preface of Victory. But by the Ambassadors travels the parties were drawn to the Conditions following.

The English
Ambassador
laboureth to
compose mat-
ters.

1. That the forces on either side should presently separate, and a few horsemen only be retained upon his Majesties charges, who should be employed for quieting the Borders, and not against the Lords convened at *Falkirk*, or their adherents in the present action.
2. That the proceedings of the Lords and other partakers with the Chancellor since the tenth of *July* last should be allowed as good service done to the King, in respect his Majesty was assured of their good affection towards his own Person.
3. That the Chancellor and Earl of *Argile* should have their lodging within the Castle of *Striveling*, with the like numbers that were permitted to other Noblemen.
4. That all the Noblemen, Barons, and other Gentlemen who pleased to come unto the King, should be freely admitted to his presence, and have liberty to propose their own affairs.
5. That the Earl of *Montross* and Lord *Lindesay* should be received in the number of the Council.
6. That the King calling to himself eight Noblemen, that is, four of each party to be nominated by themselves, should consider the griefs and offences of either side, take order for removing the same, and make up a perfect Reconciliation amongst the Nobility.
7. That the Commission of Lieutenandry granted to the Earl of *Angus* should be discharged.
8. And last, that the Captains of the Castle of *Edinburgh* and *Dumbarton* should enjoy their offices, till the reconciliation intended was brought to an end.

Conditions
agreed upon.

These Articles being signed by the King, and subscribed by the principals of both parties, the accord and heads thereof were published at *Striveling* and *Falkirk* the fourteenth of *August*, upon which the Armies dissolved. No stir in our memory was more happily pacified; for should it have come to the worst, as it was not far off, such was the heat and hate of both Factions, that the mischief could not but have been great which would have ensued.

The Articles
signed.

The place and time of the Noblemens meeting for considering the Grievances of both parties being left to the Kings appointing, because delay might breed greater difficulties, his Majesty did assign the 20 of *Sept.* to meet at *Striveling*; whereof he caused the Ambassador give the Chancellor notice, and to desire him to name the four Noblemen whose advice he and the rest would use in that Treaty. The Chancellor answered by Letter, That neither he nor *Argile* could agree to meet at *Striveling*, nor could they design the four Noblemen whom they would use, because death, sickness and other accidents might hinder one or more of them to convene: but if it should please the King to appoint the place of meeting at *Edinburgh* about the end of November, they should keep the day, and for the present nominate

The twentieth
of *Septem-
ber* ap-
pointed for
a meeting of
Noblemen at
Striveling.

The Noble-
men decline
the meeting.

sen.

An. 1578.
The Petition
of the Chan-
cellor and the
Lords and
Gentlemen
adhering to
him.

The King of-
fended with
the Petitions.

The Noblemen
cited to appear
at Striveling.

His Majesties
Speech at the
meeting.

The Lords
are desired to
set down their
Complain's in
writing.

ten, of which number they should chuse some 4 at that time as Arbiters for their party. The ten they named were, the Earls of Montross and Cathnes, the Lords Lindeſay, Maxwell, Heris, Ogilvy and Innermeath, the Abbot of Newbottle, and the Lairds of Bargenny and Drumwhaffil. Herewith he desired three things to be granted. One was, that licence might be given to such an one as they would chuse to pass into England. Next, that they who were dispossessed of their places and Offices since the tenth of July might be restored; namely Mr. Mark Ker, Son to the Abbot of Newbottle, Master of Requests, and William Cunningham, Son to the Laird of Drumwhaffil, Gentleman of the Kings Bedchamber. Thirdly, that none should be called in question for their absence upon the late Proclamations, seeing all they who came not to Striveling must be understood to have been their adherents.

This answer communicated to the King did highly offend him. First, that they should usurp the appointing of the time and place of meeting, which was left in his power: next, that they would presume to send a message into England, they being his subjects, and neither acquaint him with the person nor the message. For the other Petitions he judged them impertinent, and more fit to be proposed at the meeting of the Noblemen: whereof in a Letter sent by Mr. William Ereskin to the Chancellor he shewed, that since they had delayed to nominate the four Noblemen, he himself would make choice of four of them whose names they had given to the Ambassador; to wit, the Lords Lindeſay, Ogilvy, Innermeath and Heris; to whom he would joyn the Earls of Rothes and Buchan, with the Lords Ruthven and Boyd; and by their advice proceed in the Reconciliation by him intended, which if they should refuse, he would notify to the Queen of England and other Christian Princes the care he had taken to perform all things as they had been lately accorded.

To this letter no answer was given, but that they should advise with their friends, and afterwards signify their minds: wherewith the King being discontent, he summoned the Noblemen to meet at Striveling the 20 of September, warning all the subjects whom that business concerned to address themselves thither against the day. At the day none of them appeared, and the more careful the King was to have Peace made, the more they seemed to draw back, protracting time upon frivolous excuses. Wherefore the King for the last Diet appointed the 20 of October, which most of them kept. Being all Assembled, the King spake to them to this effect. *Ye do all understand what an earnest desire I have that you should joyn in friendship one with another, which cannot be more contentment to me than it is benefit to your selves; although I have many occasions given me to fall from that desire, yet I abide in the same mind, and shall wish you to lay aside your needless jealousies and suspicions. For as to me I will study to be indifferent, and bestow my favours impartially, and never repose my self upon any one so much as to deny others the regard which is due to them. Ye that are Noblemen have a special interest in me, and unless there be a correspondence of wills and minds amongst you, I shall never find that concurrence that ought to be for mine honour and the good of the Commonwealth. It is not long since, at your own desires, I accepted the Government of the Realm, being persuaded by you that this was the only way to cease all grudges; but now that I see them increased, it repents me to have yielded to your desires, and intangled my self in such business. What should lett you to be reconciled, and become perfect friends, I know not. If there be any grief or offence that hath exasperated your minds, will ye shew it? I am here with the advice of my Lords to remove it, and see satisfaction made by those that have done the wrong. I hope you do not carry minds irreconcilable. Ye professed that ye laid down Arms for the love ye bare to your King; by the same love I intreat you to lay aside jealousies and suspicions, which ye will doubtless do, except ye mind to expose your Country and your selves to utter ruine.*

The Lords moved with this Speech professed themselves willing at his Majesties desire to bury all Discords; and that their Agreement might be the more sound, they were required to set down in writing the Injuries and unkindness whereof they complained, that satisfaction might be made at the sight of the King and Noblemen whom he had named. Hereupon the Chancellor and Argyle presented their

their grievances in some short Articles, bearing the unkindness they had received from the Earl of Morton in the time of his Regiment. Whereunto he answered, first generally, That what he did in that time was done by order of Law, and that they themselves had allowed his proceedings, and were sureties for ratifying the same in Parliament. Then replying more particularly to every Article, he gave the King and other Noblemen full satisfaction, and made it seen, that on the part of the other Lords there was a great mistaking: for what he did he could not leave undone, without a manifest violation of justice. Yet for himself, he said, although he had been ill rewarded by them for his pains taken in the publick service, and received more unkindness at their hands than he had deserved, he would freely remit all at the King's desire. After some days spent in such reckonings, they were brought in end to joyn hands.

During these Contentions in the State, Mr. Andrew Melvil held the Church busied with the matter of Policy, which was put in form, and presented to the Parliament at their sitting in Striveling. The Estates having no leisure to peruse it, gave a Commission to divers of their number to meet and confer with the Commissioners of the Church, and if they did agree, to insert the same among the Acts of Parliament. How these affairs went, and what effect the Commission took, being cause of the great business that afterwards was made about the same, is necessary to be known; wherefore I thought meet to set down the Form of Policy as it was presented, with the notes of their agreement and disagreement, as they stand in the Original, which I have by me.

Heads and Conclusions of the Church; and first of the Policy thereof in General, wherein it differeth from Civil.

First, The Church of God is sometimes largely taken, for all them that profess the Evangel of Jesus Christ; and so it is a Company and fellowship not only of the Godly, but also Hypocrites, professing outwardly one true Religion. 1. Agreed.

2. At other times it is taken for the Elect only and the godly; and sometimes for them that exercise the Spiritual Function amongst the Congregation of them that profess the Truth. 2. Agreed.

3. The Church in this last sense hath a certain power granted by God, according to which it useth a proper Jurisdiction and Government, exercised to the comfort of the whole Church.

4. This Power Ecclesiastical is an Authority granted by God the Father, through the Mediation of Jesus Christ, unto his Church gathered, and having the ground in the Word of God, to be put in execution by them unto whom the Spiritual Government of the Church by lawful calling is committed.

5. The Policy of the Church flowing from this Power is an Order or Form of Spiritual Government, which is exercised by the members appointed thereto by the Word of God; and therefore is given immediately to the Office-bearer, by whom it is exercised to the weal of the whole body.

6. This Power is diversly used; for sometime it is severally exercised (chiefly by the Teachers) sometime conjunctly by mutual consent of them that bear Office and charge, after the form of judgment: the former is called *potestas Ordinis*, the other *potestas Jurisdictionis*.

7. These two kinds of Power have both one Ground, one Final cause, but are different in the form and manner of Execution, as is evident by the speech of our Saviour in the 16th and 18th of S. Matthew. 7. Agreed.

8. This Power and Policy is different and distinct in their own nature from that Power and Policy which is called the Civil Power, and appertains to the Civil Government of the Commonwealth; albeit they be both of God, and tend to one end, if they be rightly used, that is, to advance the glory of God, and to have godly and good subjects. 8. Agreed.

An. 1578.

The Lords re-
conciled.

A form of
Church-Poli-
cy presented
to the Parlia-
ment, and re-
mitted to cer-
tain Commis-
sioners.

1. Agreed.

2. Agreed.

3. Agreed that the Church is some-
times taken for them that exercise the
Spiritual Function in particular Congre-
gations.

4. Continued to farther reasoning, and
when it is said this power floweth from
God to his Church, whether this should
be understood of the whole Church or of
the Office-bearers, and whether it flow-
eth mediately or immediately.

5. Referred to farther
reasoning.

6. The last words of the Article are
thought not necessary, and therefore to
be deleted.

An. 1578.

1. Say in stead hereof, For this power is spiritual, not having... deleting the other words.

11. Agreed.

12. Agreed, changing these words, they should not be called Lords over their flock.

13. Change the last words of Ecclesiastical Government, and Ecclesiastical Discipline, according to the Word of God.

14. Referred to farther reasoning, when the order of Bishops shall be discussed.

15. Referred till they come to the attribution of the Power.

16. Agreed as the words are conceived.

17. Deferreth this to be resolved with the 15

18. Referred.

19.

20. Agreed that neither ought the Magistrate preach, nor minister the Sacraments, nor execute the Censures of the Church, which is to be understood of Excommunication, and referred the second part of this Article to farther reasoning.

21. Referred.

22. Referred.

9. For this Power Ecclesiastical floweth from God immediately, and the Mediator *Jesus* Christ, and is Spiritual, not having a Temporal Head in the earth, but only Christ, the only Spiritual King and Governor of the Church.

10. It is a title falsely usurped by Antichrist, to call himself the Head of the Church, and ought not to be attributed to Angel or to man, of what estate soever he be, saving to Christ the Head and only Monarch of the Church.

11. Therefore this Power and Policy of the Church should lean upon the Word immediately as the only ground thereof, and should be taken from the pure fountains of the Scriptures, hearing the voice of Christ the only Spiritual King, and being ruled by his Laws.

12. It is proper to Kings, Princes and Magistrates, to be called Lords and Dominators over their subjects whom they govern civilly; but it is proper to Christ only to be called Lord and Master in the Spiritual Government of the Church, and all others that bear Office therein ought not to usurp dominion, nor be called Lords, but Ministers, Disciples and Servants: for it is proper to Christs Office to command and rule his Church universally, and every particular Church, through his Spirit and Word, by the ministry of men.

13. Notwithstanding, as the Ministers and others of the Ecclesiastical state are subject to the Magistrate civilly; so ought the person of the Magistrate be subject to the Church spiritually, and in Ecclesiastical Government.

14. And the exercise of both these Jurisdictions cannot stand in one person ordinarily.

15. The Civil Power is called the Power of the Sword, the other Power the Power of the Keys.

16. The Civil Power should command the Spiritual to exercise and to do their Office according to the Word of God; the Spiritual Rulers should require the Christian Magistrate to minister Justice and punish Vice, and to maintain the Liberty of the Church, and quietness within their bounds.

17. The Magistrate commands in things external for external Peace and quietness among the subjects; the Minister handleth external things only for Conscience cause.

18. The Magistrate external things only and actions done before men; but the Spiritual Ruler judges both the affection and external actions in respect of Conscience, by the Word of God.

19. The Civil Magistrate getteth obedience by the Sword and other external means; but the Minister by the Spiritual Sword and Spiritual means.

20. The Magistrate ought neither preach, minister the Sacraments, nor execute the Censures of the Church, nor yet prescribe any rule how it should be done, but command the Minister to observe the rule prescribed in the Word, and punish transgressors by Civil means; the Minister again exercises not the Civil Jurisdiction, but teaches the Magistrate how it should be exercised according to the Word.

21. The Magistrate ought to assist, maintain and fortify the Jurisdiction of the Church; the Ministers should assist their Princes in all things agreeable to the Word, providing they neglect not their Charge in involving themselves in Civil affairs.

22. Finally, as Ministers are subject to the judgment and punishment of Magistrates in external things, if they offend: so ought the Magistrates submit themselves to the Discipline of the Church, if they transgress in matter of Conscience and Religion.

CHAP.

CHAP. 2. *Of the parts of Policy of the Church, and Persons or Office-bearers to whom the Administration is committed.*

First, as in the Policy Civil the whole Commonwealth consists in them that are Governors or Magistrates, and them that are governed and subjects: so in the Policy of the Church some are appointed to be Rulers, and the rest of the members are to be ruled and obey according to Gods Word, and the inspiration of his Spirit, always under one Head and chief Governor *Jesus* Christ.

2. Again, the whole Policy of the Church consists in three things chiefly, in Doctrine, Discipline and Distribution; with Doctrine is annexed the Ministration of the Sacraments.

3. And according to this division arises a sort of threefold Officers in the Church; to wit, Ministers or Preachers, Elders or Governors, and Deacons or Distributors: and all these may be called by one general word, Ministers of the Church.

4. For albeit the Church of God be ruled and governed by *Jesus* Christ, who is the only King, high Priest and Head thereof; yet he useth the ministry of men, as a necessary middel for this purpose.

5. For so he hath from time to time, before the Law, under the Law, and in the time of the Evangel, raised up men indowed with the gifts of his Spirit for the spiritual Government of his Church, exercising by them his power through his Spirit and Word, to the building of the same.

6. And to take away all occasion of Tyranny, he wills that they should rule with mutual consent of brethren and equality of power, every one according to their Functions.

7. In the New Testament and time of the Evangel he hath used the Ministry of the Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists, Pastors and Doctors, in administration of the Word; the Eldership for good order and administration of Discipline; the Deaconship to have the care of Ecclesiastical goods.

8. Some of these Ecclesiastical Functions are ordinary, some extraordinary, or temporal. The extraordinary are the Apostles, Prophets and Evangelists, which are not perpetual, and now have ceased in the Church, except when it pleases God extraordinarily for a time to stir up some of them again.

9. There are four ordinary Officers or Functions in the Church of God; the Pastor, Minister or Bishop, the Doctor, the Presbyter or Elder, and the Deacon.

10. These Offices are ordinary, and ought to continue perpetually in the Church, as necessary for the Government and policy of the same; and no mo Offices ought to be received or suffered in the true Church of God, established by his Word.

11. Therefore all the ambitious Titles invented in the Kingdom of Antichrist and his usurped Hierarchy, which are not one of those four sorts, together with the Offices depending thereupon, ought in one word to be rejected.

CHAP. 3. *How the Persons that bear Ecclesiastical Functions are admitted to their Offices.*

First, Vocation or Calling is common to all that should bear Office in the Church, which is a lawful way by which qualified persons are promoted to any special Office in the Church of God.

2. Without this Calling it was never lawful for any person to meddle with any Ecclesiastical Function.

3. There are two sorts of Calling, one extraordinary by God immediately, were the Apostles and Prophets, which within a Church already well established hath no place.

4. The other calling is ordinary, which beside the calling of God, and the inward

Cc 2

An. 1573.

1. The name of the Church in this Article is taken for the Church in the first signification, to wit for the whole church. Agreed with the rest of the Articles.

2. Referred.

3. Referred.

4. Referred.

5. Referred.

6. Referred to reasoning of the head of Visitors.

7. Referred.

8. Referred.

9. Referred.

10. Referred.

11. Referred.

An. 1578. ward testimony of a good Conscience, hath the lawful approbation of men according to Gods Word, and the Order established in the Church.

5. Agreed. 5. None ought to presume to enter in any Office Ecclesiastical, unless he have a good testimony in his Conscience before God, who only knoweth the hearts of men.

6. 6. This ordinary and outward calling hath two parts, Election and Ordination.

7. Referred. 7. Election is the chusing out of one man or person to the Office that is void, by the judgment of the Eldership and consent of the Congregation to whom the person presented is to be appointed.

8. Agreed with the generality hereof. 8. The qualities in general required in all them who should have charge in the Church consist in soundness of Religion and Godliness of life, according as they are set forth in the Word.

9. Agreed. 9. In this ordinary Election it is to be eschewed, that no person be intruded in any of the Offices of the Church contrary to the will of the Congregation to whom they are appointed, or without the voice of the Eldership.

10. 10. None ought to be intruded or placed in the Ministry in places already planted, or in any room that is not void, for any worldly respect; and that which is called the Benefice ought to be nothing but the Stipend of the Minister who is lawfully called.

11. Agreed. 11. Ordination is the Separation and sanctifying of the person appointed by God and his Church, after that he is well tried and found qualified.

12. Agreed. 12. The Ceremonies of Ordination are Fasting, Prayer, and Imposition of hands of the Eldership.

13. Agreed. 13. All these, as they must be raised up by God, and made able for the work whereunto they are called, so they ought know that their message is limited with Gods Word.

14. Agreed. 14. These should take the names and titles only (lest they be exalted and puffed up in themselves) which the Scripture gives them, as these which import labour, travel and work, and are names of Offices and Service, and not of idleness, dignity, worldly honor or preeminence, which by Christ our Master is expressly reprobated and forbidden.

15. Agreed. 15. All these Office-bearers should have their own particular Flocks, amongst whom they ought to exerce their charge, and should make residence with them, taking inspection and oversight of them every one in his vocation.

16. Agreed. 16. And generally ought to respect two things; that is, the glory of God, and edifying of his Church, by discharging their duties in their Callings.

C H A P. 4. Of the Office-bearers in particular, and first of the Pastors and Ministers.

1. Agreed, saving the word Bishop is referred to the place of Visitation. 1. Pastors, Bishops or Ministers, are they who are appointed to particular Congregations, which they rule by the Word of God, and over which they watch: in respect whereof sometime they are called Pastors, because they feed their Congregation; sometimes *Episcopi* or Bishops, because they watch over their Flock; sometimes Ministers, by reason of their Service and Office; sometimes also Presbyters or Seniors, for the gravity in manners which they ought to have, taking care of the Spiritual Government, which ought to be most dear unto them.

2. Agreed. 2. They that are called the Ministry, or offer themselves thereto, ought not to be elected without one certain Flock to be assigned to them.

3. Agreed. 3. No man ought to ingyre himself, or usurp this Office without a lawful calling.

4. Agreed. 4. They who are once called of God, and duly elected by men, having once accepted the charge of the Ministry, may not leave their Functions; and the desertors ought to be admonished, and in case of disobedience excommunicated.

5. Referred. 5. No Pastor may leave his Flock without licence of the Provincial Assembly; which if he do, after Admonition not obeyed, let the Censures of the Church strike upon him.

6. To

6. To the Pastor belongeth the Preaching of the Word of God in season and out of season, publickly and privately, always to edifie and discharge his Conscience, as God hath prescribed. And unto them only appertains the ministration of the Sacraments; for both these are appointed by the Word of God as means to reach us, the one by the ear, and the other by the eyes and other senses, that by both knowledge may be conveyed to the mind.

7. By the same reason it pertains to Pastors to pray for the people, and namely for the Flock committed to their charge, and to bless them in the name of God, who will not suffer the blessings of his faithful servants to be frustrate.

8. He ought also to watch over the Manners of his Flock, that he may the better apply his Doctrine to them, in reprehending the dissolute, and exhorting the godly to continue in the fear of the Lord.

9. It appertains to the Minister, after lawful proceeding of the Eldership, to pronounce the sentence of Binding and Loosing upon any person, according to the power of the Keys granted to the Church.

10. It belongeth to him likewise, after lawful proceeding in the matter by the Eldership, to solemnize Marriage betwixt those that are contracted, and to pronounce the blessing of the Lord upon them that enter in that Bond in the fear of God. And generally, all publick Denunciations that are made in the Church before the Congregation concerning Ecclesiastical affairs belong to the Ministers Office, for he is the messenger and herald betwixt God and the people in all these affairs.

C H A P. 5. Of Doctors and their Offices, and of Schools.

1. ONE of the two ordinary and perpetual Functions that labour in the Word is the Office of Doctor, who may also be called Prophet, Bishop, Elder and Catechiser, that is, the teacher of the Catechism and Rudiments of the Religion.

2. His Office is to open up the mind of the Spirit of God in the Scriptures simply, without such application as the Minister uses, to the end that the faithful may be instructed in sound Doctrine, the purity of the Gospel taught, and not corrupted through ignorant or evil opinions.

3. He is different from the Pastor, not only in name, but in diversity of Gifts: For to the Doctor is given the gift of Knowledge, to open up by simple Teaching the mysteries of Faith; to the Pastor the gift of Wisdom, to apply the same by Exhortation to the manners of the Flock, as occasion craves.

4. Under the name and Office of Doctor we comprehend also the order in Schools, Colleges and Universities, which have from time to time been carefully maintained, as well amongst Jews and Christians, as among profane nations.

5. The Doctor being an Elder, should assist the Pastor in the Government of the Church, and concur with the Elders his brethren in all Assemblies, by reason the Interpretation of the Word, which is only judged in matters Ecclesiastical, is committed to his charge.

6. But to preach unto the people, to minister the Sacraments, and celebrate Marriages, pertains not to the Doctor, unless he be otherwise called ordinarily; yet may the Pastor teach in Schools, as he who hath the gift of Knowledge oftentimes, which the example of *Polycarpus* and others testifie.

C H A P. 6. The Elders, and their Office.

1. THE word Elder in the Scripture is sometime the name of Age, sometime the name of Office; and when it hath the name of Office is sometimes taken largely, comprehending as well the Pastors and Doctors, as these who are called Seniors or Elders.

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2. In

- An. 1578.*
 2. In our division, we call these Elders whom the Apostle calleth Presidents or Governors; whose Office as it is ordinary, so it is perpetual, and always necessary in the Church of God, and a special Function, as is the Ministry.
 3. Elders once lawfully called to the Office, and having Gifts of God fit to exercise the same, may not leave it again; yet such a number of Elders may be chosen in certain Congregations, as one part may relieve another for a reasonable space, as was amongst the *Levites* under the Law in serving the Temple.
 4. The number of Elders in every Congregation cannot be limited, but should be according to the bounds and necessity of the people.
 5. It is not necessary that all Elders be Teachers of the Word, albeit chiefly they ought to be such, and so worthy of double honor.
 6. What manner of persons they ought to be, we remit it to the express Word, and the Canons set down by the Apostle *S. Paul*.
 7. Their Office is as well severally as conjunctly to watch with diligence over the Flock committed to their charge, both publicly and privately, that no corruption of Religion or Manners grow amongst them.
 8. As the Pastors and Doctors should be diligent in Teaching and sowing the seed of the Word, so the Elders should be careful in seeking the fruits of the same among the people.
 9. It pertains to them to assist the Pastor in Examining those that come to the Lords Table, and in Visiting the sick.
 10. They should cause the Acts of the Assemblies, as well particular as general to be put carefully in execution.
 11. They should be diligent in admonishing all men of their duties, according to the rule of the Word.
 12. Things that they cannot correct by private Admonitions they should bring to the Eldership.
 13. Their principal Office is to hold Assemblies with the Pastors and Doctors, who are also of their number for establishing good order and execution of Discipline, unto which Assemblies all persons are subject that remain within the bounds.

CHAP. 7. Of Elderships, and Assemblies, and Discipline.

1. Elderships are commonly constitute of Pastors, Doctors and such as we call commonly Elders that labor not in the Word and Doctrine, of whom and of their power we have spoken.
 2. Assemblies are of four sorts: for either they are of a particular Congregation, or of a Province, or of a whole Nation, or of all and divers Christian Nations.
 3. All Ecclesiastical Assemblies have power to convene lawfully together, for treating of things concerning the Churches pertaining to their Charge.
 4. They have power to appoint times and places to that effect, and every Assembly to appoint the Diet, time and place for another.
 5. In all Assemblies a Moderator should be chosen by common consent of the whole brethren convened, who should propound matters, gather voices, and cause good order to be kept.
 6. Diligence ought to be taken chiefly by the Moderator that only Ecclesiastical things be handled in the Assemblies, and no meddling be with any thing pertaining to Civil Jurisdiction.
 7. Every Assembly hath power to send forth of their own number one or more Visitors, to see how all things are ruled in their Jurisdiction.

8. Visitation

8. Visitation of Churches is not an ordinary Office Ecclesiastical in the person of one man, neither may the name of a Bishop be attributed to a Visitor only, neither is it necessary to abide in the person of one man always, but it is in the power of the Eldership to send out qualified persons to visit *pro re nata*.
 9. The final end of all Assemblies is first to keep the Religion and Doctrine in Purity without error and corruption; next to keep Comeliness and good Order in the Church.
 10. For this Orders cause, they may make Rules and Constitutions pertaining to the good behaviour of all the members in the Church in their vocation.
 11. They have power also to abrogate and abolish all Statutes and Ordinances concerning Ecclesiastical matters that are found noisome and unprofitable, and agree not with the time, or are abused by the people.
 12. They have power to execute Discipline and punishment Ecclesiastical upon all transgressors and proud contemners of the good order and Policy of the Church, so as the whole Discipline is in their hands.
 13. The first sort and kind of Assemblies, although they be within particular Congregations, yet they exercise the power, authority and jurisdiction of the Church with mutual consent, and therefore bear sometime the name of the Church.
 14. When we speak of Elders of particular Congregations, we mean not that every particular Parish-Church can or may have their particular Elderships, especially to Landward; but we think three or four, more or fewer particular Churches may have a common Eldership to them all, to judge their Ecclesiastical causes.
 15. Albeit it is meet that some of the Elders be chosen out of every particular Congregation, to concur with the rest of their brethren in the common Assemblies, and to take up the delation of offences within their own Churches, and bring them to the Assembly.
 16. This we gather of the practice of the Primitive Church, where Elders, or Colleges of Seniors, were constituted in Cities and famous places.
 17. The power of the particular Eldership is to give diligent labour, in the bounds committed to their charge, that the Churches be kept in good order; to inquire of naughty and unruly persons, and travel to bring the way again, either by admonition and threatening of Gods judgments, or by correction.
 18. It pertains to the Eldership to take heed that the Word of God be purely preached within their bounds, the Sacraments rightly ministered, Discipline maintained, and the Ecclesiastical goods uncorruptly distributed.
 19. It belongs to this kind of Assembly to cause the Ordinances made by the Assemblies Provincial, National and General, to be kept and put in execution; to make Constitutions which concern *το εὐσεβὲς*, for the decent order of these particular Churches which they govern; providing they alter no Rules made by the Provincial and General Assemblies, and that they make the Provincial Assemblies foreseen of those Rules they make, and to abolish such Constitutions as tend to the hurt of the same.
 20. It hath power to excommunicate the obstinate.
 21. The power of Election of them who bear Ecclesiastical charge pertains to this Assembly within their own bounds, be well constituted, and erected of many Pastors and Elders of good ability.
 22. By the like reason their Deposition also pertains to this Assembly, as of them that teach erroneous Doctrine, that be of a scandalous Life, and after admonition desert not, that be given to Schism or Rebellion against the Church, manifest Blasphemy, Simony, and all corruption of Bribes, Falshood, Perjury, Whoredom, Theft, Drunkenness, Fighting worthy of punishment by the Law, Usury, Dancing, and such dissoluteness as imports civil infamy; and all other that deserve separation from the Church.
 23. These also who are altogether found unable to execute their Charge ought

An. 1578. to be deposed, and other Churches advertised thereof, lest they receive the persons deposed.

24. But they who through age or sickness, or any other accident, become unmeet to do their Office, their honor should remain to them, and others be provided to their Office, the Church maintaining those who are by that occasion disabled.

25. Referred. Provincial Assemblies we call lawful Conventions of the Pastors, Doctors, and other Elders of any Province gathered for the common affairs of the Churches thereof; which may also be called the Conference of the Church and brethren.

26. Referred. These Assemblies are institute of weighty matters to be intreated by mutual consent, and assistance of the brethren within the Province, if need be.

27. Referred. This Assembly hath power to redress, order and handle all things committed or done amiss in the particular Assemblies.

28. Referred. It hath power to depose the Office-bearers of that Province, for good and just causes deserving Deprivation. And generally these Assemblies have the whole power of the particular Elderships whereof they are collected.

29. Referred. National Assembly, which we call General, is a lawful Convention of the whole Church of the Realm or Nation where it is gathered, for the common affairs of the Church; and may be called the General Eldership of the whole Church within the Realm.

30. Passed over. None are subject to repair unto this Assembly for giving voice but Ecclesiastical persons, to such a number as shall be thought good by the same Assembly; not excluding other persons that will repair to it for propounding, hearing and reasoning.

31. Answered before. This Assembly is institute, that all that is either committed or done amiss in the Provincial Assemblies may be redressed, and things generally serving for the good of the whole body of the Church within the Realm may be foreseen, intreated and set forth to Gods glory.

32. The last part of the Article referred to the heads of Bishops. It should take care that Churches be planted in places where they are not planted, and prescribe a rule for the proceeding of the other two sort of Assemblies in all things.

33. Deferred. This Assembly should take heed that the Spiritual Jurisdiction and Civil be not confounded nor abused: and generally towards all weighty affairs that concern the good order of the Churches within the Realm, it ought to interpose authority thereto.

34. Agreed in Spiritual matters. There is besides these another more General Assembly, which is of all Nations, and of all estates of persons within the Church, representing the Universal Church of Christ, which may be properly called the General Assembly, or General Council of the whole Church of God.

35. Referred. These Assemblies were appointed and called together specially when any great Schism or Controversie in Doctrine did arise in the Church, and were convoked at the command of godly Emperors, being for the time for avoiding of Schisms within the universal Church of God; which, because they pertain not to the particular state of our Realm, we pass by.

CHAP. 8. Of Deacons and their Office, the last ordinary Function in the Church.

1. The Chapter of Deacons and Patrimony of the Church are thought to be suppressed till the head of Corruptions be reasoned. **T**HE word *διδάσκων* is sometimes largely taken, as comprehending all them that bear Office in the Ministry and spiritual Function in the Church; but as we now speak, is only taken for them to whom the Collection and Distribution of Alms of the faithful and Ecclesiastical goods do belong.

2. The Office of Deacon so taken is an ordinary and perpetual Function in the Church. Of what properties and duties they ought to be that are called thereto, we remit to the Scriptures.

3. The Deacon ought to be called and elected as the rest of the spiritual Officers, and their Office and power is to receive and distribute the whole Ecclesiastical goods to whom they are appointed.

4. This

An. 1578. 4. This they ought to do according to the judgment and appointment of the Presbyteries or Elderships, of the which the Deacons are not, that the Patrimony of the Church and poor be not converted to private mens uses, nor wrongfully distributed.

CHAP. 9. Of the Patrimony of the Church, and distribution thereof.

BY the Patrimony of the Church we understand whatsoever thing hath been at any time before, or shall be hereafter, given, or by universal consent or custom of Countries professing Christian Religion applied, to the publick use and utility of the Church.

2. So that under the Patrimony of the Church we comprehend all things given or to be given to the Church and service of God; as Lands, Buildings, Possessions, annual Rents, and the like, wherewith the Church is endowed either by Donations, Foundations, Mortifications, or any other lawful titles of Kings, Princes, or any other persons inferior to them, together with the continual Oblations of the faithful.

3. We comprehend also all such things as by laws, customs or use of Countries hath been applied to use and utility of the Church: of which sort are Tithes, Manifes, Gleibs, and the like; which by the common and municipal Laws and universal custom are possessed by the Church.

4. To take any part of this Patrimony by unlawful means, and convert to the particular and prophane use of any person, we hold a detestable Sacrilege before God.

5. The goods Ecclesiastical ought to be collected and distributed by Deacons, as the Word of God appoints, that they who bear Office in the Church may be provided for without care or solicitude.

6. In the Apostolick Church the Deacons were appointed to collect and distribute whatsoever was collected of the faithful to the necessity of the Saints, so as none amongst them did want.

7. These Collections were not only of that which was gathered by way of Alms, as some suppose, but of other goods movable and unmovable, of lands and possessions, the price whereof was brought and laid at the Apostles feet.

8. This Office continued in the Deacons hands, who intromitted with the whole goods of the Church till the estate thereof was corrupted by Antichrist, as the ancient Canons bear witness.

9. The same Canons make mention of a fourfold distribution of the Patrimony of the Church; whereof one part was applied to the Pastor, or for his sustentation and hospitality: another to the Elders and Deacons, and the whole Clergy; the third to the poor, sick persons and strangers; and the fourth to uphold the edifice of the Church, and other affairs specially extraordinary.

10. We add hereunto the Schools and Shoolmasters, who ought and may well be sustained of the same goods, and are comprehended under the Clergy: to whom we joyn Clerks of Assemblies, as well particular as general, Procurators of the Church affairs, takers up of Psalms, and other Officers of the Church, who are necessary.

CHAP. 10. Of the Office of a Christian Magistrate in the Church.

ALthough all members of the Church are holden, according to their vocation, to advance the Kingdom of Christ *Jesus* so far as lies in their power; yet chiefly Christian Princes, Kings and other Magistrates are holden to do the same, for they are called in the Scripture *Nurses of the Church*, because by them it is, or at least ought to be, maintained and defended against all those that would procure the hurt thereof.

2. So it pertains to the Office of a Christian Magistrate to fortifie and assist the godly proceedings of the Church, and namely to see that the publick estate and ministry

1. For this whole Chapter, it is thought meet that an Article be presented to his Majesty and estates, craving a punishment for those that put violent hands in Ministers, and likewise to desire such Immunities and Privileges to them as shall be thought convenient.

An. 1578. Ministry thereof be maintained and sustained, as appertains to the Word of God.
3. To see that the Church be not invaded or hurt by false Teachers and Hirelings, nor the rooms thereof occupied by dumb Dogs or idle Bellies.

4. To assist and maintain the Discipline of the Church, and punish them civilly that will not obey the Censures, without confounding the one Jurisdiction with the other.

5. To see that sufficient provision be made to the Ministry, Schools and Poor; and if they have not sufficient to wait upon their Charges, to supply their indigence with their own Rents.

6. To hold hand as well for the safety of the Persons from injury and open violence, and their Rents and provisions, that they be not defrauded, robbed and spoiled thereof; and not to suffer the Patrimony of the Church to be applied to profane and unlawful uses, or to be devoured by idle bellies, and such as have no lawful Function in the Church, to the hurt of the Ministry, Schools, Poor, and other godly uses upon which the same ought to be bestowed.

7. To make Laws and Constitutions agreeable to Gods Word for the advancement of the Church and Policy thereof, without usurping any thing that pertains not to the Civil sword, but belongs to the Officers merely Ecclesiastical; as the Ministry of the Word, Sacraments, or using the Ecclesiastical Discipline, and spiritual execution thereof, or any part of the spiritual Keys, which the Lord Jesus gave to the Apostles and their true Successors.

8. And although Kings and Princes that be godly sometimes by their own authority, when Churches are corrupted, and all things out of order, do place Ministers and restore the true service of God, after the ensample of some godly Kings of Judah, and divers godly Emperors and Kings also in the days of the New Testament: yet where the Ministry of the Church is once well constitute, and they that are placed do their Office faithfully, all godly Princes and Magistrates ought to hear and obey their voice, and reverence the Majesty of God speaking by them.

CHAP. II. Of the present Abuses remaining in the Church which are desired to be reformed.

1. **A**S it is the duty of the godly Magistrate to maintain the present liberty which God hath granted by preaching of the Word and the true ministration of the Sacraments within this Realm; so it is to provide that all abuses which as yet remain in the Church be removed and taken away.

2. Therefore first the admission of men to Papistical titles of Benefices, such as serve not nor have any Function in the reformed Church of Christ, as Abbots, Commendators, Priors, Prioresse, and other titles of Abbeys, whose places are now by the just judgment of God demolished, and purged of Idolatry, is plain Abusion, and not to be received in the Kingdom of Christ amongst us.

3. In like manner, seeing they that were called of old the Chapters and Convents of Abbeys, Cathedral-Churches, and the like places, serve for nothing now but to set Fewes and Leases of Church-lands (if any be left) and Tithes, to the hurt and prejudice thereof, as daily experience teaches, the same ought to be utterly abolished and abrogated.

4. Of the like nature are the Deans, Archdeacons, Chantors, Subchantors, Treasurers, Chancellors and others, having the like titles, which flowed from the Pope and Canon law only, and have no place in the Reformed Church.

5. The Churches also which are united and joyned together by annexation to Benefices ought to be separated and divided, and given to qualified Ministers, as Gods Word requires: neither ought such abusers of the Patrimony of the Church have voice in Parliament, nor sit in Council in name of the Church and Churchmen, to the hurt and prejudice of the liberty thereof, and Laws of the Realm made in favors of the Reformed Church.

6. Much less is it lawful that one person amongst these should have five or six, ten or twenty Churches, all having the Cure of Souls, and enjoy the Patrimony thereof,

3. Let his Majesty and Estates be supplicated for dissolving these Prelacies, that Ministers may be provided to the several Churches, at least after the death of the present possessors.

4. Passed over.

5. Passed over.

6. Answered by the Act of Dissolution.

thereof, either by admission of the Prince or of the Church in this light of the Gospel; for it is but mockery to crave Reformation where the like have place.

7. And albeit it was thought good, for avoiding greater inconveniences, that the old possessors of such Benefices who imbraced the Religion should enjoy by permission the two parts of the Rents which they possessed before, during their life time; yet it is not tolerable to continue in the like abuse, to give these places and other Benefices of new to men as unmeet, or rather unmeet, who have no mind to serve in the Church, but live an idle life, as others did who enjoyed the same in time of blindness.

8. And whereas, by the Order taken at Leith 1571, it appears that such may be admitted, being found qualified; either that pretended Order is against all good order, or else it must be understood not of them that are qualified for worldly affairs, or to serve in Court, but such as are qualified to teach Gods Word, and have their lawful admission of the Church.

9. As to Bishops, if the name be properly taken, it is all one with the name of Minister, as was declared; for it is not a name of Superiority or Lordship, but of Office and Watching: Yet because in the corruption of the Church this name hath been abused, and is like to be, we cannot allow this fashion of these new chosen Bishops, nor of the Chapters that are their Electors to such in Office.

10. True Bishops should addit themselves to one particular Flock, which divers of them refuse; neither should they usurp Lordship over their brethren and the inheritance of Christ.

11. Pastors, in so far as they are Pastors, have not the Visitation of mo Churches joyned to the Pastorship, unless it be committed to them.

12. It is a corruption that Bishops should have farther bounds to visit than they may conveniently overtake; neither ought any man to have the Visitation of Church but he that is chosen by the Presbytery.

13. The Elderships well established have power to send out Visitors with Commission to visit the bounds within their Eldership, and after accompt taken be either continued or changed from time to time, being subject always to their Elderships.

14. The criminal jurisdiction in the person of a Pastor is a Corruption.

15. It agrees not with the Word of God, that Bishops should be Pastors of Pastors, or Pastors of many Flocks, and yet be without a certain Flock, and no ordinary Teacher; nor doth it agree with the Scripture, that they should be excoemed from the correction of their brethren, and the discipline of the particular Elderships of the Church where they shall serve; neither that they usurp the Office of Visitation of other Churches, nor any other Function besides that of other Ministers, unless the same be committed to them by the Church.

16. Heretofore we desire the Bishops that now are, either to agree to that order which Gods Word requires, and not to pass the bounds prescribed by the general Church, either in Civil or Ecclesiastical affairs, or to be depofed from all Function in the Church.

17. We deny not in the mean time that Ministers may and should assist their Princes, when they are required, in all things agreeable to the Word of God, whether it be in Council or Parliament, or out of Council: providing always they neither neglect their own Charges, nor through flattery of Princes hurt the publick estate of the Church.

18. But generally we say, that no Pastor under whatsoever title of the Church and specially the abused titles in Popery, of Prelates, Chapters and Convents, ought to attempt any thing in the Churches name, either in Parliament, or out of Council, without the Commission of the Reformed Church within this Realm.

19. It is provided by Act of Parliament, that the Papistical Church and jurisdiction shall have no place within the Realm, and that no Bishop nor Prelate should use any jurisdiction in time coming flowing from the Popes Authority: and likewise that no other Ecclesiastical jurisdiction should be acknowledged within this Realm, but that which is and shall be in the Reformed Church, and flowing

An. 1578.

7. An Act to be fought for disposing these united Churches to Ministers after decease of the present possessors.

8. Referred.

9. The last part of the Article deferred.

10. Agreed that Bishops have a particular Flock.

11. & 12. Let the Diocese be divided in such sort as a man may reasonably visit; and for the perpetuity of Visitors, it is referred to farther reasoning.

13. Passed over.

14. Agreed.

15. Passed over.

16. Passed over.

17. Agreed.

18. Referred.

19. Agreed, that an Act be made that none hurt or diminish the Patrimony of the Church.

An. 1578.

flowing from the same. And such we esteem the Chapters holden in Papistical manner, either of Cathedral-Churches, Abbeys, Colledges, or other conventual places, usurping the name and authority of the Church, to hurt the Patrimony thereof, or using any other Act to the prejudice of the same since the year 1560. by abusion and corruption, contrary to the liberty of the Church and Laws of the Realm; which therefore ought to be annulled, reduced, and in time coming utterly discharged.

20. The dependences also of the Papistical Jurisdiction are to be abolished, of which sort is the mingled Jurisdiction of the Commissars, in so far as they meddle with Ecclesiastical matters, and have no Commission of the Church thereto, but were elected in time of our Sovereigns Mother, when things were out of order. It is an absurd thing that divers of them having no Function in the Church, should be Judges in deposing Ministers from their places. Wherefore they would be either discharged to meddle with Ecclesiastical matters, or it would be limited to them in what matters they might judge, and not hurt the liberty of the Church.

21. They also that before were of the Ecclesiastical estate in the Popes Church, or that are admitted of new to the Papistical titles, and now tolerated by the Laws of the Realm to possess the two parts of their Ecclesiastical Rents, ought not to have any farther liberty, but to intromet with the portion granted and assigned unto them for their life-times, and not under the abused titles which they carry to dispoise the Church-rents, setting in fees and leases the same at their pleasure, to the great hurt of the poor laborers that dwell upon the Church-lands, and the prejudice of the Church, contrary to good conscience and all order.

C H A P. 12. *Special Heads craved to be reformed.*

1. Agreed.

1. **W**Hatsoever hath been spoken of Church-Offices, the severall power of Office-bearers, their conjunct powers, and last of the Patrimony of the Church, we understand it to be the right Reformation which God requires; but because something would be touched in particular concerning the estate of the Country, and that which we crave presently to be reformed in the same, we have collected them in the Heads following.

2. Agreed.

2. Seeing the whole Country is divided in Provinces, and these Provinces in Parishes, as well to Landward and in Towns, in every Parish and reasonable Congregation there would be placed one or mo Pastors, and no Pastor or Minister be burthened with the Charge of more Churches than are allenarly.

3. Agreed.

3. And because it will be thought hard to find out Ministers to all the Parish-Churches of the Realm, we think, by the advice of such as the Prince or Church may appoint, Parishes in small Villages or to Landward may be united, and the principal or most commodious Church, at which the Minister resides, repaired sufficiently; the rest that are not found necessary being suffered to decay, and the Church-yards reserved for Buriall-places. As also where the Congregation is too large, the same would be divided.

4. Agreed.

4. Doctors would be appointed in Universities, Colleges and other places needful for opening the Scriptures, and teaching the Rudiments of Religion, who would also be sufficiently provided.

5. Deferred until joyning of Churches.

5. As to Elders, there would be in every Congregation one or mo appointed for censuring of manners, but not an Assembly of Elders, except in Towns and famous places, where men of judgment and ability may be had: And these to have a common Eldership placed among them, to treat of all things that concern the Congregations of whom they have the oversight.

6. Agreed as depending on the former.

6. And as there ought men to be appointed for the dividing or uniting of Parishes, as need and commodity requires; so by the general Church, with the consent of the Prince, some that fear God, and know the estate of the Countrys, would be chosen to design the places where particular Elderships should convene; taking consideration of the Dioceses, as they were divided of old, and of the estate of the Countrys and Provinces.

7. Likewise

7. Likewise concerning Provincial and Synodal Assemblies, consideration would be taken how many, and in what places they should convene: how often the same must be referred to the liberty of the general Church.

8. The National Assemblies, called commonly the General, ought to be maintained in their liberty, and have their own place, with power to the Church to appoint times and places of meeting; and all men, as well Magistrates as Subjects, be subject to their judgment in causes Ecclesiastical, without reclamation or appellation to any Judge, Civil or Ecclesiastical.

9. The liberty of electing persons to Ecclesiastical Functions, observed without interruption so long as the Church was not corrupted by Antichrist, we desire to be restored and retained within this Realm; so as none be intruded upon any Congregation, either by the Prince or any other inferiour person, without lawful Election and the Assent of the People over whom the person is placed, according to the practice of the Apostolick and Primitive Church.

10. And because this order cannot stand with Patronages and Presentation of Benefices used in the Popes Church, we desire all those that truly fear God to consider, that Patronages and Benefices have no ground in the Word of God, but is contrary to the same, and to the liberty of election of Pastors, and ought not now to have place in the light of Reformation: And therefore whosoever will embrace the light of Gods Word, and desires the Kingdom of his Son Jesus Christ to be advanced, would also embrace and receive the Policy, which the Word of God craves, otherwise it is in vain that they have professed the same.

11. Notwithstanding, for other Patronages of Benefices not having *Curam animarum*, such as Chaplains, Prebendaries, founded upon Temporal lands, Annuals, or such like, they may be reserved to the ancient Patrons, and be disposed by them to Scholars, Bursers, when they fall void, as they are required by Act of Parliament.

12. As to the Church-rents in general, we desire that order be maintained and admitted, which may stand with the sincerity of Gods Word and practice of the Church of Christ in the purest times thereof: that is, that the whole Patrimony of the Church (the small Patronages before mentioned being excepted) may be divided in four portions, one thereof to be assigned to the Pastor, for his entertainment and keeping Hospitality; another to the Elders, Deacons, and other Officers of the Church, as Clerks of Assemblies, takers up of Psalms, Beadles, and Keepers of the Church, so far as they are necessary, joyning therewith the Doctors of Schools, for help of the old Foundations, where need requires; the third portion to be bestowed upon the poor members of Christ; and the fourth upon the Reparations of Churches, and other extraordinary charges, that are profitable to the Church and Common-wealth.

13. We desire therefore the Ecclesiastical goods to be uplifted and faithfully distributed by the Deacons, to whose Office the Collection and Distribution belongeth, that the poor may be answered of their portion, the Ministers not distracted from their Callings, and the rest of the Thesauri of the Church bestowed upon the right uses.

14. If these Deacons be elected with such qualities as Gods Word requires, there is no fear to be taken of their abuse: yet because this Vocation appears to be dangerous to many, let them be obliged, as they were of old, in an yearly account to the Pastors and Elderhip; and, if the Church and the Prince think expedient, let surety be found for their fidelity, and that the Church-rents shall no way be dilapidated.

15. And to the effect this order may take place, all other intromettors with the Church-rents, Collectors general or special, whether by the appointment of the Prince, or otherwise, must be discharged of farther intromission, and suffer the Church-rents hereafter to be wholly intrometted with by the Deacons, and distributed to the uses before mentioned.

16. And also to the effect that the Ecclesiastical Rents may suffice these uses, we desire all Alienations by Fees or Leases of the Rents of the Church, as well Lands as Tithes, in diminution of the old Rentals, to be reduced and annulled, & the Patrimony

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An. 1578. money of the Church fully restored. As likewise that in time coming the Tithes be set to none but to the laborers of the ground, as was agreed, and subscribed by the Nobility, or then not set at all.

CHAP. 13. *The Conclusion, shewing the Utility that shall flow from this Reformation in all Estates.*

1. Seeing the end of this Spiritual Government and Policy is, that God may be glorified, the Kingdom of Jesus Christ advanced, and they who are of his mystical body live peaceably, keeping a good Conscience; we do boldly affirm that all who have true respect to these ends, will even for conscience cause gladly agree, and conform themselves to this order, advancing the same so far as lies in them; that their Conscience being set at rest, they may be replenished with spiritual gladness in giving full obedience to Gods Word, & refusing all corruption contrary to the same.

Next, this Realm shall become an ensample and pattern of good and godly order to other Nations, Countries, and Churches professing the same Religion; that as they have praised God for our continuing in the sincerity of the Word without all Errors, so they may have the like occasion when we shall conform our selves to that Discipline, Policy, and good order, which the same Word and purity of Reformation craves at our hands: otherwise that fearful sentence may be justly said to us, *That servant that knoweth the Masters will, and doth it not, &c.*

3. Moreover, if we have any pity or respect of the poor members of Jesus Christ, who greatly increase and multiply amongst us, we will not suffer them to be longer defrauded of that part of the Patrimony of the Church that justly belongeth to them. And by this order, if it be duly put in Execution, the burthen of the Poor shall be taken off the Country, and the streets cleansed of their cryings and murmurings, so as we shall not be any more a scandal to other Nations, as we have hitherto been.

4. Besides, it shall be a great ease and commodity to the whole Commons, relieving them of the building and repairing of their Churches, Bridges, and other like publick works; it shall be a relief to the laborers of the ground in payment of their Tithes, and all other things wherein they have hitherto been rigorously used by them that were falsely called Church-men, and their Task-men, Factors, Chamberlains, and Extortioners.

5. Finally, to the Kings Majesty and Estate this profit shall redound, that the affairs of the Church being sufficiently provided according to the foresaid distribution, the *Superplus* may be liberally bestowed for the supporting the Prince's Estate, and the affairs of the Common-wealth.

6. So to conclude all, being willing to apply themselves to this Order, the people suffering themselves to be ruled according thereto, the Princes and Magistrates not exempted, and they that are placed in the Ecclesiastical estate ruling and governing rightly, God shall be glorified, the Church edified, and the bounds thereof enlarged, Christ Jesus and his Kingdom advanced, Satan and the Kingdom of Darkness subverted, and God shall dwell in the midst of us to our comfort in Jesus Christ, who with the Father and Holy Ghost abideth blessed in all eternity. Amen.

The course the Assembly took for admitting this form of Policy.

The Archbishop of Glasgow urged to submit himself.

THIS was the form of Policy presented to the Parliament, and the effect of the Commission granted for the same. Such general Heads as did not touch the Authority of the King, nor prejudice the Liberty of the Estate, were easily agreed. The rest were passed over or deferred, as we have seen, to farther reasoning; which could not after this time be obtained of the Council, one excuse or other being still pretended. The Ministers perceiving they would not speed this way, did in their next Assembly resolve to put their Conclusions in practice, without insisting any more for Ratification thereof. And beginning with Mr. James Boyd, Archbishop of Glasgow, whom they hoped to find most tractable, he was desired to submit himself to the Assembly, and to suffer the Corruptions of the Episcopal estate to be reformed in his Person. After long reasoning kept with him by the Moderator David

Ferguson

Ferguson, and some others, he presented his Answer in writing.

An. 1578. *I understand the Name, Office, and Reverence given to a Bishop to be lawful, and allowable by the Scriptures of God; and being elected by the Church and King to be Bishop of Glasgow, I esteem my Calling and Office lawful, and shall endeavour with all my power to perform the duties required, submitting my self to the judgment of the Church, if I shall be tried to offend, so as nothing be required of me but the performance of those duties which the Apostle prescribeth. As to the Rent, Living, and Priviledges granted to me and my Successors, I think I may lawfully and with a good Conscience enjoy the same. And for assisting the King with my best service in Council and Parliament, as my Subjection ties me thereto, so I esteem it no hurt, but a benefit to the Church, that some of their number should be always present at the making of Laws and Statutes; wherein for my self I neither intend, nor by the grace of God shall ever do any thing but that which I believe may stand with the purity of the Word of God, and the good of the Church and Country.*

This answer read in open Assembly was judged insufficient, and he required to bethink himself better, and be present in the afternoon. But he excusing himself, returned not to the Assembly: whereupon Commission was given to Mr. Andrew Hay, Mr. Andrew Melvil, and some Brethren in the West; to urge his Subscription to the Act made at Striveling for Reformation of the estate Episcopal; & if he did refuse, to proceed against him with the Censures of the Church. The Bishop taking grievously these proceedings, and having received about the same time a great wrong at the hands of his Cousin Robert Boyd, of Baydinbeth, by the demolishing of the house of Lockwood, which is in the Barony of Glasgow, contracted a melancholy, whereof he died not long after at Glasgow. Nothing did more grieve him than the ingratitude of Mr. Andrew Melvil and his uncourteous forms. He had brought the man to Glasgow, placed him Principal in the Colledge, bestowed otherwise liberally upon him, and was paid for this his kindness with most disgraceful contempt. In private, and at the Bishops Table (to which he was ever welcome) no man did use him with greater respect, giving him his Titles of dignity and honour; but in the publick meetings, where he owed him greatest reverence, he would call him by his proper name, and use him most uncivilly. The Commission of the Assembly he exercised with all rigour, and by threatening the Bishop with the Censures of the Church, induced him to set his hand to certain Articles, which, as he professed in his sickness, did sore vex his mind; yet being comforted by Mr. Andrew Polwart, Subdean of Glasgow, he departed this life in great quietness. He was a wife, learned, Religious Prelate, and worthy to have lived in better times than he fell into. His Corps was solemnly buried in the Quire of the Cathedral, and laid in the Sepulchre of Mr. Gawan Dumbear, one of his Predecessors.

The small respect carried to Bishops in these Assemblies of the Church made them disheart and come no more unto the same. Yet matters went on; and because the Archbishop of S. Andrews did absent himself, Commission was given to certain of their number to call him before them, and charge him to remove the Corruptions in the estates of Bishops in his own Person, which they reckoned to be seven; ordaining him, and the Bishops that would submit themselves to correction, to set their hands to the Conditions following.

1. That they should be content to be Ministers and Pastors of a Flock.
2. That they should not Usurp any criminal Jurisdiction.
3. That they should not vote in Parliament in name of the Church, unless they had a Commission from the general Assembly.
4. That they should not take up for maintaining their ambition the Rents which might maintain many Pastors, Schools, and Poor, but content themselves with a reasonable portion for discharging their Office.
5. That they should not claim the title of Temporal Lords, nor usurp any Civil Jurisdiction, whereby they might be withdrawn from their Charge.
6. That they should not empire over Presbyteries, but be subject to the same.
7. That they should not usurp the power of Presbyteries, nor take upon them to visit any bounds that were not committed to them by the Church.

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Lastly,

An. 1578. The Archbishop's Answer presented in writing.

The answer doth not content the Assembly.

The Archbishop contracts sickness, and dieth.

The conditions prescribed to Bishops.

An. 1578.

A Tumult in Glasgow for pulling down the Cathedral.

The matter brought before the Council.

The Abbot of Dunfermlin returned from England.

The report of his Commission.

The Lord Ruthven made Lieutenant of the Borders.

Lastly, it was provided, that if any more Corruptions should afterwards be tried, the Bishops should agree to have them reformed.

What troubles hereupon arose, both in the Church and Country, we shall afterwards hear.

In *Glasgow* the next Spring there happened a little disturbance by this occasion. The Magistrates of the City, by the earnest dealing of Mr. *Andrew Melvil* and other Ministers, had condescended to demolish the Cathedral, and build with the materials thereof some little Churches in other parts for the ease of the Citizens. Divers reasons were given for it; such as the reort of superstitious people to do their devotion in that place; the huge vastness of the Church, and that the voice of a Preacher could not be heard by the multitudes that convened to Sermon; the more commodious service of the people; and the removing of that Idolatrous Monument (so they called it) which was of all the Cathedrals in the Country only left unruined, and in a possibility to be repaired. To do this work, a number of Quarriers, Masons, and other Workmen was conducted, and the day assigned when it should take beginning. Intimation being given thereof, and the Workmen by found of a Drum warned to go unto their work, the Crafts of the City in a tumult took Arms, swearing with many oaths, that he who did cast down the first stone should be buried under it. Neither could they be pacified, till the Workmen were discharged by the Magistrates. A complaint was hereupon made, and the principals cited before the Council for Insurrection: where the King, not as then thirteen years of age, taking the protection of the Crafts, did allow the opposition they had made, and inhibited the Ministers (for they were the complainers) to meddle any more in that business, saying, *That too many Churches had been already destroyed, and that he would not tolerate more abuses in that kind.*

A little before this time the Abbot of *Dunfermlin*, being returned from *England*, related in Council the effects of his Negotiation, and was approved by all. For that which he had in Commission touching the Lady *Lennox*, he remitted the answer to the Queens own Letters delivered to the King. Concerning the Disorders fallen out in the Borders, the Queen, he said, did accept the excuse he made in good part, saying, she was assured that both the King and Council were offended therewith, and that she was content the same should be redressed by the advice of the Wardens on both sides: only desired that in time coming the King would make choice of wise and experienced men, inclined to peace and justice, to command in those parts. As to the League, he declared that the Queen had a good inclination unto it, holding the same a most sure means to repress the practices of Enemies both at home and abroad: But in regard he had no warrant to descend into particulars, he had abstained from any dealing therein, and could not but testify that he saw in her a great care of the King his good estate, and that both he and his message were most kindly accepted.

The King in this mean time, to pacify the Borders, which were broken loose, chiefly in the West parts, gave the Lord *Ruthven* a Commission of Lieutenant, which he discharged with great commendation, and bringing with him the Lord *Maxwell*, who was Warden of the bounds, returned to *Striveling* the twentieth of *January*. A frequent Council was there kept for the time, wherein the Lord *Maxwell* being challenged of negligence in his office, did answer, *That he had only the title of a Warden, and that the limitations of his charge, and the exceptions granted to the Gentlemen of the Country, made the Office needless and contemptible. But if the King should be pleased to discharge the exceptions, and give him a free Commission, such as his Predecessors had wont to have, he should strive to do his best service to his Majesty and the Country.* This answer was not well taken, and the Lord *Hereis* (as one known to have greatest experience in these matters) being desired to give his opinion, delivered the same in a long speech, to this purpose. *Your Majesty*, said he, *hath in deliberation a business of great importance, whereof it were more fitting any man should give his opinion than I, by reason of the suspicion I stand in with the present Warden; for what I say will be interpreted to proceed of spleen, & of a desire to have the charge taken from him, and not of any care I take of your*

your Majesties service, or the good and benefit of the Country: yet seeing your Majesty commands me to speak, I will rather hazard on such misinterpretings, than keep back any thing which I know to be useful and necessary for the errand. And what I speak, I desire it to be understood of the West Marches only, to which my experience chiefly reacheth. But because the evils would first be known, I will begin at them, and then propose the fittest and most easie remedies to my conception. Sir, a little before the death of your Majesties Noble Grandfather, King James the Fifth, some few disloyal Subjects of this Realm fleeing into England, did plant themselves in a parcel of waste ground that lies opposite to the West Borders of Scotland, and being maintained by the English, grew unto such numbers, and became so insolent, as they made daily Incurssions upon the Country. Your Majesties Grandfather did hereupon employ certain forces against them, intending to sack and destroy their houses, & make them unable from thenceforth to annoy his Subjects. But these forces not being rightly governed, and lacking the provision that was required for such an enterprise, were put to the worse, and shamefully discomfited. At that time, what by ransoming prisoners, what by the spoil they got, they gained above one hundred thousand Marks, wherewith, and by the depredations they have made since that time, they are become wealthy, have built eight or nine strong houses upon the Frontiers of your Realm, that no Wardens power is able to force. They have joyned in Alliance with divers of our own Borders, as wickedly disposed as themselves, and are so feared, that every man is glad of their friendship, without which none is thought to have any surety either of life or goods. When your Grandfather departed this life, which was in the year 1542, they did not exceed the number of 20 or 30 men at most. Now they are grown to three or four hundred, dwell nigh to others, are well Armed, have good horses, and upon a simple shout are ready to joyn in defence one of another. The Borders on the Scots side are not in this condition; for the space of twenty miles there is not a strength in which an honest man may sleep safe, no Town nor strong hold to retire unto in time of necessity, neither is the Country populous, nor is it fruitful, the ground being a pasture ground, barren, and profitable only for the bestial; the people that inhabit the same, poor, unruly, and not subject to order. So what for the number of these wicked men that live in the English Borders, what for the evil disposition of our own, it is a charge most difficile to guard these Marches, & to contain the people from doing or receiving wrong. The only remedy in this time of Peace is, to keep our own Countrymen in awe and fear of Justice, so as neither they break loose themselves, nor have any dealing with their neighbours under hand in their wicked practices. And how this may be done most surely, your Majesty and this Honourable Council is to think; my Opinion I have set down in some Articles, which I humbly submit to your Majesties and Councils censure.

Having thus spoken, he presented a writing, containing these Heads.

1. That the Warden should make his residence in *Lochmaben* with his Family; and if in the Winter season he made his stay in *Dumfries*, he should Depute a sufficient Gentleman for holding Courts of Justice weekly, according to the ancient form.
2. That the Warden should be assisted with five or six of the wisest men in the Country, of which number two should be of the name of *Johnston*; and left their chief should think the Wardens proceeding against his followers partial, and done out of old rancor, that a moderate course should be kept in confiscation of their goods, the half being allowed to the Wives and Children of them that should happen to be convicted and executed, and the other half disposed to the Laird of *Johnston* himself.
3. That the Barons and landed men within the bounds should present their tenants and servants as they should be required, and no man excused or exempted.
4. That the Lords *Carlile* and *Hereis*, the Lairds of *Drumlanrig*, *Apilgirth*, *Lag*, and *Johnston*, should remain nigh to the Warden; and when the Lord *Maxwell* hath not the charge, that he be obliged to dwell in the House of *Langhome*; or if he be Warden himself, that he maintain a Captain therein with twelve horsemen, to be ready upon all occasions.

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5. That

Articles presented by the Lord *Hereis*.

An. 1579.

5. That the Warden be allowed a guard of 24 horsemen with their Captain, who shall be laid in the Town of *Annand*.
 6. That the Kings Houses of *Lochmahen* and *Annand*, with the Watch-Tower, called *Repentance*, be repaired, a great bell and fire-pan put into it, with some honest man to watch and give warning to the Country where the fray is, and a husband land allowed for his service.
 7. That the Lands, called *The debateable Lands*, be visited, that it may be known how much there is claimed by the broken men of the Country to be their feedings, and security taken of them for keeping good Order.
 8. That days of Truce be kept every 40 days once, or within two months at least, and such as shall be found to be robbed of their goods be redressed to the double, and with safer, according to the Law of Marches.
- Lastly, that his Majesty every year in the month of *September*, send one or two of the Council to try the estate of the Country, what Duty the Warden doth, and if the Barons and landed men do give their assistance; that where any defect is found, the same may be punished.

The Lord
Maxwel ex-
cepteth
against the
Articles.

At these Articles the Lord *Maxwel* took exception, especially at the first and second: for the House of *Lochmahen* he said was his own, as heritable Steward of *Annandale*; and that any part of the Escheats should be given to the Laird of *Johnston*, he held it prejudicial to the Wardens Office, and said, it would be an occasion for other Barons to suit the like. But that which did most displease him (though this he dissembled) was, that any should be joyned with him as assistants: for he would needs be absolute in these parts, and have all to depend of him; which ambition he still nourished, and thereby in end wrought his own ruine. Yet the King, not willing to displace him (for he understood his power to be great in these Marches) made offer to continue him in the charge, and to allow him a company of 24 horsemen with a Captain for repressing the outlaws, upon three conditions. First, that he should take the advice of the Barons of the Country in all affairs, and proceed in the ministering of justice by their counsel. Next, that none should be declared fugitives but by their consents. And, Thirdly, that the servants of landed men should not be apprehended, till their Masters were first charged to exhibit them, unless they were taken in the fact, and, as they speak, *with the red hand*. He excusing himself, and professing a great willingness to give his attendance to any other whom his Majesty should appoint; the Lord *Hereis* was chosen Warden, and the custody of the West Marches committed to him.

The Earl of
Athol dieth.

In the beginning of this year (to wit, upon the 24 of *April*) the Earl of *Athol* died at *Kincarne* of a sickness contracted in *Striveling*, where he and some other Noblemen had been feasted by the Earl of *Morton*; and, as report speaketh always the worst of great mens deaths, so the rumor at this time went, that *Morton* had made him away by poison: which his Lady and friends did so strongly apprehend, as when the Council was examining the Physicians that embalmed his Corps, whether they perceived any sign of poison at his unbowelling, they took upon protestation, that the trial of the Council should not prejudice the criminal pursuit which they intended before the Justice. And albeit the Physicians did upon their oaths declare that his death was not caused by any extraordinary mean, yet the scandal was fostered a long time by a sort of rhyming libels, which were afterwards tried to be composed by one *Turnbull* a Schoolmaster at *Edinburgh*, and another called *William Scot*, who were executed for the same at *Striveling* in the end of the Summer.

Certain Libel-
lers executed
at *Striveling*.

Commission
for apprehend-
ing the Lord
Hamilton and
his Brother
Lord *Claud*.

A consultation was held at the same time in *Striveling*, for punishing the Murderers of the two Regents, which by the edit of Pacification was delayed unto the King his assuming of the Government in his own Person. Touching the form of proceeding, the opinions of those that were privy to the business were different: for some thought that the persons who were suspected should be summoned to a day, and form of Process kept with them; others judged that there needed no such formality, seeing the Authors were known, and the sentence of Forfeiture pronounced

nounced against them stood unreduced. To use a Citation, they said, was to give them warning to flee, whereas otherwise they might be taken unprovided, and brought to their censure. At last it was agreed that a Commission should be given to some Noblemen that had power, and affected the business, to apprehend them. This Commission was given to the Earls of *Morton*, *Marre*, and *Eglinton*, and to the Lords of *Ruthven*, *Cathcart*, and *Boyd*; which was not so clofely carried, but advertisement went to the Lord *Hamilton* and his Brother Lord *Claud*, so as they escaped. The Lord *Hamilton*, going on foot through the most part of *England* in the habit of a Seaman, fled into *France*. Lord *Claud*, after he had lurked a while amongst his friends at home, found refuge in the North parts of *England*. Others of their friendship who stood in fear saved themselves where best they could.

They escape
and depart
forth of the
Realm.

Upon the report of their escape, charges were directed for rendering the Houses of *Hamilton* and *Draffon*, which belonged to the Earl of *Arran* their elder Brother, and were possessed by the Lord *Hamilton* as Administrator to his Brother, because of his decease. The Earl of *Arran* himself they had kept in the Castle of *Draffan*, attended by some servants, and he was known to have no part in any of these facts wherewith they were charged, so as by way of Justice his Estate could not fall under forfeiture; yet some colour of right behoved to be made for bringing the same under the Courts disposing. To this effect it was devised, that a Complaint should be preferred in the name of the Earl of *Arran* and his Majesties Advocates, bearing the miserable condition of the said Earl, and how he was detained in close Prison by his two brothers, without fire, air, and the company of his honest friends; his living violently possessed by the Commandators of *Aberbrothock*, his Sheriffship of *Lanrick* usurped, himself denied the benefit of Marriage, and debarred from succession, against all Law: for if he was an Idiot or furious (as they gave out) he ought to have had Curators given him by the King; and if he was *mentis compos*, it was an intolerable wrong to use him in that sort. Therefore desired letters to be directed for his exhibition before the Council, that it might be known in what estate he was, and an honourable provision appointed unto him, such as befitted his birth and condition. This desire being judged reasonable, summons were directed against the two Brothers that were fled, and they not appearing at the day, were denounced Rebels. But this not sufficing to work their ends, the disobedience of the Keepers in not rendering the Strengths, when they were charged, was made the Earls crime, and he found to have incurred the pain of Treason; an act of the greatest injustice that could be done. Notwithstanding upon this ground were both the Castles at that time demolished, and Captain *James Stewart* afterwards preferred to the Earldom of *Arran*.

A complaint
preferred in
name of the
Earl of *Arran*.

Whilst these things were doing, *Monsieur No*, a Frenchman, Secretary to the Queen of *Scots*, came to *Striveling* with Letters and some Presents to the King; but because in the Superscription of the Letters he was only intitled *Prince of Scotland*, the Messenger was denied access, and neither his Letters nor Presents received. The rest of this Summer was spent for the most part in summoning the Gentlemen of the name of *Hamilton*, and putting them under surety, that they should not give supply to the Fugitives, and be always ready to answer before the Council when they should be called. Dame *Margaret Lion*, Countess of *Cassils*, who not long before had married the Commandator of *Aberbrothock*, was suffered to possess the Joynture she had by her first Husband upon the like condition. And because many were put in fear, by this proceeding, that the Pacification of *Pertb* should be altogether annulled, his Majesty made a publick Declaration, That what was done in the present pursuit, was only for the Murder of his Father and Regents (unto which both in honour and conscience he was tied) and that no Article of the Pacification should be infringed or called in question.

The Queen of
Scots her Sec-
retary denied
access to the
King.

The Gentle-
men of the
name of *Ha-
milton* put un-
der surety.

In the beginning of *July* the Earl of *Athol*s Funerals were performed with great solemnity, and his body interred in the Church of *S. Giles* at *Edinburgh*; after which *Colin*, Earl of *Argile*, was created Chancellor in his place. The King then resolving to shew himself to his people, & to fall into the exercise of his Princely Authority, caused proclaim a Parliament to be kept at *Edinburgh* the twentieth of *October*.

The Earl of
Argile created
Chancellor.

A Parliament
Indicted.

Whilst

An. 1580.
The Lord D'
Aubigny com-
eth from
France.

He is created
Earl of Lennox.

The Earl of
Lennox hated
because of his
credit with the
King.

The King
wrote to the
Assembly of
the Church.

The proceed-
ings of the
Church dis-
please the King

Jesuites and
Priests resort
to the Country

The King his
care for re-
claiming the
Earl of Lennox.

The Earl joyns
himself to the
Church, but is
still suspected.

Whilst things were preparing for his remove, the Lord D' Aubigny arrived from France of purpose to visit the King, as being nigh of blood, and Cousin-german to his Father. The King receiving him kindly, after a few days entertainment at Striveling took him in Company to Edinburgh, when he grew into such favour by his courteous and modest behaviour, as the King would not permit him to return unto France; and moving his grand Uncle to resign in his favours the Earldom of Lennox, he gave to him in recompence the title of the Earldom of March. Soon after the Abbacy of Aberbrothock, which was fallen by Lord John Hamilton's forfeiture, was bestowed on him, and he preferred to be one of the Privy Council.

This sudden and unexpected Preferment got him much hatred, and being of the Roman Profession, his enemies filled the Country with rumors, that he was sent from France only to pervert the King in his Religion. Notwithstanding the Parliament which held at the time appointed divers good Acts were made in favor of the Church; but the matter of Jurisdiction, which the Ministers did chiefly urge, was put off to a new Commission. Some months before the King had required them, by a Letter directed with John Doncanon his Minister, to abstain from making any novation in the Church-Policy, and to suffer things to continue in the state wherein they were unto the Parliament approaching, without prejudging the decision of the Estates by their Conclusions. But they, neglecting the Letter, went to examine the Conference kept at Striveling the year preceding; and whereas in that Conference divers heads were remitted to a farther consultation, they ordained nothing to be altered either in form or matter of that which amongst themselves was concluded. They farther called the Archbishop of S. Andrews in question for granting Collations upon some Benefices, and for giving voice in Parliament, not being authorized thereto by the Church. This did so displease the King, as from that time forth he did not countenance the Ministers as in former times; and upon the complaint of persons who otherwise deserved not much regard (that the Church might find in what need they stood of his favour) he suffered divers Sentences to pass in Council, suspending their Censures and Excommunications.

This dissension betwixt the King and the Church brought with it many evils; for upon the notice of it, divers Jesuites and Priests did resort into the Country, and at home such as were Popishly affected began openly to avow their Profession. In S. Andrews, Mr. Nicholl Burn, Professor of Philosophy in S. Leonards Colledge, made open Apostasie from the Truth; as Mr. Archibald and John Hamiltons, Regents in the new Colledge, had (not long before) done. In Dumfries, Mr. Ninian Dalziel Schoolmaster, did read to his Scholars the Roman Catechism; and in Paislay a number of Papists assembling together, did in derision sing a Soul-Mass for the Ministers, as if they and their Religion had been utterly gone. These things being complained of, and not much hearkened to, the Ministers in their Sermons fell to regrave the countenance given to Papists in the Court, and the dangers wherein both the King and Country were brought by the secret practices of the French.

The King, to stay these declaimings, which he knew to be made against the Earl of Lennox, called the Ministers to Edinburgh, and shewed them what travel he had taken to convert his Cousin, and how he had obtained his consent for taking a Minister in his house, which would be to good purpose, and serve both to debar Jesuites from access to the Nobleman, and win him by conference to a greater liking of the Truth, desiring therefore that one of their number might be appointed for some short space to attend him. Mr. David Lindesay, then Minister at Leith, being held the fittest, as well for his skill in the French Tongue, as for his moderation otherwise, was with the Kings approbation nominated to this service; by whose labours the Nobleman was brought in a short space to joyn himself to the Church, and openly in S. Giles to renounce the Errors wherein he had been Educated. Yet did not this remove the jealousies of the People, which were increased by the intercepting of certain Dispensations sent from Rome; whereby the Catholics were permitted to promise, swear, subscribe, and do what else should be required of them, so as in mind they continued firm, and did use their diligence to advance in secret the Roman Faith.

These

Craig form a short Confession of Faith, wherein all the Corruptions of Rome, as well in Doctrine as outward Rites, were particularly abjured, and a clause inserted (because of these Dispensations) by which the Subscribers did call God to witness, that in their minds and hearts they did fully agree to the said Confession, & did not feign or dissemble in any sort. This confession the King, for an Example to others, did publicly swear and subscribe; the like was done by the whole Council and Court, and observers appointed to take notice of those that did not resort to Sermon, or behaved themselves in any sort scandalously. So careful was the King to have the Church satisfied, and the rumors of the Courts defection from Religion repressed.

After this, all things continued quiet for a while, till by a bruit suddenly raised, none knew by whom, the Earl of Morton was taxed for keeping secret intelligence with the Queen of England, and a purpose he had to put the King in her hands. Morton complaineth of this in Council, and desireth a Trial. But the King, not willing to make business for a Tale, whereof the Author would hardly be found, put it off, saying, that he knew it to be a lie, and a malicious invention of enemies, and thereupon sent forth a Proclamation against lies and carriers of tales, tending to breed discord betwixt him and his Nobility. Yet, as if some such thing had been feared, a motion was made some days after in Council for guarding the Kings Person, and electing of an high Chamberlain (which Office none had born for many years in this Kingdom) who should have twenty four to attend him, all of them the Sons of Barons or Noblemen, and be ever at hand to accompany the King whithersoever he went.

The motion was applauded of all, and after some ten days deliberation the Earl of Lennox preferred to the place. Alexander Areskin, Captain of the Castle of Edinburgh, was chosen to be his Deputy, and a Roll made of the Gentlemen that should give attendance. These were the Masters of Marshal, Rothes, Cassils, Linde say, Levingston, Elphinston, Hereis, & Ogilvy, the Lairds of Cowdinknowes, Bargainy, Bomby, Killyth, Minto, Strathurd, and Moncreiffe, Mr. Mark Ker of Preston Grange, George Douglas of Rumgavy, Captain James Stewart, son to the Lord Ochiltree, Alexander Ruthven the Commendator of Inchaffrey, the Prior of Coldingham, Alexander Home of North-Berwick, & James Chisholm. As extraordinaries, the Lord Maxwell, the Lairds of Cesford, Alexander Home of Manderston, and William Stewart of Caverston, were added to the number. All these took the Oath of Fidelity to the King, and obedience to his Chamberlain in the things they should be directed for his Majesties Service.

The Earl of Morton, albeit he was much displeased with these courses, did carry a fair countenance, and concealing his discontents, waited still on the King, and was assisting in Council and publick meetings. Once he minded to have withdrawn himself from Court, and to have lived privately; but was detained by a dissention that fell out in the time betwixt the Lord Ruthven and Master of Oliphant, who had married a Daughter of Lochlevin; whom whilst he laboured to protect, he drew upon himself the hatred of the Lord Ruthven, and thereby was laid more open to the malice of his enemies. Sir Robert Bomes being sent at the sametime Ambassador from England, to charge the Earl of Lennox with some practices against the Peace of the two Realms, the blame, as well of his employments as his sudden departing was laid upon him: for the Ambassadors Commission and Instructions being questioned, and he desired to exhibit the same before the Council, he refused to shew them but to the King himself; which not being admitted, he went away, complaining that the Queen had deserved better than thus to have her Ambassage misregarded.

His sudden departure amazed the Court not a little before, wherefore to excuse the King, and try what the Accusations were wherewith Lennox should have been charged, Alexander Home of North-Berwick was sent in Commission to England; but the Queen denying him access, he was remitted to the Lord Thesaurer, who courteously told him, That the Queen had refused him presence, not for any dislike she had of himself, whom she knew to be sound in Religion, and one that loved his King and his Country; but because the King had not used her well, calling in question the credit

An. 1580.
A Confession
of Faith form-
ed because of
the Dispensa-
tions from
Rome.

A rumor raised
against the
Earl of Morton.

A motion of
electing a
Chamberlain.

The Earl of
Lennox created
Chamberlain.

A trouble be-
twixt Oliphant
and Ruthven.

The Earl of
Lennox charg-
ed by the
Ambassador
of England.

Alexander
Home sent into
England.

He is remitted
to the Lord
Thesaurer.

An. 1580.
The Thesaur-
ers conference
with Alexander
Home.

credit of her Ambassador, and requiring him to shew his Instructions, which was strange, he keeping himself within the bounds of his Commission. But your King, saith he, is young, and misled by new Counsellors, whose fault the Queen knoweth it to be; I should therefore advise your King to hearken to her Majesties counsel, who carrieth to him a true Motherly affection, and make more account of her than of his French Cousin, who is subject to the French King, matched with a French woman, addicted wholly to that Faction, and, what profession soever he maketh, a Papist in Religion. The Hamiltons, saith he, being now exiled, he hopeth to be designed Successor and Heir to the Crown: but let your King know that Ambition hath no limits, and that the troubles which the French made in Scotland are not yet forgotten, which would have perilled the Liberty of that Kingdom, if the Queen by her prudence and power had not prevented the same.

Alexander
Home his an-
swer to the
Thesaurer.

The Gentleman professing his thankfulness for her Majesties good opinion of him, answer'd, 'That if he should be permitted to speak with the Queen, he would satisfy her Majesty in that point which concerned her Ambassador. And for the King his Master, albeit he was young and of few years, yet God had given him great wisdom and understanding; and that he would never willingly do the thing that might displease the Queen, nor hearken to any that should otherwise advise him; for he knew her Majesties good affection, and would not forget the care she had of him in his tender Age. That he could not be justly blamed for favouring his Cousin; but as the Nobleman (he believed) would never advise the King his Master to any thing that might prejudice the Amity with England, so he was persuaded that his credit did not extend so far as to make any publick breach with the Queen. But there are more dangerous Plots in hand, said the Thesaurer, than your King is wary of, and it is no wisdom to put too much confidence in any one person. Always time will discover the truth of every thing, at the present you must have patience, for the Queen will not see you. Thus was he dimitted.

Ult. Decemb.

The Earl of
Morton chal-
lenged for the
Murder of the
Kings Father.

Upon his return, & report of the Conference he had with the Thesaurer, the King was easily made to believe that all proceeded from the Earl of Morton and his intelligence in the Court of England, which by one way or other was held needful to be stop'd. After some consultation taken about this, it was resolv'd to charge him with the Murder of the Kings Father; for a rumor had gone in former times that he was conscious and privy unto it. Captain James Stewart (a man eager to win credit by what means soever) takes the matter in hand, and coming one day as the King was sitting in Council at *Halirudhouse*, desired to be heard; being admitted, he fell upon his knees, and directing his speech to the King, he said, Out of the duty I owe to your Majesty, I am come hither to reveal a Wickedness that hath been long obscured. The Earl of Morton, who sitteth there in a place unseemly for him, was one of those that conspired your Fathers Death; and how dangerous it is to your Majesties Person that he should be so near unto you, let the Noblemen here present consider: for me, I shall make good what I speak, only let him be committed and put to trial.

The Earl of
Morton his an-
swer.

The Earl rising up with a disdainful smile, answered, By whose instigation this Gentleman cometh to accuse me I know not, & I wonder what grounds he buildeth upon in charging me with this crime; for none that ever suffer'd for it did touch me therewith, and it is known what diligence and severity I used against those that were suspected of that Murder. If I pleased I could many ways decline this challenge, but my Innocency is such as I fear not the most rigorous trial. Sir (with this he turned himself to the King and said) do in it as you please; either here or before any other Judge, I shall be ready to answer, and when my Innocency is cleared, your Majesty will think what the malice of those, that have set on this man to accuse me, deserveth.

Captain James
Stewart his re-
ply.

Captain James Stewart sitting all this time on his knees, replied, that by no mans instigation, nor out of any private grudge of his own, did he intend this accusation, but his detestation of the fact, & the love of his Majesties safety & honor, had only incited him thereto. For that he speaks of his diligence & severity, let me but ask him, said he, how & why he did prefer Mr. Archibald Douglas his Cousin to the place of a Senator in the Colledge of Justice, who was known to have been an actor in that Murder, if he himself had no part in it. As the Earl was about to answer, the King commanded the

the Captain to go forth, and the Earl being likewise removed, after a short deliberation taken with the Council he was committed in a Chamber of the Palace, where he abode two nights. The third day he was conveyed to the Castle with a company of his own friends, who did earnestly move him to make an escape. But he chiding them with great bitterness said, That he had rather die ten thousand deaths than betray his Innocency in declining Trial. After some few days he was removed to *Dunbritten* Castle, that he might be the farther from his Friends, and kept from all intelligence with them. The King had sent privily to apprehend Mr. Archibald Douglas, who dwelt then at *Norham*; but he having notice of the Earls committing, fled into England.

An. 1580.
Morton is com-
mitted 2. Ja-
nuarii.

18. JANUARY.

In the July preceding the Assembly of the Church had convened at *Dundj*, where it was concluded, That the Office of a Bishop, as it was then used and commonly taken within the Realm, had neither foundation, ground, nor warrant in the Word of God; and thereupon an Ordinance was made, that all persons, either called to the said Office, or that should be called thereto at any time thereafter, should be charged to demit and forsake the same, as an Office whereunto they are not called of God; as also to desist and cease from Preaching, ministring the Sacraments, or using in any sort the Office of a Pastor, till they should be admitted of new of the general Assembly, under the pain of Excommunication. In the end of the Act it was directed, That concerning the Patrimony of the Church possessed by the Bishops, the next Assembly should reason and advise upon the disposing thereof.

An Assembly
of the Church,
with their
proceedings
against the Bi-
shops.

Whether the folly or iniquity of this Ordinance was greater, it can hardly be said; for granting that the Office of a Bishop had been as they judged unlawful, there was no reason to discharge them of using the ministerial Office till they should be received of new. And what a foolish thing was it to think that the Prince and Estates would permit the Rents of the Bishops to be disposed at their appetites? They saw what was done with the other Prelates, and how the Abbots and Priors were no sooner declared to be no Office-bearers in the Church, but presently they turned temporal Lords, and carried the Rents with them quite away from the Church. And could they look for other dealing with the Bishopricks? Sure it was, if the titulars themselves did not find the credit to enjoy them, that others of the Laity would have invaded the same, as afterwards also they did.

The iniquity
of their pro-
ceedings.

But to pass this, the Earl of *Lennox* desiring by all means to win the favour of the Church, sent to this Assembly Sir William Stewart, a Brother of *Traquaire*, with a Letter, to this effect: That it was not unknown to them, how it had pleased God to bring him since his coming into the Country to the knowledge of the Truth, which he esteemed more than all worldly happiness, and that he had made open profession thereof first in *St. Giles Church* at *Edinburgh*, and afterwards subscribed the Confession of Faith at *Striveling*, and was yet, if any farther was thought needful, ready to perform what soever should be required; assuring them of his best advice in all things tending to God's glory, and to the good of the Church; requesting, together with the assistance of their prayers, that he might continue in their good favours. But all this could not remove their suspicions of his counterfeiting, still he was taxed in publick Sermons, and made odious to the people. Neither was it long after this Assembly dissolved, that John Dury, one of the Ministers of *Edinburgh*, was called before the Council, and committed in the Castle for certain speeches of that kind uttered by him in Pulpit; but upon the supplication of his fellow Ministers, and promise of forbearing, he was after a short stay in the Castle licenced to return to his Charge.

A Letter from
the Earl of
Lennox to the
Assembly.

John Dury
committed to
the Castle.

In October following Mr. John Row, Minister of *Perth*, departed this life, who for his Piety and singular moderation deserveth here to be mentioned. In his younger years having applied his mind to Letters, and taking the degree of a Master in Arts, he became a pleader in the Consistory of *S. Andrews* (a Judicatory then much frequented) and grew to be so skilled in the Cannon Law, as he was chosen to negotiate the affairs of the Church in the Court of *Rome*. Julius the Third did then govern that See, of whom he was well accepted, and in possibility to have attained unto some preferment if he would have stayed there; for he gained the favour of all to whom he was known, and was in special grace with *Guido Ascanius*

The death of
Mr. John Row.

Sfortia,

An. 1580. *Sfortia*, Cardinal of *Sancta Flora*, who made such account of his skill and knowledge in the Laws, that he would have him pass Doctor in the University whereof he was Chancellor. After some eight or nine years abode in those parts, coming home to visit his Country, and giving account of the affairs wherewith he had been trusted, he found the state of the Church quite overturned, and the Country all in Tumult by the Reformation which was then in hand. Thereupon doubting what course then to take, and minding to return to *Rome*, he was dissuaded by the Prior of *S. Andrews*, who held him in good esteem, and afterwards induced by the persuasion of *John Knox* to betake himself to the Ministry, which he exercised a certain space at --- in *Fife*, till by the general Assembly he was translated to the Town of *Perth*; there he continued unto his death, which happened in the year of our Lord 1580, and of his age the 54. A man whilst he lived well respected, and much lamented at his death by the people whom he served.

An Ambassador from England.

His Majesties answer to the Ambassador.

An Assembly of the Estates.

In January next Sir *Thomas Randolph* came Ambassador from England. His Errand was to intercede with the King for the Earl of *Morton* his Liberty; to which purpose, having called to mind the services done by the Nobleman in his Majesties Minority, and chiefly the diligence he had used in finding out and punishing the Murthers of his Father, which by the malice of his adversaries was now laid to his charge, he requested in the name of the Queen his Mistress, that the Nobleman might be released from his Ward, declaring that her Majesty would esteem it a singular kindness done unto her, and otherwise would take it ill to be denied in so just and reasonable a matter. The King, after he had heard him patiently, made answer, *That the many good offices he had received from his Sister the Queen did tie him to a thankful requital, but in that particular which touched him so nigh (the trial of his Fathers Murther) he knew she would excuse him; always, because of her intercession, he would be the more careful to have the Trial rightly carried, and as liberty had been given to his adversaries to accuse, so the like, and greater should be allowed him for his defence.*

The Assembly of the Estates being called at the same time, and the Ambassador pretending that his Instructions concerned them in a part, did in the hearing of them all charge the Earl of *Lennox* as one that had travelled to divert the Kings mind from keeping Friendship with England, and done besides many ill offices since his coming to Scotland, both to the King and Kingdom; *For he hath put, said he, the Kings most faithful Subjects and servants from their places, brought in others nothing so trusty, stirred up the King against the Ministers of Gods Word, making no other account of them than as of seditious Rulers and turbulent Persons; he hath loosed the Borders, said he, & made Justice there to cease, and hath practised with foreign Princes for the invading of England: which he offered to manifest by Letters intercepted and brought to the Queen his Mistress. But this beyond all measure doth grieve her, that a Prince of such hopes, joynd in such nearness of blood, and for whom she had taken so great care, should be thus misled and abused by wicked devices. If such a person ought to be tolerated to possess the King alone, and rule all things at his pleasure, your honours may judge.* This discourse moved few or none, the wiser sort esteeming the Letters he produced counterfeit, as afterwards also was known.

The Ambassador labouring with Noblemen to take Arms for Morton's Liberty.

This course not prevailing, he dealt privately with the Friends of *Morton*, and those that he knew envied *Lennox* his credit, to take Arms, and procure both *Mortons* Liberty and the Banishment of the Earl of *Lennox*; assuring them of aid both of men and monies from the Queen of England; and by his persuasions brought the Earls of *Argile*, *Montrose*, *Angus*, *Marre*, and *Glencarn* to enter into a Confederation for performance both of the one and other. But this Combination held not long, being quickly discovered and broken. Of all the number *Angus* and *Marre* only stood firm, resolving to hazard all, rather than *Morton* should perish.

Forces sent by the Queen of England to the Borders.

The Queen of England, to make good her Ambassadors promise, sent down at the same time certain forces to the Borders; which troubled the Court a little, but was to no purpose, only it gave occasion to hasten *Mortons* Trial and Execution. The King, not to be taken unprovided, if Invasion should be made by England, sent forth Proclamations, commanding all the Subjects to be in a readiness for resisting such attempts; and withal levied some companies of horse and foot, to guard his person

person against any sudden assault. Next, a court was taken for confining those of *An. 1581.* *Morton's* friendship in some remote parts of the Realm, and the Earl of *Angus* charged to keep Ward beyond the River of *Spey*, the Laird of *Lochlevin* being being against charged to keep Ward beyond the River of *Spey*, the Laird of *Lochlevin* being Morton's friends at Court. The Lairds of *Mains* and *Carmichael*, with *Morton's* two natural Sons, *James* and *Archibald*, were cited to appear before the Council. The Laird of *Johnston* was discharged of his Wardenry in the West Marches, and the Lord *Maxwell* put in his place. *Angus*, for not entering within the time prefixed, was denounced Rebel, and prohibitions made to resist or supply him in any sort under pain of Treason. *Mains* and *Carmichael*, and *Morton's* two Sons not appearing before the Council, were likewise proclaimed Rebels.

This rigorous proceeding, and a fear the Ambassador took that his practices were discovered, made him to depart secretly to *Berwick*. Sir *John Seaton*, Master of the horses, was thereupon directed to complain both of his dealings, and of the forces sent unto the Borders in a time of Peace; but he was stayed at *Berwick*, and not suffered to go any farther. Then order was taken for bringing *Morton* to his Trial, and Commission given to the Earl of *Montrose* and Captain *James*, who was then first styled Earl of *Arran*, to make his Convoy to *Edinburgh*. When the Commission was shewed to the Earl of *Morton*, and that he found named in it *James* Earl of *Arran*, he wondered what man it was, for he knew the Earl of *Arran* to be deceased, and had not heard that Captain *James* did assume that title. Thereupon asking the Keeper of the Castle who was Earl of *Arran*, when it was answered, that Captain *James* was the man; after a short pause, he said, *And is it so? I know then what I may look for; meaning, as was thought, that the old Prophecie of the falling of the heart by the mouth of Arran should then be fulfilled.* Whether this was his mind or not, it is not known; but some spared not at the time when the *Hamiltons* were banished, in which business he was held too earnest, to say, that he stood in fear of that Prediction, and went that course only to disappoint it. But if so it was, he did find himself now deluded, for he fell by the mouth of another *Arran* than he imagined. However it was, this is sure, that the news did at first perplex his mind not a little, and that after this time he gave over all hope of life.

Being brought to *Edinburgh* his Process was made the first of June. The Indictment charged him with conspiring and concealing the Murther of King *Henry*, and of being art and part (as the phrase is) in committing the same. He denied all, and pleaded not guilty. The Jurors being called, he excepted against *Argile*, the Lord *Seaton* and the Laird *Waughton*; yet they were all received upon their purgation, that they had not given any counsel to his hurt or prejudice. This done, and they all sworn, according to the custom, they went apart, and after they had consulted a while, returning into the Court, the Earl of *Montrose* Chancellor of the Affize, declared him convict of counsel, concealing, and being art and part of the Kings Murther. At these last words he shewed himself much grieved, and beating the ground once or twice with a little staff he carried in his hand, said, *Art and part, art and part! God knoweth the contrary.* When doom was given that he should be taken to the place of Execution, hanged on the Gibbet, have his head cut off, his Body quartered and affixed in the most publick places, he uttered not a word, nor did he seem to be moved therewith; and because it was drawing towards night, he was conveyed back to the Lodging wherein he was kept.

In the morning Mr. *James Lawson* with two or three other Ministers did visit him. They asking how he had rested that night, he answered, that of a long time he had not slept more soundly: *Now I am, said he, at an end of my troubles; some nights before my trial I was thinking what to answer for my self, & that kept me from sleep, but this night I had no such thoughts.* Then falling to speak of his present case, & the Sentence pronounced against him, they said, that he should do well to unburthen his mind, and declare what his part was of the Kings Murther. He answered with a great attestation that he never gave consent to that wicked fact. *The Earl Bothwell, said he, upon my return from England (where I remained a while, because of Signior Davies slaughter) came to me in Whittingham, and after a long discourse brake the matter unto me, saying that the Queen would have the King taken away, for that she blamed him*

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An. 1581. him more of Davies murther than all the attors; and asked what would my part be therein. I made him this answer, that being newly relieved of a great trouble, I would not willingly enter into another, and that I would have no meddling in that business. He not satisfied with my answer, insisted to have me consent, saying, the Queen would have it done. If so be, said I, bring me the Queens hand-writing, that I may know that it is her mind. This he never did; and if he had brought it, I was fully resolved to have turned my back upon Scotland, and banish'd my self, till I saw better times. Next, they inquired whether Mr. Archibald Douglas had any dealing with him in that purpose. Whereunto he answered, that Mr. Archibald (being at that time a dependor upon Bothwell) did bring him (he being then at St. Andrews) a Letter from Bothwell, containing credit, and that he travelled to persuade him to give his assistance to that fact: but he excused himself, because he saw no warrant from the Queen, as Bothwell had promised. After the Murther committed, he said that Mr. Archibald came again unto him, and told him that he did accompany Bothwell and Huntley to the place, and was assisting to the fact. Therefore can I not deny, saith he, that I fore-knew and concealed the same; but to whom should I have revealed it? for the King, when he was advertised of the danger, would not believe it. But they have condemned me of art and part, said he, which is more than concealing; but as I wish God to be merciful to me now at my last, I never gave counsel nor consent thereto. The Ministers replying that he could not justly complain of the Sentence, being guilty of fore-knowledge and concealing by his own declaration; he acknowledged the same to be true: but, saith he, It would have gone alike with me if I had been as innocent as St. Steven, or as guilty as Judas. But of that I am not to complain, nor will I stand to my justification, being assured, howsoever men have carried themselves in it, God hath dealt justly with me; and that I am to suffer nothing but that which I have merited, yea worse.

The Sentence mitigated.

Arran desireth Morton to subscribe his Confession.

Morton his answer.

Morton his behaviour at his death.

Morton's qualities and good parts.

This Confession reported to the King, the rigour of the Sentence was mitigated, and order given that he should be beheaded only, and his body committed to burial. In the afternoon, when it was told him by his Keeper that the time was come, and all things were in a readiness, he said, *I praise God I am also ready*: and making forth, was met by the Earl of Arran in the very entry, who desired him to stay and subscribe his Confession. He answered, *I pray you trouble me not, for I am now to prepare my self for death, and cannot write in this estate*. The Earl ceasing to urge that point any farther, desired he might be reconciled with him, protesting that he had done nothing upon any particular grudge: he answered, *It was no time to reckon quarrels, I forgive you and all others*. When he was come to the Scaffold, which was erected in the publick street, he repeated the substance of his Confession; and in some few words exhorted the people to continue in the profession of the true Religion, and maintain it at their power, intreating them to assist him with their prayers to God. The chief Minister did then conceive a prayer, during the time whereof he lay prostrate upon his face, and was greatly moved, as appeared by the rebounding with many sobs and sighs. The prayer ended, divers came to be reconciled with him, whom he received very kindly: all the rest that were on the scaffold he took by the hand, bidding them farewell, and going towards the Block, laid down his head, and cried aloud, *In thine hand, O Lord, I commit my spirit: Lord Jesus receive my Soul*. Which words he was still uttering whenas the Ax fell and cut off his head. His Corps left on the place, lay from the hour of Execution to Sun-setting, covered with a beggerly Cloak, every man fearing to shew any kindness, or so much as to express a sign of sorrow. His Corps was afterwards carried by some base fellows to the common Sepulchre, and his head fixed on the Tolluith.

Never was seen a more notable example of Fortunes mutability: he who a few years before had been revered of all men, and feared as a King, abounding in wealth, honour, and number of friends and followers, was now at his end forsaken of all, and made the very scorn of Fortune; to teach men how little stability there is in honour, wealth, friendship, and the rest of these worldly things which men so much admire. He was of a personage comely, of a mean stature, and a graceful countenance,

tenance, and singular courage, whereof in the civil Troubles he gave many proofs; An. 1581. wife and able for Government, a lover of justice, order, and policy; but inclined to covetousness, which the wants and necessity he endured in his younger years was thought to have caused; and given too much to the pleasures of the flesh, as at his dying he acknowledged with a great remorse. In this lastly most happy, that though his death in the worlds eye was shameful and violent, yet did he take it most patiently, quitting this life with the assurance of a better.

The day following the Earl of Arran in Council made a discourse of his proceedings in the trial of Morton, declaring what he had done, and how to come to the knowledge of the fact, for which he had suffered, he was forced to use some rigorous dealing towards his servants, and put certain of them to the torture: lest this should be imputed to him as a crime, his desire was to have his Majesties and the Councils approbation. This was easily obtained, and an Act made, ratifying all that he had done in that business, as good service to his Majesty and the Estate. Yet was it well enough known, that the inquisition he made upon Mortons servants was to find out where his gold and money was hidden, and for no purpose else. Near about the same time he took to Wife the Earl of March his Lady, a Woman intolerable in all the imperfections incident to that Sex. She had forsaken her Husband not long before, and obtained sentence against him for alledged impotency; yet was she known to be with child even then by Arran, which made the Process on her part more shameful: nor was his part a whit better, nay, rather much worse, having been a long time entertained in the Noblemans house, and furnished by him in every thing necessary, whilst his estate was but yet mean; to have repayed the Nobleman so dishonourably, was accounted a vile ingratitude. The Marriage always went on, and their unlawful love held that way legitimated.

Arrans proceeding against Morton and his servants approved.

Arran his Marriage with the Countess of March.

In August next, the Earl of Lennox was created Duke of Lennox, Lord Robert Stewart, Uncle to the King by his Mother, made Earl of Orkney, William Lord Ruthven Earl of Gowry, and John Lord Maxwell Earl of Morton. Arran, although he had assumed the title before, would then also be created Earl, which was done with great solemnity, and the first place bestowed on him, for he would not endure to be second to any, and took so ill the credit which he saw the Duke carried with the King, as he spared not to affront him at all occasions. The Laird of Farnhurst was then newly returned from France, where he had lived divers years in exile, and by the Dukes favour, to whom the King could deny nothing, had respite given him for certain crimes committed in the Kings Minority. As it was passing in Council, the Earl of Arran did protest against it, alledging an Oath made at Striveeling by the Counsellors, not to give way to respites, or remissions granted to the Kings enemies. Herewith the Duke offended, and a great heart-burning grew amongst them, which in the Parliament kept at Edinburgh in the moneth of October following burst forth in an open breach. The question was about some privileges belonging to the Chamberlain in time of Parliament, which Arran would not acknowledge, taking upon him, as Captain of the Guard, to place near unto the King whom he pleased. The Duke not enduring this insolency, absented himself from Parliament; which did so irritate the King, as the next day he went to Dalkeith, taking the Duke with him, and charged Arran not to come towards Court. Many were glad to see them thus committed amongst themselves, and for a while matters went so hot, as it was not expected the discord should be suddenly appeased. The Duke had the advantage of the Kings favour; Arran strengthened himself with the common cause, giving out that the quarrel was for Religion, and for opposing the Dukes courses, who craftily sought the overthrow thereof. And all this time the frowning of the Court continued, you should have seen him and his Lady repair so devoutly to Sermon and Prayers, that the People believed this to be the ground of the dissention, and that he was only disliked for his sincerity in Religion. But Arran knowing this would not long bear out, and fearing to lose the Kings favour altogether, he employed some friends to make offer of satisfaction to the Duke; and in end things were so composed, as Arran did quit the commandment of the Guard, and the charge thereof was given to the Duke.

An. 1581.

To return to the matters of the Church. There was a general Synod this year kept at *Glasgow* in the month of *April*, wherein the question of Bishops was again agitated; and because of the scruples which some Brethren had at the Act concluded in *Dundy* the year preceding, especially where it was said, *that the Office of a Bishop had no warrant of the Word of God*, the Assembly declared, that their meaning was to condemn the estate of Bishops as they were then in *Scotland*. A number of the more wise and moderate sort interceded that the conclusion of that matter might be for a time deferred, because of the inconveniences it would draw upon the Church; but they were cried down by the multitude. Amongst others, one *Mr. Robert Montgomery*, Minister at *Striveling*, was so fervent in the cause, as he would have the Assembly censure those that had spoken in defence of that corrupted Estate. Yet before the end of that year this zealous man did suffer himself to be more pitifully corrupted, the story whereof shall now be related. The See of *Glasgow* being then void, it was suggested to the Duke of *Lennox* by some flatterers, that he had a fair occasion presented to make himself Lord of that City, and of the Lands pertaining to that See, if he should only procure a gift thereof to some one that would make a disposition of the same to him and his heirs. The offer was made to divers, who refused all, because of the condition required. At last the agents in that business fell upon this *Montgomery*, who was content to accept it. A gift was thereupon formed, and a Bond given by him, 'That how soon he was admitted Bishop, he should dispose of the Lands, Lordships, and whatsoever belongeth to that Prelacy, to the Duke and his heirs, for the yearly payment of one thousand pounds *Scots*, with some horse-corn and poultry. A vile bargain it was, for which justly he ought to have been repulsed. But the Church passing this point, made quarrel to him for accepting the Bishoprick, which the King would not acknowledge to be a reason sufficient. *If they could charge him with any fault in Doctrine or Life, he was content they should keep their order; but to challenge him for accepting the Bishoprick, he would not permit the same, having lately ratified the Acts agreed upon at Leith, Anno 1571, touching the admission of Bishops, and ordained the same to stand in force until his perfect Age, or till a change was made thereof in Parliament.*

Montgomery his Simoniacal bargain for the Bishoprick of Glasgow.

Inquisition made of Montgomery his life and doctrine.

This related to the Church, they did appoint *Montgomery* his Life and Doctrine to be inquired upon, if possibly they could find any matter against him: which done, an accusation was framed, and he cited to answer in the next Assembly. The Articles laid to his charge, were these.

1. That he Preaching at *Striveling*, had proponed a question touching the Circumcision of Women, and affirmed they were circumcised in the skin of their forehead.
2. That teaching in *Glasgow*, he should say, the Discipline was a thing indifferent, and might stand this or that way.
3. That he called the Ministers capricious, and men of curious brains.
4. That he laboured to bring the Original Languages in contempt, abusing the words of the Apostle, in the 1 *Cor.* 14. and jestingly asked, In what School were *Peter* and *Paul* graduated?
5. That to prove the Lawfulness of Bishops in the Church, he had used the examples of *Ambrose* and *Augustine*.
6. That in his Doctrine he said it was sufficient to baptize in the name of the Father only, or in the name of the Son, or in the name of the Holy Ghost, seeing they are all one God; and to that effect alledged the nineteenth of the *Acts*.
7. That he should have called matters of Discipline, and the lawful Calling of the Church, Trifles of Policy.
8. That he charged the Ministry with Sedition, warning them not to put on or off Crowns; for if they medled therewith, they would be reproved.
9. That he condemned the particular application of Scripture, disdainfully asking, In what Scripture they found a Bishop for a thousand pounds, Horse-corn and Poultry, &c.

10. That

10. That he oppugned the Doctrine of our Saviour, speaking of the number of the wicked and them that perish.
11. That he denied any mention to be made in the New Testament of a Presbytery or Elderhip.
12. That he accused the Ministers of Pasquils, Lying, Backbiting, &c.
13. That the Church being traduced with infamous Libels, he did not only not find fault therewith, but seemed to approve the same, having used in his Preaching the very words of the Libel cast in the Kings Chamber against the Ministers.
14. That these three months past he had been negligent in Doctrine and Discipline, and given no assistance to the Elderhip.

The Articles were sent to the King by some Ministers, who were desired to shew his Majesty that the Accusation was not founded upon the accepting of the Bishoprick, but upon erroneous points of Doctrine. The King answered, *That what soever colour they gave to the process, he knew that his yielding to accept the place was the true quarrel; and for himself, albeit he loved the Religion, and agreed fully therewith, he allowed not divers heads of their Policy; always for the particular in hands, he would leave the man to make his own answer.* This reported to the Assembly, they went on with the Accusation, and *Montgomery* being called, *Mr. Andrew Melvil* became his accuser. The Articles upon his denial were admitted to probation, but few of them were verified; yet the conclusion of the Assembly was, that he should continue in his Ministry at *Striveling*, and meddle no more with the Bishoprick under pain of Excommunication. Mean while the Presbytery of *Striveling* (for they had now erected Presbyteries in divers places of the Country) was joynted to try his Conversation, and how he did exercise Discipline, if possibly any thing might be found against him that way.

The Articles against Montgomery communicated to the King.

It fell out at the same time, that *Mr. Walter Balcanquell*, one of the Ministers of *Edinburgh*, did utter some reproachful speeches in a Sermon against the Duke of *Lennox*, saying, *That within these four years Popery had entered into the Country and Court, and was maintained in the Kings Hall by the Tyranny of a great Champion, who was called Grace. But if his Grace continued in opposing himself to God and his Word, he should come to little Grace in the end.* The King, advertised of this, sent *James Melvil* his servant to complain to the Assembly, requiring some order to be taken therein. The Minister being put to his answer, said, *that he praised God for two things: First, that he was not accused for any thing done against his Majesty & the Laws; Secondly, that he perceived the Church had obtained some victory: For when he was last questioned for his Sermon, the Council did make themselves Judges of Ministers Doctrine; now that he saw the complaint remitted to the Assembly, he was glad, and willingly submitted his Doctrine to their trial: Only, that he should not give advantage to his enemies, he desired the Apostolick Canon to be kept, which prohibiteth an accusation to be received against an Elder but under two or three Witnesses.*

Mr. Walter Balcanquell questioned for speeches in Pulpit.

Balcanquell's answer.

Mr. Thomas Smeton and *David Ferynson* were upon this directed to shew the King, that the Assembly was willing and ready to try the complaint: but withal, that the liberty craved by the person accused could not be denied, he being a Presbyter. So if it should please his Majesty to send an accuser assisted by two or three witnesses, the accusation should be received, and justice done. The King not liking this answer, for he knew the difficulties he should have to find out an accuser, followed the business no more: but the Minister not contenting, that the cause should thus desert, would needs have the judgment of the Assembly, whether or not he had uttered in his Sermon any scandalous or offensive words; for they had been all Auditors of that he spake. This being put to voices, the Assembly declared his Doctrine to have been good and sound, and that he had given no just offence thereby to any person. When this was told the King, he was much offended; for not many days before, whenas the same Minister with his Colleague *John Dury* was called to give account of some speeches they had uttered in Pulpit, it was accepted, *that the King & Council could not be Judges of their Doctrine; and now his Majesty*

The King ceaseth from pursuing the complaint.

Balcanquell's Sermon approved by the Assembly.

An. 1582.

having complained to themselves, and they being Auditors of the speeches, when, he expected some censure to be inflicted, they had justified all that was spoken, and so would force him to take other courses than he desired to follow.

Montgomery
suspended by
the Presbytery
of Striveling.

But to return to *Montgomery* his cause: the Ministers of *Striveling*, as they were enjoined, made a visit of the Church, to try what they could find against him. All they got delated was, that he had baptized some Children begotten in Fornication, not calling the offenders before his Session. Upon this declaration he was cited to appear, and because he kept not the Diet, suspended from his Function. He notwithstanding preached still, and exercised all the parts of his Ministry, as in former times; which they took to be an high contempt, and therefore did summon him to the Assembly which was shortly to meet at *S. Andrews*, to hear their sentence approved, and to answer to such other things as in that meeting should be laid to his charge: and because they understood, that against the inhibition of the last Assembly he was still labouring to secure himself in the Bishoprick of *Glasgow*, and had cited the Chapter before the Council for refusing to convene to his Election, they likewise charged him to compeer before the Synod of *Lothian*, to hear the sentence of Excommunication pronounced against him.

He is cited to
appear before
the Synod of
Lothian.

An. 1582.
The Synod in-
hibited to pro-
ceed.

The King being informed of this, caused warn the Synod to appear the twelfth of April at *Striveling*, discharging in the mean time all proceeding in the business. Mr. *Robert Pont*, and with him a few others compeiring at the day, he in the name of the rest protested, That albeit they had compeired to testify their obedience to his Majesty, yet he did not acknowledge his Majesty and Council Judges in that matter, the same being a cause Ecclesiastick, and that nothing done at that time should prejudice the Liberties of the Church and Laws of the Realm. This protestation the Council rejected, inhibiting the Ministers to use any proceeding against *Montgomery*; which because of the General Assemblies approaching they yielded unto, only they caused charge him to appear before the Assembly. When the Diet came, he appeared, and first protesting for remedy if they should use him wrongfully, he said, that the process of *Striveling* could not be allowed, for that he was never lawfully summoned to hear any Sentence given against him. The Presbytery of *Striveling* remitting themselves to the process, the Assembly declared the same to be rightly deduced, and ratified the suspension pronounced. As they were proceeding to his Censure for contempt of the Sentence, Mr. *Mark Ker*, then Master of the Requests, presented a letter from his Majesty, inhibiting them to trouble the Bishop for any thing that concerned the Bishoprick, or whatsoever cause preceding; for that the King would have those things heard and handled in his own presence. The Assembly answered, that because of his Majesties request they should look more carefully to the business, and see all things carried rightly according to Justice.

An Assembly
at *S. Andrews*.

Mr. *Mark Ker*
sent to dis-
charge the
Assemblies
proceeding.

The Assembly
discharged
under pain of
Rebellion to
desist.

The Assembly
proceedeth,
and findeth
him culpable
of divers
crimes.

The Master of Requests replying, that his Majesty had willed them by his letter to desist, and treat no more of that business; Mr. *Andrew Melvil*, who presided for the time, answered, That they did not meddle with things belonging to the Civil powers; & for matters Ecclesiastick, they were warranted to proceed in these, specially with one of their own number. He perceiving that notwithstanding of his Majesties Letter they would proceed, caused a messenger of Arms, whom he had brought with him, charge them under pain of Rebellion to desist. Then was *Montgomery* called to see if he would abide by the charges used at his instance; but he was retired to his lodging, and could not be found (& the night drawing on) was appointed to be summoned to the next morning to receive his Censure. After the hour appointed, one *William Montgomery* having procurator from him, appeared, and appealing from the Assembly to the King and Council, gave this for a reason amongst others, that he who was his accuser in the last Assembly was turned to be his Judge. But the Assembly rejecting the Appellation, fell presently a reading the enorm crimes (so they called them) whereof he was guilty; nor was there any thing omitted that served to aggravate the same; corruption in Doctrine, dissoluteness of Life, contempt of the Churches Sentence, Falshood and breach of promise, Lying, Perjury, moving of Sedition, and stirring up certain of the Nobility against the Church. Of all these he was declared culpable, and ordained therefore to be deprived and cast forth of the Church.

How

How soon he heard that this conclusion was taken, his courage, which seemed before high and resolute, began to cool; whereupon presenting himself to the Assembly, he renounced his Appeal, desiring conference of some godly and learned brethren: which granted, he was induced by them to confess his offence in divers particulars, submitting himself to the will of the Assembly; and in end, to promise solemnly in the presence of the whole number, that he should meddle no further with the Bishoprick of *Glasgow*, and neither accept of it nor of any other Office in the Church, without the advice and consent of the General Assembly. Yet this gave not an end to the business; for how soon he returned to the Court, and perceived the Kings countenance cast down upon him for that he had done, he undertook of new to settle himself at *Glasgow*, and had Letters from his Majesty to the Gentlemen of those parts to assist him. At his coming to *Glasgow* with purpose to preach the Sunday following, a number of the Students in the Colledge entered into the Church on Saturday at night, and excluding him, did keep the Chair for Mr. *Thomas Smeton* their Principal; who taking for his Theme that saying in the Gospel, *He that enters not by the door, but by the window, is a thief & a robber*, inveighed against the Bishop for his Simoniack entry, and the levity he had shewed in all his proceedings. The next Sunday the Bishop with a great convocation of Gentlemen came to the Church, and displacing the ordinary Preacher, Mr. *David Weymes*, made for the Sermon himself. The Presbytery of *Glasgow* intending process against him for molestation of the Church, and usurping the place of the ordinary Preacher; *Matthew Stewart* of *Minto*, Provost of the City, came and presented a Warrant from the King to stay all proceedings against the Bishop, willing them to desist. Mr. *John Howieson*, Minister of *Cambuslangue*, moderating in his course (as the custom then was) and replying somewhat peremptorily, that notwithstanding his Warrant they would proceed, some words of offence passed; whereupon the Provost, pulling him from the Seat, made him Prisoner in the *Tolbuith*.

An. 1582.
Montgomery
falling from his
resolution, sub-
mits himself to
the Assembly.

Montgomery
changeth, and
returneth to his
first course.

Mr. *Thomas*
Smeton his Ser-
mon at *Glas-*
gow.

Montgomery
proceeded for
preaching at
Glasgow.

The Moder-
ator of the Pres-
bytery impris-
oned in the
Tolbuith.

A solemn Fast
kept.

The rumor of this fact ran quickly through the Kingdom, and a solemn Fast being kept by the appointment of the former Assembly, the Causes whereof were made to be the abundance of Sin, the Oppression of the Church, the Dilapidation of the Rents & the danger wherein the King stood by the company of wicked persons, who did seek to corrupt him in manners and Religion: the insolency committed at *Glasgow* was likewise adjected, and furnished matter of long discourse to the Preachers. Amongst others *John Dury* did exclaim mightily against the Duke of *Lennox*, upon whom the blame of all things was laid, and thereby did so irritate the King, as he would needs have him removed forth of the Town. Charges to that effect were directed, commanding the Magistrates within the space of 24 hours to remove him: who not daring disobey, yet being unwilling to use their Minister in that sort, travelled with him to depart quietly and leave the Town. The Minister that sort, proposing the case to the General Assembly (for upon advertisement given by the Ministers of *Edinburgh* they were there convened) desired their advice: for to leave his Flock at the pleasure of the Court, he said, might work a prejudice to the Church; & to depart privately, as the Magistrates advised him, might be imputed to fear, or then make him to be thought guilty of some fault. The brethren after a short consultation did advise him to stay till he should be commanded to depart, and then obey. Meanwhile Mr. *Thomas Buchanan* and *David Ferguson* were sent to the King, who was then at *Striveling*, to intreat his Majesties favor unto him, and therewith to request a continuation of the Diet, for the appearing of the Ministers of *Glasgow* at *Perth*. The King desiring to have matters quieted, answered the last Proposition first, saying, That if the Assembly would delay the Process which they had against the Provost of *Glasgow* and his Assistants, he would likewise dispense with the appearing of the Ministers at the time appointed. And as to *John Dury* he said, that upon his Supplication, how soon the Duke returned to Court, whose interest was greatest in that business, order should be taken with him, and consideration had of the Assemblies request. But they not satisfied herewith, striving to make good what they had taken in hand, went on with the Process of *Glasgow*, and leading probation against *Minto* and the rest, decreed them to be excommunicated and cast forth of the Society of the

John Dury,
Minister at
Edinburgh, was
removed from
his Charge.

Ministers di-
rected to the
King.

An. 1582.

Mr. John Davidson excommunicated
Montgomery.

the Church; only the pronouncing of the Sentence was delayed, till they saw what course was kept with their brethren before the Council.

Mr. John Davidson, then Minister at *Liberton*, pretending a Warrant from the Church, had in his private Parish pronounced Bishop *Montgomery* excommunicate, which (albeit done against all form) was allowed, and intimated in all the Churches of the Country. The Duke of *Lennox* notwithstanding did still entertain him in his company, and at some occasions had made him to preach publicly. Thereupon Mr. *Alexander Archbuthnot* & Mr. *Adam Johnston* were directed by the Assembly to intimate unto the Duke his Excommunication, and the Acts of the Church against such as kept excommunicate Persons in their company. The Duke taking them up somewhat hotly, asked them, *Whether the King or the Church were Superiors*; and thereafter answered them directly, *That he was commanded by the King and Council to entertain him, which he would not forbear to do for any fear he had of their Censures*. This amongst other Grievances of the Church was ordained to be represented to his Majesty by the Commissioners appointed to attend the Council at *Perth*. But touching this, the King answered, *That the Excommunication was null, and declared such by the Council, as being pronounced against equity and all lawful form, no Citation being used, nor any Admonition proceeding, which all Laws and even their own Discipline appointed to be observed*. To their other Grievances they received general answers; and for the brethren of *Glasgow*, their trial was continued to the tenth of September next.

The Surprise of the King at *Ruthven*, 23. Aug. 1582.The King stayed from his sport by the Master of *Glamis*.

Arran withheld from the King.

The Duke of *Lennox* sent to enquire of the Kings estate.

Before which time the Surprise of the Kings person at *Ruthven* fell out, which altered the state of all affairs. Some of the Nobility combining themselves for defence of Religion and the Liberty of the Kingdom (as they pretended) upon notice of the Duke of *Arrans* absence from the Court, placed themselves about the King, & detained him some days at the house of *Ruthven*. The principals in this attempt were *John Earl of Marre*, *William Earl of Gowrie*, *Patrick Lord Lindeisay*, *Robert Lord Boyd*, the Masters of *Glamis* and *Oliphant*, the Abbots of *Dunfermlin*, *Paisley*, *Driburgh*, and *Cambushkeneth*, the Lairds of *Locklevin*, *Easter Weemes*, *Cleish*, and the Constable of *Dundy*. The King at their first coming suspected there was some practice in hand, yet dissembled the matter, thinking to free himself the next day when he went abroad to his sport; but as he was about to go, the Master of *Glamis* stepped to the door of the Parlour, and told him he must stay. The King asked the reason: he answered, he should know it shortly. When he saw it to be so, and found his liberty restrained, he grew into a passion, and after some threatening speeches burst forth in tears. The Master seeing him weep, said, *It is no matter of his Tears, better that Bairns should weep than bearded men*: which words entered so deeply into the Kings heart, as he did never forget them. The news went quickly of the Noblemens being at Court in such numbers, which made the Earl of *Arran* haste thither, for he held himself assured of the Earl of *Gowries* friendship, as being of his alliance, and having kept one course in the pursuit of the Earl of *Morton*; his only fear was, that he should be stayed by the way, therefore having crossed the Ferry, he singled himself from his company, and taking one only servant with himself, directed his Brother, *William Stewart*, to keep the High-way with the rest. By this mean he did escape those that lay in wait for him, and came in the evening to *Ruthven*: where when he had entered the Gate, he asked what the King was doing, as meaning to go directly to him; but was conveyed to another room, and told that he must have patience, and think his fortune good that he was come to that place with his life saved; as he himself judged, when a little after he heard that the horsemen which lay in wait of him, and encountered his Brother near unto *Dublin*, after divers wounds given him, had taken him Prisoner.

A day or two after, some Noblemen employed by the Duke of *Lennox*, who remained then in *Dalkeith*, came to Court, but were not permitted to speak with the King, nor see him, except in Council. Being examined what their business was, they told, that the Duke of *Lennox* had sent them to learn of the King in what condition he was, and if he was detained against his will, as the rumor went, he might, with the assistance of other good subjects, see him made free. The King presently

sently cried out that he was Captive, which he desired all his subjects know, and that the Duke should do what he might to procure his Liberty. The Lords prayed his Majesty not to say so, 'for that he should not be denied to go whither he pleased, only they would not permit the Duke of *Lennox* and Earl of *Arran* to mislead him any longer, and oppress both Church and Kingdom, as they have done. Wherefore he should do well to cause the Duke retire himself quietly to *France*, otherwise they would be forced to bring him to an account of his doings, and proceed against him with rigour of Law. This they willed the same Noblemen whom he had sent to signify unto the Duke, and that they were resolved to maintain what they had undertaken at the utmost hazard of their lives and estates.

After they were gone, the Kings anger being somewhat asswaged, and fearing the Dukes case more than his own, he was moved to send forth a Proclamation to this effect: 'That for pacifying the present Commotions, and removing some Differences fallen out amongst the Nobility, his Majesty had thought it expedient to interpose himself a Mediator; and for the better working of an Union amongst them, had resolved to make his Residence in *Perth* for a time, till he saw what good effects his travels might produce. And lest his stay in these parts should be interpreted to be a Detention of his Person, because of the Noblemen and others that had lately repaired to Court, his Majesty declared, that it was his own free and voluntary choice to abide there; and that the Noblemen and others who did presently attend had done nothing but what their duties obliged them unto, and which he took for a good service performed both to himself and to the Commonwealth. Therefore inhibited all the subjects to attempt any thing that might tend to the disturbance of the Realm, commanding them also that had led any forces upon pretext of his Majesties restraint, to dissolve the same within six hours under the pain of death. This Proclamation was dated at *Perth* the 28 of August, some six days after the surprise of his Person at *Ruthven*.

The Duke in the mean time was gathering forces, and grown to be strong by his friends and others that repaired unto him; when a Letter came from the King, signifying that it was his pleasure he should leave the Realm, and depart forth thereof before the 20 of Sept. The Letter he communicated to his friends, who did all advise him to retire unto *Dumbritton*, where he might with more safety stay for a while, and if he found not an opportunity to right himself, should have good occasion of shipping for *France*. When he was come thither, the resort of Noblemen and Barons, and others were so great unto him, that the Nobility offending therewith, directed Letters, charging him to live more private with his ordinary retinue, and all others that were in his company to return to their houses within 12 hours after the charge, and not to come nigh the part where he remained, or should happen to reside during the time of his abode in the Country.

The bruit of this Change being carried to *England*, the Queen sent Sir *Henry Cary* and Sir *Robert Bowes* unto the King, to advise him, in regard of the danger he was fallen into by the perverse counsels of the Duke and Earl of *Arran*, to take in good part the Lords enterprise, and restore the Earl of *Angus*, who had lived exiled in *England* since the time of *Mortons* Execution. This last they obtained with no great difficulty, so as the Nobleman was soon after reconciled and accepted in favor: but to the first point, the King having a suspicion that the attempt was not made without the Queen of *Englands* knowledge, he gave good general answers, whereby it was hoped that upon the Noblemans good behaviour in a short time his offence would be mitigated. The King also conceiving that a gentle usage would bring them to reconcile with the Duke of *Lennox*, began to give them a more gracious countenance than before. But he found them untractable, and not without great instance did purchase their consents to a few days prorogation of his departing, upon promise that he should be pursued as a Rebel if he went not away at the time appointed, wind and weather serving: yet was his going put off upon divers occasions till the midst of December, at which time he was forced to depart, as we shall hear.

The Lords in the mean while, careful to strengthen themselves, brought the King to *Halirudhouse* in the beginning of October, knowing that the people of *Edinburgh* did

An. 1582.

The Duke of *Lennox* willed to retire to *France*.A Proclamation declaring the Kings contentment with his stay at *Perth*.The Duke is advised to go unto *Dumbritton*.An Ambassador from *England* Sept. 12.The Earl of *Angus* received in favour, October 12.The Lords bring the King to *Halirudhouse* the 8. of Octob. 8.

An. 1582.
An Assembly
of the Church
at Edinburgh.

The Lords
end to obtain
the Assemblies
approbation.

The Assem-
blies Ratifica-
tion of the at-
tempt at Ruth-
ven.

did effect their enterprise, as appeared by the reducing of *John Dury* their Minister immediately upon the news of the Kings Restraint, and the triumph they made, singing as they went up the street the 124 Psalm, *Now Israel may say, &c.* They understood also that the Assembly of the Church was to convene in the same Town the ninth of that month, and doubted not to find them favourable enough. To this Assembly, Mr. *William Areskin* (styled the *Commendatory of Paislay*) was sent by the Noblemen, to declare that the causes moving them to that enterprise were the evident peril they perceived the Religion was brought unto, with the disorders and confusions introduced into the State: whereof having discoursed a while, he came in end to desire the Assemblies approbation of their proceedings, as that which would encourage them much, and dishearten the common adversary. This Proposition made, first it was voiced, whether the dangers of the Church and disorders of State were such as in their hearing were related: which being affirmatively answered by the whole Assembly, Mr. *James Lawson*, Mr. *David Lindsay*, and Mr. *John Craig* were appointed to signify unto the King what the Assembly had found, and to require his own judgment therein. The King, esteeming it most sure for himself to temporize, said, *That he believed Religion was in hazard, and indirect courses taken to overturn the same, wherewith he acknowledged his own danger to be conjoyned: and for abuses crept into the Commonwealth, as they were too many, so he expected that all good Subjects, and they for their own parts, would help to remove the same.* This answer returned to the Assembly, they concluded an Act in this form.

Forasmuch as the Noblemen and others joyned with them in the late Action of Reformation, out of a desire to have the Church and whole Professors of the true Religion understand the grounds and occasions moving them to repair towards the Kings Majesty, to seek redress of the disorders fallen out in the Commonwealth, have made publick attestation to the whole Assembly, that the motions and grounds of their enterprise were, and are, to deliver the Church of God within this Realm, and the true Religion therein professed, from the evident peril and danger wherein all men perceived the same to stand; as likewise to guard and preserve the innocent Person of the King his Majesty and Estate, being in no less hazard than the other, and to remove the corruptions and confusion entred into the body of the Commonwealth: wherein as they are well persuaded themselves to have done good service to God, and to have performed their duty to their Sovereign and Country; so they wished all that feared God should judge and esteem well of their action, especially that the brethren of this Assembly should declare their good liking and approbation thereof, and ordain all the Pastors and Ministers within the Realm to publish in their particular Churches the causes and grounds moving them to the said enterprise; exhorting all Noblemen, Barons, and other faithful Subjects to give their best concurrence and assistance thereto: The Assembly, having weighed the said desire with the whole circumstances thereof, have in the fear of God after mature deliberation resolved, found and voted, no man gainsaying, That not only the Church of God within this Realm, and true Religion professed in the same, but also the King his most noble Person and Royal estate, were, and stood in extreme danger and hazard, besides the manifold gross abuses that had invaded the Commonwealth, before the late enterprise, which his Majesty had acknowledged and professed to the Commissioners of the present Assembly: And that therefore the said brethren could not but think their Honours, employing themselves hereafter for averting the like dangers, to have done good and acceptable service to God, their Sovereign, and Native Country; and the prosecution thereof, all partiality set aside, will be acceptable to all that fear God, and tender the preservation of the Kings Person, and prosperous estate of the Realm. And to the effect the same may be made the more manifest and notorious, it is thought expedient that all the Ministers within the Realm, upon the first occasion, shall publicly declare unto their particular Flocks the peril wherein the Church of God and true Religion, the King his most noble Person and Estate stood, with the grounds that moved the said Noblemen unto the late action, recommending the same to the consideration of all good Subjects, exhorting

horting them, as they tender the glory of God, and love the preservation of the King and Country, faithfully to concur and joyn with the said Noblemen in prosecuting the said grounds, to the full deliverance of the Church, and perfect Reformation of the Commonwealth. And if any should be found either by word maliciously, or violently by way of deed, to oppose to that good cause, they shall be called before the particular Elderships, and order put unto them by the Censures of the Church; and in case of their wilful and obstinate continuing therein, be delated to the King and Council, to be punished for their offence civilly.

This Act of the date the thirteenth of October, 1582. was published in all the Churches of the Realm, to the offence of many good men, who were grieved to see a bad cause thus coloured and defended. But the Lords, knowing that this Approbation could not secure them, had laboured the King to convocate the Estates for the same purpose. The eighteenth of the same month being appointed for their meeting, there came to the convention for the Church estate, the Archbishop of S. Andrews, the Bishops of Dunkeld and Orkney, the Abbots of Dunfermlin, Newbattle, Paislay, Driburgh, Cambuskenneth, Culross, Inchaffray, Coldingham, and Pittinewemye; of the Nobility there were present the Earls of March, Arrol, Marshal, Bothwell (who some few months before returned from beyond Sea) Marre, Rothes, Glencarn, Eglinton, Gowrie, and Morton; the Lords Lindsay, Home, Ogilvy, Herries, Boyd, ----- and Sinclair. But from the Burghs there came not any Commissioners, nor could they be moved to countenance this action in any sort; conceiving, as it fell out, that how soon the King obtained his Liberty, he would censure and condemn the fact as treasonable.

To these always that convened the King had a Speech, much to this effect: *That of all the Vexations he had tried since his acceptation of the Government in his own person, the distraction of the Nobility was the greatest, and at the present did grieve him most; for the removing whereof he had called them together, and expected their best counsel and help. In other things, he said, that needed Reformation, he would be willing to follow their advice.* One of the Lords, I find him not named, made answer, *That the dissentions of the Nobility were caused chiefly by some, that, having his Majesties ear, did abuse his favours, ruling all things at their pleasure, and disdaining the advice of other fellow-counsellors.* Then falling into particulars, he said, *That the Duke of Lennox and Earl of Arran had misgoverned all affairs, and brought divers abuses into the State, which unless some Noblemen had taken a course to remedy by their repairing to his Majesty, both Religion and State in a short time had been subverted.* After this, the Earl of Marre, Gowrie, and Glencarn, who had been the chief actors in that attempt, rose up, and having declared the cause which moved them to take that action in hand, did humbly offer to submit themselves to the censure of his Majesty and the Estates; and thereupon removing themselves forth of the Convention, it was found and declared, *That in their repairing to the King upon the 22 of August last, and abiding with him since that time, they had done good, thankful, and necessary service to the King and Country. Also that their taking of Arms, making of Conventions, entering in Conflicts, taking and detaining of Prisoners, contracting of Leagues and Bonds, and all other deeds done by them, which might appear to be against his Majesties Authority, in so far as the same was done without his Highness Warrant, should be reputed & esteemed good service done to the King and State; and that they and their partakers should be exonerated of all Action, civil or criminal, that might be intended against them, or any of them, in that respect: Inhibiting therefore all the subjects to speak or utter any thing to the contrary, under the pain to be esteemed calumniators and dispersers of false rumors, and to be punished for the same accordingly.*

This Declaration passed, it was ordained that the Earl of Arran should be detained in the Castle of Ruthven till the Duke was gone out of the Realm, after which he should be confined on the North of the water of Fern; and that four companies should be levied upon the publick charges, two of horsemen, and as many foot, to guard the King and Noblemen who did attend him, till the present troubles were quieted. Then were some Grievances proponed in name of the Church; but these laid by till another time, the Lords not willing to irritate the King for such matters, having once secured themselves.

A. Convention
of the Estates
at Edinburgh.

The Kings
speech to the
Estates.

The attempt
of Ruthven
declared to be
good service.

The Earl of
Arran ordain-
ed to be detain-
ed till the
Duke was
gone.

The

An. 1582.

The Duke falling sick at Sea, taketh journey by Land.

The Duke desiring to see the King before he went away, is denied.

Two Ambassadors from France, *La Motte* and *Menevil*. The purpose of Association renewed.

The Ministers declaimed in their Sermons against the Ambassadors.

The Magistrates of Edinburgh desired to feast the Ambassadors. The Ministers proclaim a Fast, *Febr. 16.*

The Duke of Lennox dieth at Paris.

26 May, 1583.

The King directeth Ambassadors to England.

The Duke, to keep the word which the King had given for his departing, took shipping in the West parts about the midst of *October*, & being hindered by contrary winds fell sick at Sea. The King advertised of his ill disposition, advised him to travel through *England*, in regard of the winter season, and to remain at *Blacknes* till a safe conduct was procured from the Queen. He had not stayed many days there, when a rumor was raised, as was thought, by his enemies, that he was to be brought again to Court, and the Lords turned out, or used with more violence. This made a new stir; whereupon the Lord *Hereis* was sent to command him to begin his journey, and to be in *Berwick* the 22 day of *December*. He craved to see the King, and be permitted only to salute him; but this being denied, he departed in great heaviness.

In the beginning of *January* two Ambassadors arrived, sent by the French King, the one named *Monsieur la Motte*, the other *Monsieur Menevil*: *La Motte* came by *England* (with whom came alongst Mr. *Davidson*, Ambassador from Queen *Eliz.*) the other by Sea; both having the same Instructions, which were, to work the Kings Liberty in the best sort they could, to confirm his mind in the love he bare to the French, and to renew the purpose of Association. This last business was set on foot the year before, and almost concluded in this sort; That the Queen of Scots should communicate the Crown with her Son, & both be joynt in the Administration of affairs; that so he might be acknowledged for a lawful King by all Christian Princes, and all domestick Factions suppressed. But upon the Dukes sequestering from Court it was left off, and not mentioned again till now. The Assembly of the Church in the last meeting had made this one of their special Grievances, and complained of it as a most wicked practice. And now the Ministers of *Edinburgh* hearing that purpose to be moved of new by the French Ambassadors, declaimed bitterly against them in their Sermons; especially against *La Motte*, who, being a Knight of the Order of *S. Esprit*, did wear the badge of a white Cross upon his shoulder. This they called *The badge of Antichrist*, and him *The Ambassador of the bloody murderer*, meaning the Duke of *Guise*, who, they said, procured him to be sent hither.

It grieved the Ambassadors much to hear these outcries which daily were brought unto them; but perceiving the Kings Authority not able to restrain the liberty which the Preachers had taken, they did not complain, but urged earnestly their dimission. The King, desirous to entertain the ancient Amity betwixt the two Nations, and dimit them with some contentment, desired the Magistrates of *Edinburgh* to give them a Feast before their parting. To impede this Feast, the Ministers did on the Sunday preceeding proclaim a Fast to be kept the same day on which the Feast was appointed: & to detain the people at Church, the three ordinary Preachers did one after another make a Sermon in *S. Giles Church*, without any intermission of time, thundring curses against the Magistrates and other Noblemen that waited on the Ambassadors by the Kings direction; nor stayed their folly here, but, the Ambassadors being gone, they pursued the Magistrates with the Censures of the Church, and were with difficulty enough stayed from proceeding with Excommunication against them, for not observing the Fast they proclaimed.

Of all this the King seemed to take no notice, for he saw not a way to repress these Disorders; and much perplexed he was with the reports of the Duke of *Lennox* his death, who partly of grief, partly through the long and troublesome journey he made in that cold and rainy season, contracted a Fever at his coming to *Paris*, whereof after a few days he died. Some hours before his expiring there came to him a Priest or two, to do their accustomed service; whom he could not admit, professing to die in the Faith of the Church of Scotland, and to keep the oath he had given to the King inviolate. This the King made to be proclaimed at *Edinburgh*, that the people might see what wrong the Duke had sustained during his abode in the Realm, by the uncharitable suspicions both of Ministers and others. But this belongs to the year following.

Meanwhile the King ceaseth not to think of his own Liberty, using all means to put the Lords that attended him out of an opinion that he had any meaning to free himself. And the Duke being gone, whom they feared most, they esteemed the danger the less: for *Arran* was not well loved, because of his violent courses; and *Morton*,

ton, who had the greatest following, was put from his charge in the Borders, and the same given to the Laird of *Johnston*: the King had likewise by their advice sent Colonel *Stewart* and Mr. *John Colvil* in a joynt Commission to the Queen of *England*, to move her for restoring the lands in that Kingdom which appertained to his Grandfather the Earl of *Lennox*, and the Lady *Margaret* his Grandmother, together with the by-run profits intronnetted by the Thesaurer or Master of Wards; as likewise to communicate unto her the course he had taken for quieting the Realm, and to desire her aid and assistance therein. Some Instructions besides were given them to propound; as touching the Kings Marriage, the matters of the Border, and the contracting of a defensive League; by all which they held themselves secured of his Majesties favor. But for the Negotiation it sorted to no effect, by the contrary courses the two Commissioners took after their coming to the Court of *England*. The King foreseeing the same when they were first employed, had moved Mr. *David Lindsay*, Preacher at *Leith* (a man wise and moderate) to accompany them, and pacifie the contentions which possibly might arise amongst them; but their emulations were so great, as all he could do scarce served to keep them from open discord.

Before I enter upon the accidents of the next year, the death of Mr. *George Buchanan*, which happened in the end of *September*, must not be passed; a man so well deserving of his Country, as none more: he was of an excellent wit, and learning incomparable, born night to the High-lands, within the Parish of *Killern*, and of the house of *Drumakill*. His Uncle by the mother, called *Herriot*, took care to have him trained up in Letters, perceiving his inclination to be set that way: wherein he profited so much, as he went beyond all his instructors; Nature, it seems, having formed him thereunto. In the year 1539, being called in question by the *Franciscan* Friars upon the malice they bare him for some bitter verses written against them and their profession, which he did to please King *James* the Fifth, whom they had in some things offended, he was committed as suspected of *Lutheranism*; but made an escape to *France*, where he lived a long time, and became acquainted with many learned men, with which that Country did then abound. His Paraphrase of the *Psalms*, a rare Work, and other Poems, he wrote for most part whilst he stayed abroad; and for his learning and quick ingeny was admired of all men. Returning into *Scotland* about the year 1560, after he had professed Philosophy some years in *S. Leonards College* within the University of *S. Andrews*, he was chosen to attend the King, and bring him up in Letters. In his age he applied himself to write the *Scottish History*, which he penned with such judgment and eloquence as no Country can shew a better. Only in this is he justly blamed, that with the Factions of the time, and to justify the proceedings of the Noblemen against the Queen, he went too far in depressing the Royal Authority of Princes, and allowing their controlment by subjects: his bitterness also in writing of the Queen and Troubles of the time all wise men have disliked. But otherwise no man did merit better of his nation for Learning, nor thereby did bring to it more glory. He died in a great age at *Edinburgh*, and was buried in the common place, though worthy to have been laid in marble, and have had some Statue erected for his memory. But such pompous monuments in his life he was wont to scorn and despise, esteeming it a greater credit, as it was said of the *Roman Cato*, to have it asked why he doth lack a Statue, than to have had one, though never so glorious, erected.

The Summer following the King found the occasion to free himself of his Attenders. For being at *Falkland*, and pretending to visit his Uncle the Earl of *March*, who did then reside in the Abbey of *S. Andrews*; after he had taken some little refreshment, he went to take a view of the Castle, accompanied with Colonel *Stewart* Captain of the Guard, to whom he had communicated his purpose; and having entered into the Castle, commanded the gates to be shut, and these that followed to be excluded. The Earls of *Argyle*, *Marshall*, *Montrose* and *Roths*, came thither the next morning, and were all welcomed by the King. Of the Noblemen that had waited on him since his restraint at *Ruthven*, only the Earl of *Gowrie* was admitted into the Castle by the Colonels means; for he had sometimes followed him as

An. 1583.

The Negotiation took no effect.

The life and death of Mr. George Buchanan.

An. 1583.

The King freeeth himself of his Attenders Jan. 28.

An. 1583.

The Earl of
Gowrie confess-
eth his fault, &
is pardoned.

a servant. The Earl how soon he came in presence fell on his knees, and craving pardon for the fact of *Ruthven*, did humbly submit himself to the Kings mercy, who, after he had checked him in some few, but grave speeches for his ingratitude to the Duke of *Lennox*, accepted him in favor, upon condition of a more loyal behavior in time coming.

An Act follow-
ing the service
of Colonel
Stewart.

Some few days the King abode in the Castle, and in a Council kept there the second of July, made choice of the Earls of *March*, *Argile*, *Gowrie*, *Marshall*, *Montrose*, and *Roths*, to remain with him, as Noblemen that he held of best judgment, most indifferent and freest of faction; the rest he commanded to retire to their houses, till he should take farther order. In the same meeting was Colonel *Stewart's* service approved, and a Proclamation ordained to be made, charging all the subjects to contain themselves in quietness, and prohibiting any to come towards Court accompanied with a greater number than was appointed; to wit, 15 with an Earl, as many with a Bishop, ten with a Lord, and as many with an Abbot or Prior, with a Baron six; and all these commanded to come in a peaceable manner, under great penalties.

The Earl of
Arran called a-
gain to Court.

Then the King, to shew himself at Liberty, went to *Edinburgh*, and from thence he went to *Falkland*, then to *Perth*, where he remained some weeks. Being there, the Earl of *Arran* by *Gowrie's* procurement was brought again to Court, after whose coming a Declaration was published by the King to this effect.

His Majesties
Declaration
touching the
attempt of
Ruthven.

'We, with the advice of the Lords of our Privy Council, having thought expedient to notify unto the world, but especially to all our good and loyal subjects, our true mind touching the things that fell out in the year past, declare the same to be as followeth. That is, howsoever, for preserving of publick quietness, We did patiently endure the Restraint of Our Person at *Ruthven*, with the excluding of Our Counsellors from us, and all that ensued thereupon; yet did We take it deeply to heart, and did account no otherwise of it than a fact most treasonable, attending till it should please God to restore Us to Our former estate and Liberty: which having now by his goodness obtained, to make known Our indifferent disposition towards all Our good subjects, and that We do not seek the harm and ruine of any one whomsoever, We have resolved to forgive and forget all offences by-gone, especially that which was committed in *August* last, and hath been since that time strongly maintained, providing the Actors and assisters do shew themselves penitent for the same, ask pardon in due time, and do not provoke Us by their unlawful actions hereafter to remember that attempt. Willing all Our subjects, by the example of this Our clemency (whereof some already have made proof) to discharge all quarrels amongst themselves, and not to malice one another for whatsoever cause by-gone, all which We will have buried in oblivion; and to this have ordained publication to be made hereof in all the principal Burghs, &c.

The discon-
tented Lords
confined.

The discontented Lords, notwithstanding of this Declaration, were still convening, and making the best provision they could for their own surety. For at *Arran's* hand, who had now the disposing of all things, they expected no good. The King hereupon took purpose to confine some of the principals in several Countries, and to commit others who were reckoned most turbulent. The Earl of *Angus* was confined beyond *Spey*; *John Livingston* of *Dunspance* and *Patrick Drummond* of *Carnock* in the Country of *Galloway*; *Lochlevin* and *Buchan* in *Inverness*; the Master of *Glamis*, Abbot of *Dunfermlin*, and Lord of *Cleish*, were charged to enter themselves in the Castle of *Dumbritton*; *William* Commendator of *Paislay* in *Blackness*; and Mr. *John Colvill* commanded to keep Ward in *Edinburgh*. The whole (*Angus* only excepted) disobeying the charge, were denounced Rebels; and Proclamations made, commanding all the subjects to be in readines for resisting the practices of feditious subjects. An oath also was taken of all the Kings domesticks, that they should not keep intelligence with any of the Rebels or others known to be in his Majesties mal-grace. And at this time was Mr. *John Metellan*, who came afterwards to be Chancellor, admitted Counsellor of Estate.

The

All of them
(*Angus* ex-
cept) for their
disobedience
were denoun-
ced Rebels.

The Queen of England being advertised of this alteration in Court, sent Sir *Francis Walsingham*, her principal Secretary, to the King, to challenge him for breach of promise in re-admitting the Earl of *Arran*, and calling off the Noblemen who had maintained his Authority, and hazarded their lives and estates in defence of his Crown. The King answered, That he was a free Prince, and in ruling his affairs, might follow the course which he thought to be most convenient; that the Queen would not take it well, if he or any other should direct her in matters that concerned her subjects: and for the promise alledged, he said, it was made in time of his Restraint, to the performance whereof he was not tied. As to these subjects of whom the Queen seemed so careful, he said, that he had freely offered to pardon them, upon the acknowledgement of their offence and promise of amendment; which he would faithfully observe: expecting of the Queen his Sister that neighborhood which became Princes living in amity and friendship, and that she would not countenance his subjects in their Rebellion.

An. 1583.
Ambassage
from England
from the begin-
ning of September.His Majesties
answer to the
Ambassador.

The Ambassador replying, 'Sir, the Queen my Mistis will never meddle with your affairs, but to work your good and quietness; yet she taketh it unkindly, that the promises made unto her are so lightly regarded. One *Holt* an English Jesuit, who is thought to have an hand in *Throgmortons* Treason that was of late detected, being in your prison, at the request of the French Ambassador was permitted to escape; whereas the Queen my Sovereign looked daily to have him delivered in England, as was promised. Nay, said the King, it was not promised that he should be delivered, but as the Queen answered my Ambassadors, when I desired Mr. *Archibald Douglas* to be rendered, who is known to be guilty of my Fathers Murder. I said that the man was charged with certain suspicious practices in my Kingdom, which I believed first to try; and if the Queen had been pleased to have delivered my subject to me, whom I had more than reason to demand, I would have made no delay in the rendering of *Holt*. But for his dimission, or my connivance at his escape, there is no such thing; and if you know or can learn that any indirect means have been used for letting him go, the trial and punishment of the doers shall clear my part. This said, the Ambassador (who was a most worthy and discreet Gentleman) declaring that he was satisfied, fell to speak of the preservation of Peace betwixt the two Kingdoms, and of a new League to be made with the Queen; whereof the King did shew a good liking, and in these terms they left for that time.

His Majesties
answer.

In October next the Church Assembly convened at *Edinburgh*, where great regulations were made and presented in certain Articles to the King. 'First, they complained that the benefit of Pacification was extended to Mr. *David Chalmer's*, a professed enemy to Religion, and suspected of the Murder of his Majesties Father. Next, that Papists were grown too familiar in Court, and namely the Laird of *Fintry*, who had made defection from the true Religion, in which he was educated. 3. That *Holt*, a wicked Papist, sent to the Country to traffic against Religion and the State, was suffered to escape, and no trial taken of the workers thereof. 4. That his Majesty seemed to favor too much the enemies of the Truth both in France and at home. 5. That he had received in his service men of dissolute life, and who had never given any testimony of their good meaning either to Religion or the state of the Country; and put others from his service that were known to be zealous of Gods cause, and faithful to his Majesties self from his very tender age. 6. That since his acceptance of the Government, the Church had received many fair promises without any performance; and that, to the contrary, the Liberties and Privileges thereof were daily infringed. 7. That the Thirds were set in taks or leases, in default of the Church. 8. That Abbacies were disposed against the Acts of Parliament, and no care taken for provision of the Ministers that served at the Churches annexed. 9. That Spiritual livings were conferred to children, and erected in Temporal Lordships. 10. That there were no punishment for Incest, Adultery, Witchcraft, and the like abominations. 11. That there was an universal murmur, that no man could be assured of his lands and life, the Laws of the Country being wholly perverted. 12. That his Majesty did interpose his authority to stay the execution

An Assembly
of the Church.Grievances
presented to
his Majesty by
the Church.

F f 2

of

An. 1583.

of the Churches Acts in matters properly Ecclesiastical. Lastly, they regretted the division of the Nobility, one part seeking the ruine and overthrow of another: for which they did intreat his Majesty to call unto himself the most wise and indifferent amongst them, and by their advice to take some moderate course for uniting the hearts of all good subjects, to the maintenance of Gods Truth, the preservation of his Highness Person and estate, and the comfort of all that were grieved at the present Division.

The King his
Answer to the
Grievances.

The King, desiring to give the Church satisfaction, made Answer the next day to all these particulars. And first, concerning Mr. *David Chalmers*, he said, that he was only forfeited for the common action for being at Landside field, for which pardon had been given to many; so as it should not be thought strange to give him the like benefit, especially at their request who had moved him therein; and that he no ways intended to grant oversight to him or any others that should be found culpable of his Fathers Murther, or yet professed themselves adversaries to the Religion. Touching *Fintry* he said, that he had not impeded the proceedings of the Church against him or any other Popishly affected, nor had he been countenanced at Court, if the Ministers of Edinburgh had not testified that he was willing to conform. That for *Holts* escape he had satisfied the English Ambassador, and that it was no uncount thing to see a prisoner deceive his keepers. Concerning the intelligence he kept with foreign Princes, for the entertaining of civil Peace; that he did not think the Assembly would disallow it, seeing diversity of Religion made not Leagues of friendship unlawful. And that they should meddle with the choice of his servants, he held it strange; This he hoped they would remit to himself, and not to be too curious in examining the occasions of their placing or displacing. And where they complained, that since his accepting of the Government, the Liberties of the Church had been refringed; he said, that since that time more good and profitable Laws had been made for the advancement of true Religion, than ever before; and if any thing lacked in the execution, the fault was not his. For that which concerned the Church Rents; he answered, that those things must be helped in Parliament, and that he should assist the reformation thereof at his power. As for the punishment of the abominations mentioned, that the fault could not be imputed to him, sith he was willing to give Commission to such as the Ministers should judge most fit for the execution of Laws. And for Ecclesiastical Acts which his authority was said to impede, he knew none of late, only he had stayed the remove of Mr. *Alexander Arbuthnot* from the Colledge of *Aberdene* to be Minister of *S. Andrews*; which, being rightly considered, would not be found prejudicial to the Church, nor impertinent for him to deal in. Lastly for the murmur of people, perverting of Laws and differences amongst the Nobility, his Majesty said, that he was ready to hearken to any good advice for reformation of that which should be found amiss.

The Answer
did not satisfy
the Church.

The Answers all most reasonable, and proceeding from the King, ought to have been well taken; but the discontent they had received for the late change in Court made every thing distasteful, and still the displeasure betwixt the King and Church did grow as we shall hear.

Lodowick son
and heir to
the late deceased
Duke of
Lennox cometh
into Scotland,
November 13.

In the beginning of November, *Lodowick* (eldest son to the late Duke of *Lennox*) arrived at *Leith*, and was conveyed by the Earls of *Huntley*, *Crawford* and *Montrose* to the King, who lay then at *Kinneill*. Soon after the advertisement of the Noblemans death, the King had sent the Master of *Gray* into France, to bring home all his children: But *Lodowick* excepted (who then was 13 years of age) the rest were young, and not able to endure so long a journey. The King receiving him with great expressions of love, did presently invest him in his Fathers lands and honors, committing the trust of his affairs to the Earl of *Montrose*, till he should grow up to maturity. For his education in Letters, Mr. *Gilbert Moncreef*, the King his principal Physitian, was appointed to attend him, a man wise and of good learning. Some years after two of his Sisters were brought into the Country. *Henrietta* the eldest was married to *George* Earl of *Huntley*, *Mary* the younger of the two to *John* Earl of *Marre*. To the third the King had provided an honorable match, but she having vowed her self to God, would not be won from the Cloyster

The King his
kindness to
the Duke his
children.

An. 1583.

ster by any persuation. A younger Son came to the King, after he went into *England*, and was by him advanced to great honors. Thus the untimely loss of their Father did turn to the childrens benefit, by the constant and unmatched kindness of a loving King.

In the Country matters grew daily more and more troubled. Those that disobeyed the charges given them for entering in Ward, pretended the time assigned for their entry to have been so short, and the distance of the place so great, as there was no possibility in them to obey; yet under-hand they were still seeking to strengthen themselves, and associate others to be of their Faction. To take from them this pretext, the first of December was allowed them for their entering in Ward, and so many as should find surety to obey, had favor promised them. The Laird of *Braid*, *Colluthy*, Mr. *David Lindsay*, and Mr. *Andrew Hay*, were licensed also to confer with them, and with all that had any part in the attempt of *Ruthven*, for informing them of his Majesties gracious inclination towards all of that number who should acknowledge their offence, and live obedient and peaceably from thence forth. But little or nothing was wrought this way; whereupon the King took purpose to convene the Estates the 17 of December: and having expounded his who's proceeding in that business, an Act was passed by an universal consent, of this tenor.

A Convention
of Estates.

'Albeit the late Surprise and Restraint of Our Person, perpetrated in August bygone a year, was a crime of *lese Majestatis*, hainous in it self, of dangerous sequel, and most pernicious example, meriting the more severe punishment, because the committers thereof for the most part, besides the allegiance and common duty of subjects, were specially bound to Us by particular favors and benefits bestowed on them: yet, out of Our natural disposition to clemency, We resolved to reduce them by all gentle means to their duties; and not only forbear to use them with rigor but made offer of pardon and mercy to such as would acknowledge their offence, and continue thereafter in a dutiful obedience; satisfying Our selves with that moderate declaration which tended not in any sort to their detriment, and prorogating days and months, to see what they could perform. Hereof We gave our promise to the Queen of *England*, which was certified to them by divers, and of late by certain Ministers and well-disposed Gentlemen, whom We licensed to confer with them, for persuading them of Our sincere meaning: behaving Our selves in all this as a kind Father that seeketh to recover his children, and not as a Prince that respected his estate. But Our Lenity not having produced the effects which were wished, We took counsel to assemble Our Estates, and make them witnesses of Our Clemency, whatsoever might happen to their persons hereafter: and now by their advice We have determined to prosecute with all rigor such of that number as shall continue in their disobedience, and shall not embrace the offers of Pardon made unto them. In the execution whereof, Our Nobility and Estates convened have solemnly promised their assistance, and for the greater authority both We and our said Estates have subscribed this Act with our hands. Farther, by their advice We have ordained, and ordain the Act of Council past in October 1582, touching the attempt at *Ruthven*, to be delete forth of the Books, inhibiting all and sundry of whatsoever estate, quality and degree, to allow by word, writing, or otherwise, the foresaid fact, which We (being now at Liberty) and our Estates have so publicly condemned.

Prorogation
granted to
those that were
charged to enter
in Ward.

An offer of
pardon to
those who will
acknowledge
their offence
at *Ruthven*.

This Act made, the Earl of *Roths* protested, that his Subscription to the Act in October 1582, approving the Attempt of *Ruthven* for good service, should not be laid to his charge, seeing he did the same unwillingly, and by his Majesties special command and direction, like as soon after the committing of the fact he had testified his dislike thereof. The King, acknowledging the same to be of truth, made his Protestation to be admitted. Then began all the Faction to fall asunder, every man suing his pardon, which was granted, upon condition they should depart forth of the Realm, and not return without his Majesties licence. The Earl of *Marre* the Master of *Glamis*, with the Abbots of *Driburgh* and *Cambuskenneth*, went into *Ireland*; the Lord *Boyd*, *Lochlevin* and *Easter Wemyss* unto France; others of the meaner sort were confined within certain bounds. The Earl of *Gowry*, notwithstanding

The Earl of
Roths his
protestation.

An. 1584.

standing he was reconciled to *Arran*, fearing to be troubled, obtained licence to go into *France*; but whilest he delays to go, and putteth off his journey from day to day, he falleth into new practices, which brought him unto his end.

John Dury questioned for allowing the attempt at *Ruthven*.

The rest of the Witner was quiet, but now and then the Court was kept in exercises by the Sermons of some preachers, who were therefore called in question. *John Dury*, Minister at *Edinburgh*, had in one of his Sermons justified publickly the act of *Ruthven*: for which being cited before the Council, he stood to the defence of that he had spoken; yet, after advice taken with Mr. *James Lawson* his Colleague, he was moved to submit himself to the King, who continued the declaration of his pleasure, till he had proof of his better behavior. The business with Mr. *Andrew Melvil* was greater; for he being cited to answer for certain speeches uttered by him in a Sermon preached at *S. Andrews*, declined the judgment of the King and Council, affirming, *That what was spoken in Pulpit ought first to be tried and judged by the Presbytery; and that neither the King nor Council might, in prima instantia, meddle therewith, though the speeches were treasonable.* When by no persuasion he could be induced to submit himself, and that the King and Council, finding themselves Judges, did proceed to examine the witnesses; he burst forth in undutiful speeches against the King, saying, *He perverted the Laws both of God and man.* Which unreverent words proceeding from a Divine, in whom moderation and humility should chiefly have appeared, did greatly offend the Council. Thereupon was he charged to enter his person in *Blackness* within the space of ten hours; but in stead of obeying, he turned his back, and fled that night to *Berwick*. Then did all the Pulpits sound, and every day were the Ministers exclaiming, that *the Light of the Country for Learning, and he that was only most fit to resist the adversaries of Religion, was exiled, and compelled for safety of his life to quit the Kingdom.*

Mr. Andrew Melvil fleeth into *England*.

The King his Proclamations misregarded.

The Earl of Gowry, having obtained licence to go into *France*, delayeth to use it.

An. 1584. Being at *Dundee*, he is apprehended by Colonel *Stewart*, April 16.

The Castle of *Striveling* surprised April 18.

The King prepareth to go towards *Striveling*. The Rebels flee into *England*.

Pity it is to think how the King was then used: for though he cleared himself by Proclamations, shewing that the mans flight was voluntary, and that he meant not to have used him with any rigor; yet nothing was believed, and every where people began to stir. Hereupon charges were directed, commanding those who had obtained leave to depart out of the Realm, to use the benefit of their licences, and inhibiting all intelligence by Letters or otherwise with those that are already gone. This wrought not much, only made those that travelled to and fro with advertisements the more wary and circumspect. The Earl of *Gowry*, to liberate himself of suspicion, came to *Dundee*, and conducting a Ship gave out that he would forthwith depart; yet still he lingered, attending the return of the Earl of *Marre* and the Master of *Glamis* from *Ireland*, at which time he and others of that Faction were to joyn and take Arms for reformation of abuses, the securing of religion, and preservation of the King his Person and Estate; for that was made the pretext.

The King, having notice given him of these practices, sent Colonel *Stewart*, Captain of the guard, to apprehend the Earl of *Gowry*, who was suspected because of his lingring. The Colonel coming upon him unexpected as he lay in the house of *William Drummond*, Burgess of *Dundee*, he made to defend the lodging, and stood to it some space; but the Town concurring with the Captain, he was forced to yield, and the next day conveyed to *Edinburgh*, and committed to the custody of *Arran*. A night or two after the Earls of *Angus* and *Marre*, with some of their friends and followers, surprised the Town and Castle of *Striveling*, intending there to fortifie themselves. But the sudden expedition which the King made compelled them to fly into *England*, and leave the Castle victualled for some days, and in it a few Gentlemen whom they promised to relieve. Such a readines the King found in his subjects at this time, as upon a short warning a greater Army and better appointed was in no mans memory known to have been assembled. The Town of *Edinburgh* shewed a great forwardness; for both they advanced monys to levy souldiers, and put divers of their own inhabitants in Arms to attend the King. It was the 19 of *April* when knowledge was given first of the taking of *Striveling*, and before 24 all the Army was in readines to march. The same day advertisement came of the Rebels flight; Whereupon the Wardens and Keepers of the Marches were

were directed to pursue them. The King himself with the Army marching towards *Striveling*, *Alexander Master of Levingston* was sent to inclose the Castle, which yielded upon the hearing of his Majesties approach, and was delivered in keeping to the Earl of *Arran*.

The Earl of *Gowry*, after he had been kept some days in *Kinneil*, was brought to *Striveling*. Before his transporting from *Edinburgh*, the Earl of *Montrose*, the Lord *Down* and Mr. *Robert Melvil* were directed to examine him, and hopes given that he should find favor if he would discover the Conspiracy and what the Rebels had intended to do. He, upon promise that what he declared should not be made an endictment against himself, disclosed all the Plot, setting down the same with his own hand, as followeth.

'Perceiving his Majesties favor altered towards me, by misreport of my unfriends, and my life and my living aimed at, I was of necessity forced to seek my relief by concurring with others of the Nobility who labored to secure themselves and their estates. And hearing that there was some trafficking betwixt the Noblemen in *Ireland* and others at home, I used all means, though I was suspected by them, to know what their courses and hopes were: after some diligence I made that way, I met with Mr. *James Areskin*, who travelled to and fro betwixt them. And he at first obscured himself from me, and would not be plain, till I promised my assistance: Then he shewed me that he had been with the Earl of *Angus*, whom he found cold, and in some hope to make address for himself, and so less careful of their relief who were absent. Yet he believed, if the Nobleman saw any good concurrence of others, he would give his assistance: but refused to deal in these matters, till they should return, and things be determined with a common consent. This I thought likewise fittest; but in the mean time I prepared to depart, and would have been gone, if contrary winds had not stayed me. The same Gentleman came afterwards unto me, and shewed that they were returned, and would shortly be seen at *Striveling*. This moved me to remain, albeit doubting of a sufficient concurrence of Noblemen, I was not resolved what course to take, and lay in a careless security at *Dundee*, more inclined to go than to stay. I protest always before God, that I never heard nor was in counsel of any plot against his Majesties Person, Crown or Estate, but only studied to keep my self from ruine by the assistance of others. At our meeting together, unto which time all was deferred, it was thought that a course should be taken by common advice for securing our selves in his Majesties favor. And whereas I am asked what Noblemen were privy to the enterprise, and what was looked for from *England*, I will truly declare all, upon the firm assurance of his Majesties clemency. At home it was expected, that all those who subscribed the Bond in that first alteration would joyn themselves with us, and besides those divers others; namely, the Earl of *Marshall* and *Bothwell*, with the Lord *Lindesay*, and some of the West parts. So it was affirmed to me, but how truly I cannot say. From *England* we expected a supply, but no certain time was appointed; and it was said, that the Queen minded to intercede for restitution of the *Hamiltons*, if she found the King tractable. This is all I know, and if there be any other particular tending to his Majesties well or hurt which I do not at the present remember, I shall plainly reveal the same, whosoever be offended therewith.

At his coming to *Striveling* he sent to the King a Letter penned in this form. 'Please your Majesty, it is neither diffidence nor despair in your Highness favor and clemency towards me, nor any desire I have to live in this world, that moves me to require some short audience of your Majesty. But there is a purpose of so weighty importance, which I desire to impart unto your Highness, which might have endangered the life and estate of your Mother and your self, if I had not stayed and impeded the same, the revealing whereof may avail your Majesty more than the lives and livings of 500 such as my self. Most humbly therefore I beseech your Highness that my Petition may be granted. I assure my self of your Majesties gracious answer. *Striveling* the last of *April*, 1584. In a Postscript this was added. 'The matter I have to speak is not the concealing of Treason, but the revealing of a Benefit.

An. 1584.

The Castle rendered April 27. Gowry examined touching the Conspiracy.

His Confession set down by himself in writing.

A Letter from Gowry to his Majesty.

This

An. 1584.
He is denied
audience, and
put to the
trial of a Jury.
The points of
his Indictment.

This Petition was denied and the same made a part of his Indictment: for being brought to his Trial the 4. of May, Mr. John Grahame sitting as Justice, and assisted by Sir John Gordon of Lochinvar, Alexander Master of Levingston, Alexander Bruce of Airth, and James Edminston of Dunraith, he was indicted of four points. First, that in the beginning of February Mr. David Home, servant to the Earl of Marre, came to him privately in the town of Perth, under silence of night, and communicated to him the treasonable device of surprising the Burghs of Perth and Strive-ling, at least of one or other of them; and that he agreed to the taking and fortifying of the said Towns; whereby he had incurred the crime of Treason, as well in concealing, as consenting to that wicked purpose. 2. That understanding Mr. James Areskin to be a trafficker betwixt Marre, Angus and others, he did belay the ways, to the end he might speak with him, and after meeting kept conference with him rouching the surprise of the Castle of Strive-ling, and the furnishing thereof with men and ammunition. 3. That being charged in Dundee by his Majesties Lettersto render himself to the Lord Pettenweyme, his Majesties Chancellor, and Captain of his Highness Guard, he did enter into the house of William Drummond Burges of Dundee, and with his Complices defended the same by the space of 6 hours, making exclamations to the people, that he was pursued for Religion, and desiring them to aid and assist him. 4. That he being obliged to maintain his Majesties Person, Life, Honor and Crown, and having intelligence of a most weighty purpose that concerned the life and estate of the King and the Queen his Mother, he had treasonably concealed the same, and did as yet keep up the specialties thereof; albeit he professed he knew it so perfectly, that in his letter written to the King he saith, that it had not failed to have taken effect, if he had not stayed and impeded the same.

His exceptions
repelled.

The Indictment read, he first excepted against Lochinvar, that he could not be Assessor to the Justice in his Trial in regard of the deadly enmity betwixt Gartland (who had married his Ladies sister) and him. This Exception was repelled, because the propinquity alledged was only *affinitas affinitatis*. Then he complained that the Noblemen who were sent to examine him had not kept their word, having promised, that whatsoever he had confessed should not be laid to his charge. It was answered that the Noblemens word could not warrant him. Thirdly, he said, that being indicted for Treason, he ought to have been cited upon 40 days, and a delation made by some accuser, which was not observed. The Advocate replied, that in matters of Treason the King might arrest any person upon the space it pleased him. Fourthly, he alleged the licence granted him to depart the Country. This was found nought, except he did therewith produce a respite or remission. To the last point of the Indictment he said, that what he offered to reveal tended to his benefit if he had vouchsafed him hearing, and was no matter of Treason. It was answered, that the concealing of that might tend to the hurt of the Kings Life and Mothers, was Treason.

The names of
the Assisers.

So the Indictment was found relevant, and the persons of the Jury called. These were, Colin Earl of Argyle, David Earl of Crawford, John Earl of Montross, James Earl of Glencar, Hugh Earl of Eglington, James Earl of Arran, George Earl of Marshall, Alexander Lord Seaton, Hugh Lord Sommerville, James Lord Down, William Lord Levingston, Patrick Lord Drummond, James Lord Ogilvy, Alexander Master of Oliphant, and John Murray of Tullibardin. They retiring themselves, as the custom is, and returning within a short space, pronounced him guilty: whereupon Sentence was given, that he should be taken to the Market-Cross, have his Head cut off, and he dismembered as a Traitor. The last part thereof was dispensed, and he in the evening beheaded. His servants were permitted to take the head with the body, and bury it. This was the end of that Nobleman, who in his life was much honored, and employed in the chief Offices of Court: a man wife, but said to have been too curious, and to have consulted with Wizards touching the state of things in future times; yet was he not charged with this; nor seemed he to be touched therewith in his death, which to the judgment of the beholders was very peaceable and quiet. He was heard to make that common regret which many great men have

Gowry found
guilty, and
sentence pro-
nounced.

His Executi-
on and man-
ner of death.

have done in such misfortunes. *That if he had served God as faithfully as he had done the King, he had not come to that end,* but otherwise died patiently, with a contempt of the world, and assurance of mercy at the hands of God. An. 1584.

The same day Archibald Douglas (called the Constable,) and Mr. John Forbes servant to the Earl of Marre, were executed. The rest who were taken in the Castle had their lives spared, and were banished the Country; and David Home of Argaty, and one John Shaw, were pardoned. Archibald Douglas and another executed.

The King after this returned to Edinburgh, where he gave order for charging the houses of the fugitive Lords and their friends; and upon information made that certain of the Ministry had dealing with the Rebels, summons were directed to charge Mr. Andrew Hay Parson of Ransfrew, Mr. Andrew Palwart Subdean of Glasgow, Mr. Patrick Galloway and Mr. James Carmichael Ministers, to compare before the Council. Mr. Andrew Hay compeired, and nothing being qualified against him, was upon suspicion confined in the North. The other three not compeiring were denounced Rebels, and fled into England. The houses of the Rebels charged. Ministers called in question for the Conspiracy.

The Parliament declared current at the time, for the more speedy dispatch of business, convened the 22 of May. In it His Majesties Declaration concerning the attempt of Ruthven was ratified; The King his Authority over all persons in all causes confirmed; The declining of his Majesties judgment and the Councils in whatsoever matter declared to be treason; The impugning of the Authority of the three Estates, or procuring the innovation or diminution of the power of any of them, inhibited under the same pain; All Jurisdictions and Judicatures, spiritual or temporal, not approved of by his Highness and the three Estates, discharged; and an Ordinance made, *That none, of whatsoever function, quality or degree, should presume privately or publickly, in Sermons, Declamations or familiar conferences, to utter any false, untrue or slanderous speeches, to the reproach of his Majesty, his Council and proceedings, or to the dishonor, hurt or prejudice of his Highness, his Parents and Progenitors, or to meddle with the affairs of his Highness and Estates, under the pains contained in the Acts of Parliaments made against the makers and reporters of Lies.*

Whilest these Statutes were in framing, the Ministers who were informed thereof, to work at least a delay, sent Mr. David Lindsay to intreat the King that nothing should pass in Act concerning the Church, till they were first heard. Arran getting intelligence of this, caused arrest him, as one that kept intelligence with England; so as he was not permitted to come towards the King. The first night he was kept in Halirudhouse, and the next morning sent prisoner to Blackness, where he was detained 47 weeks. Mr. James Lawson and Mr. Walter Balcanquhal Ministers of Edinburgh, hearing that he was committed, forsook their Charge, and fled into England, leaving a short writing behind them, to show the reasons of their departing.

Mr. David
Lindsay Mi-
nister at Leith
committed.

John Dury some weeks before was removed and confined in the Town of Montross, so as Edinburgh was left without any Preacher. Mr. Robert Pont, Minister of S. Cuthberts, and one of the Senators of the College of Justice, because of the misregard of the Church, as he pretended, in concluding these Acts (as the Heralds were proclaiming them according to the Custom) took instruments in the hands of a Notary of the Churches disaffenting, and that they were not obliged to give their obedience thereto; which done, he likewise fleeing was denounced Rebel, put from the place in Session. The Ministers at Edinburgh flee to England.

Rumors hereupon being dispersed that the King was declined to Popery, had made divers Acts to hinder the free passage of the Gospel, and abolish all order and policy in the Church, command was given to form a brief Declaration of his Majesties intention in those Acts that concerned the Church, and to publish the same for detecting the fallhood of those rumors. In this Declaration the occasions that enforced the King to the making of these Statutes were particularly set down, and the equity thereof maintained by divers reasons. Amongst the occasions were reckoned the allowance of the fact of Ruthven by the assembly of the Church; Mr. Andrew Melvil his declining of the King and Council; the Fast kept at the Feasting of the French Ambassadors; general Fasts indicted through the Realm.

The Ministers
at Edinburgh
flee to England

Mr. Robert Pont
protesteth a-
gainst the Acts.

An. 1584.

Libels and
Pamphlets
against the
Rulers of the
Court.A Letter from
the Ministers
of Edinburgh
to the Session
of the Church
and Council
of the Town.By the Kings
direction an
answer is re-
turned in this
form.

' Realm without the King his knowledge; the usurping of the Ecclesiastical jurisdiction by a number of Ministers and Gentlemen; the alteration of the Laws at their pleasure, and a number of like abuses. And for satisfying good people, strangers as well as subjects, touching his Majesties good affection towards the maintenance of Religion; certain Articles were drawn up and subjoined to the said Declaration, to make it appear that his Majesty had intended nothing but to have a settled form of Policy established in the Church.

But these things gave not much satisfaction (so great was the discontent) and were replied unto in Pamphlets, defamatory Libels and scurril Poems, which daily came forth against the Court, and the Rulers of it. To furnish the vacant places of Edinburgh, till some were moved to undertake the charge, the King did appoint his own Ministers, Mr. John Craig and Mr. John Duncan, the Archbishop of S. Andrews supplying the ordinary preaching at Court. Soon after there came a Letter from the Ministers, directed to the Session of the Church at Edinburgh, and to the Council of the Town, of this tenor.

' That seeing they were assured many calumnies would be forged against them for absenting themselves from their Flock, they thought good to write unto them the true causes thereof; which were as they said, The great indignation conceived against them by the Rulers of the Court, for resisting the dangerous courses then in hand; the Acts made in the late Parliament repugnant to the Word of God and Doctrine oftentimes by them preached; the iniquity committed in the passing the said Acts, and violence wherein they were defended; the Articles penned and presented to some Ministers for submitting themselves to the tyrannical Regiment of Bishops, whom they called *gross Libertines, Belly-gods, and infamous*; the charge given to the Provost and Bayliffs of Edinburgh, to take and apprehend all Ministers that should convene to the Eldership, and those that in Sermon should utter any thing against the Acts and present unhappy course; with the insolent words cast forth against them, That if they followed the same course they were in, though their heads were as haystacks they should be laid at their heels. These things they said did cast them in a grievous temptation: for to go from their good course they could not, unless they should be Traitors to God; to continue in it and stay would be counted Treason against the King, and be hazardous of their Flock that was charged to apprehend them, in case of condemning these Acts; which they could not do: and that after a long wrestling they had resolved to depart, and reserve themselves to better times; which they were assured was the pleasure of God, and that he would make the world understand that he had his own work in it. In end beseeching them to stand to these things which they had heard from them, and imbraced as the Truth of God, they forewarned them of wolves that should intrude themselves, Teachers that sought themselves and not Christ Jesus; which often they had foretold the contempt of the Truth would work: And concluded with an hope that they should sustain the present Cross patiently, and be united to them again in God his good time.

The King hearing of this Letter sent for the same, and offending greatly thereat, would have received the Session and Council to answer them in this form.

We have received and read your Letter, for the which offence we have humbly craved his Majesties pardon, and not only obtained the same, but have likewise purchased liberty to write unto you this present, wherein we use you more charitably than you have used us, remitting to learned men and your own Consciences to shew you, seeing you are not blinded with ignorance nor lack learning (at the least some of you) how far ye have strayed from the right way in your Letter lately sent to us, unreverently affirming his Highness Acts of Parliament to be repugnant to the Word of God: we tell you that the same do fully content and satisfy us, seeing we can find no part of Scripture that is contrary thereto. And sith we see by the first Act, the liberty of Preaching the Word, as the same is presently professed, and ministration of the Sacraments ratified and allowed, and that we know there are wise men and fearing God amongst the Estates who concluded these Acts; we are resolved to follow the Apostles counsel in Rom. 13. whereunto you did seldom exhort us. And now in respect you have so contemptuously

contemptuously slandered these good and necessary Laws established by his Majesty and the Estates, and laboured so far as you can to draw men unto dislike thereof, fled out of the Realm unchallenged and unpursued, and thereby have not only declared your selves guilty, but also misbehaved your selves to us your late Flock, first in leaving us without our knowledge, against your duty, and the conditions made unto us, next in drawing upon us his Majesties suspicion, that we foreknew your departure, which of new ye have confirmed by sending a Letter to us, you being his Majesties Rebels and fugitives: In respect, we say, of all the foresaid causes, we by these presents discharge our selves unto you, esteeming our selves no longer your Flock, nor you any more our Pastors; and thanking God, the revealer of secrets, that he hath made you manifest to your shame, and relieved us of Wolves in stead of Pastors. Thus hoping his Majesty will provide us of good and quieter-spirited Ministers, we commit you to Gods mercy, who may give you to repent of your foresaid offences.

This Letter sent to the Council and Session of the Church to be subscribed made a great business: the Town fearing to displease the King; and to discharge with their Ministers in such a form, laying upon them the reproaches of *Fugitives, Rebels, Wolves*, and the rest, they thought would be ill taken of all good men: yet after much ado, sixteen of the principals put their hands unto it, and so was it dispatched. The Ministers having received and read the Letter were mightily grieved, especially Mr. James Lawson, who had taken greatly to heart the Troubles of the Church, and the advertisements which were given him of the success of matters at home; and now perceiving by this Letter that some, who professed themselves very forward in the cause, had turned their backs upon it, he fell in a great sorrow, and thereby contracted a sickness, whereof he died at London in October following. A man he was of good learning and judgment, of a pious and peaceable disposition, but carried too much with the idle rumors of the people. After his course of studies passed in the University of S. Andrews, he was employed by the Countess of Crawford, a Noble Lady, to attend her three Sons, whom she sent to France; and upon their return, to shew his gratitude unto the School wherein he was educated, gave himself to read the Hebrew tongue to some youths in the same University. From thence he was called to be Principal in the old College of *Aberdene*; and after three years profitably spent in that place, was brought, as we shewed before, to Edinburgh, where he continued Preacher the space of 12 years, in great esteem and reputation, until these unhappy times, which bereft his Church and Country of him and his labours. He died in the 46 year of his age, and was buried in the new Church-yard of London, at the side of Mr. Dearing, famous Preacher in that Church.

His death bringeth to mind other two learned men in this Church, Mr. Alexander Arbuthnot, and Mr. Thomas Smeton, the one Principal of *Aberdene*, and the other of *Glasgow* College, who in the end of the last year nigh about the same time departed this life, to the great loss both of the Country and Church. The first a Gentleman born of the House of Arbuthnot in *Mernis*, being trained up in the study of Letters, and having the course of Philosophy in the same College with Mr. Lawson, went to France at the age of twenty three years; there applying himself to the Laws he lived five years an Auditor of that great Doctor *Cujacius*, and being made Licentiate, returned to Scotland in the year one thousand five hundred three-score and six, of purpose to follow that calling; but God otherwise disposing, in the year 1569 he was made Principal of the College of *Aberdene*, where, by his diligent teaching and dextrous government, he not only revived the study of good Letters, but gained many from the Superstitions whereunto they were given. He was greatly loved of all men, hated of none, and in such account for his moderation with the chief men of these parts, that without his advice they could almost do nothing: which put him in a great fastherness, whereof he did often complain. Pleasant and jocund in conversation, and in all Sciences expert; a good Poet, Mathematician, Philosopher, Theologue, Lawyer, and in Medicine skilful; so as in every subject he could promptly discourse, and to good purpose. He died in the 45 year of his age much lamented, and was buried in the College-Church at *Aberdene* the 20 of October, 1583.

An. 1584.

The Letter
grieveth the
Ministers ex-
ceedingly.Mr. James
Lawson died
at London.Mr. Alexander
Arbuthnot his
death.

Within

An. 1584.

Mr. Thomas
Smeton his
death.

Within some few days he was followed by Mr. *Thomas Smeton*. This man born in *Gask*, a little Village not far from *Pertb*, studied Philosophy in *S. Salvator's* College at *S. Andrews*, under Mr. *William Cranston* at that time Provost of the House, by whose persuasion he went beyond Sea; and after he had remained a while at *Paris*, took journey to *Rome*, where entering the Society of the *Jesuits* he abode three years. Thereafter coming home for some private business, when he had felted the same, he returned to *Paris*, and kept still in that Society. In the year 1571, *Thomas Metellan*, travelling through *France* into *Italy*, did request his company in that journey; whereunto he yielded, and went with him to *Italy*: but the Gentleman contracting sickness by the way and dying, he returned by *Geneva*, and was there confirmed in the Religion to which a little before he was inclining when he went to *Paris*. After he had revealed himself to some Principals of the Society, he forsook their Profession, and was in danger to have been killed at the Massacre which fell out at the same time; but by the favor of Sir *Thomas Walsingham*, the *English* Ambassador, he was saved, and came in his company to *England*. Five years he remained at *Colchester* in *Essex*, teaching some youths of the Country, and in the year 1578 returned into *Scotland*. In the year 1580, upon the remove of Mr. *Andrew Melvil* to the new College of *S. Andrews*, he was chosen Principal of the College of *Glasgow*, and taught the Controversies there some three years with great profit. He was a man learned in the Languages, and well seen in ancient Fathers, the reading of whose works he did ever seriously recommend to the youth. The answer he penned in defence of this Church against Mr. *Archibald Hamilton*, and other Dictates which are yet in the hands of his disciples, do show his worth, and the loss this Church received by his death. He deceased at *Glasgow* the 6 of *December*, 1583, in the 47 year of his age, and was buried in the Cathedral Church.

The Ministers
charged with
the Subscription
of certain
Articles.

These deaths falling so quick one after another were taken to be a presage of great Troubles in the Church, nor was it long before these stirs happened of which we have spoken. All this Summer the same continued, the Ministers being daily called before the Council, and a great business made of their Subscription to certain Articles which concerned their obedience to the Bishops: they who refused had their Stipends sequestered, which caused a great outcry amongst the people, and made the Rebels to be more favored. The King, to rid himself of these vexatious, did call the principal Ministers, and having shewed that all his desire was to have the Church peaceably governed, and a decent Policy established, he willed them to set down in writing the Reasons which moved them to refuse subscription, that he might consider the same, and satisfy their doubts. They chusing rather to propound the same by word of mouth, were after some Conference induced to set their hands to the Articles; this clause being added (*agreeing with the Word of God.*)

Mr. Nicol Dalgleish
condemned.

Yet new occasions of trouble were still breaking forth. Upon information that Mr. *Nicol Dalgleish*, Minister at *S. Cuthberts*, did in his publick prayers remember the exiled brethren, he was called before the Council, and accused for praying for the Kings Rebels, as also for keeping intelligence with them by Letters. The Minister confessed his praying for the brethren, maintaining the same to be lawful, but the intelligence he denied; only granted that he had seen a letter written by Mr. *Walter Balcanquhal* to his wife, wherein he was kindly remembred. The King offended with his answers, commanded the Advocate to pursue him criminally; which was done the next day. At his appearing before the Justice, when he heard the Indictment, he said, *That he ought not to be questioned for one and the same fact before two Judicatories; and that having answered these points before the Council, he should not be put again to it.* The Advocate replying that the Councils proceeding could not stay the criminal Judge; he was commanded to answer, and to do it advisedly, seeing it concerned his life. *If I must answer, said he, I do not think that I have offended in praying for my brethren, who are in trouble; and for the Letter I saw, if the concealing thereof be a fault, I submit my self to his Majesties will.* The Jury proceeding declared him guilty of Treason: yet the sentence was continued, and he sent to the *Tolbuith*, where he remained some months, and in end upon his Supplication was pardoned and put to liberty.

In

In the same Court *David Home* of *Argathy*, with *Patrick Home* his brother, were condemned to die for keeping intelligence with the Commendatory of *Driburgh*, and in the afternoon executed. Yet was it no matter of State, but some private Accounts that rested undischarged at his parting forth of the Country, wherein they had interchanged one or two Letters. This severity was universally disliked, but that which shortly after ensued was much more hateful. To breed a terror in people, and cause them abstain from communicating in any fort with the exiled Lords, a Proclamation was made, *That whosoever should discover any person of sending in that kind, should besides his own pardon receive a special reward.* Hereupon did one *Robert Hamilton* of *Eglismachan* delate *Malcolm Douglas* of *Mains* and *John Cunningham* of *Drumwhassill* for having conspired to intercept the King at hunting, and detain him in some strong Hold, till the Lords might come and receive him. A meer Forgery, yet gladly hearkened unto by those that desired to be rid of them; for they were both Gentlemen of good respect, and mistrusted of the Court, *Mains* especially, because of his valor and manhood. To make out the Accusation, it was devised, that Sir *James Edmonston* of *Duntraith*, who had lived in great familiarity with them, should be charged with the said crime, and upon his confession to be pardoned; which by the policy of the Accuser, to his own perpetual discredit, he was menaced to yield unto.

Matters thus dressed, Colonel *William Stewart* was sent to apprehend them, who finding them in their own houses, did without any resistance bring them prisoners to *Edinburgh*. The ninth of *February* they were presented before the Justice, Mr. *John Grahame* sitting as Deputy, and Mr. *Edward Bruce* as assessor. Beginning made with *Duntraith*, he was indicted for conspiring with *Mains* and *Drumwhassill*, (the accuser *Hamilton*) and others, for taking and detaining the King in the manner aforesaid, which was said to be plotted by the Earl of *Angus*, and imparted to him and the rest on pannel by *John Home*, commonly called *Black John*. He, without making any defence, contended all, betaking him to the Kings mercy. *Drumwhassill* accused of the same conspiracy, and of consulting with *Duntraith* thereupon at the Churches of *Strahlen* and *Killern*, was farther charged with the treasonable attempt of *Ruthven*, whereof he had been partaker. What he answered, I find not in the process: but when *Mains* his Indictment was read, he denied all, and so cleared himself by the unlikelihood, and their impossibility to compass a business of that importance, to all that were present, as in their hearts they did pronounce him innocent. Notwithstanding they all three were convicted, and declared guilty of Treason. Doom was only pronounced against *Drumwhassill* and *Mains*, and they the same day hanged in the publick street of *Edinburgh*. The Gentlemens case was much pitied, *Mains* his case especially. *Hamilton*, who made the delation, lived after this in a continual fear, and abhorred of all men: he kept still in the company of *Arran*, unto the alteration of Court at *Striveling*; at which time *James Johnston* of *Westram*, pretending a vow that he had made to revenge *Mains* his death, did kill him as he was flying through the Park on the South side of the Town.

These cruel and rigorous proceedings caused such a general fear, as all familiar society and intercourse of humanity was in a manner left, no man knowing to whom he might safely speak or open his mind. *Arran* in the mean time went on, drawing into his own hands the whole managing of affairs, for he would be sole and supreme over all. The Earl of *Argyle* having departed this life the year preceding, he was created Chancellor. The office of Secretary he gave to Mr. *John Metellan*, *Lethingtons* son, having banished the Abbot of *Dunfermlin*, who formerly possessed the same. The Castles of *Edinburgh* and *Striveling* he had himself in custody, then made himself be chosen Provost of the Town; and as if all this had not been enough, he was declared General Lieutenant over the whole Kingdom. In a word, whatsoever he pleased was done, and without him nothing could be done. This stirred up great emulation against him in Court. The Master of *Gray*, a great favorite at that time, did take it disdainfully that every thing should be governed by him; Sir *Lewis Ballenden* Justice Clerk, a man of brave spirit, did also hardly endure it; and Mr. *John Metellan*, though he had followed him still from *Mortons*

G g

Execution

An. 1584.

David Home
and his brother
executed.Robert Hamilton
of Eglismachan
delateth the Laids of
Drumwhassill
and Mains.Drumwhassill
and Mains
put to a Trial.They are
found guilty
and executed.The unhappy
end of Hamilton
the delator.Arran his power
and credit at Court.

An. 1585.

Execution to that time, began to fall away and work his own credit: those things were cunningly dissembled as among Courtiers, and all outward respect given him by those that were plotting his ruine.

Arran labor-
eth to gain
the Queen of
England.

12 August.

The Master of
Gray sent into
England the
beginning of
October.

The Archbi-
shop of S. An-
drews sent in-
to England.

The Queens
answer to the
Master of Gray.

The Justice
Clerk direct-
ed into Eng-
land, April
1585.

The banished
Lords chal-
lenged by the
Justice Clerk.

Arran draw-
eth much envy
upon himself.

His falling out
with the Lord
Maxwel.

To his felicity nothing, as he thought, was wanting but the friendship of England; this he was advised by the Master of Gray to seek by the Lord Hunsdons means, who lay then Governor of Berwick: a meeting whereupon wrought betwixt them, and at Fuldens some three miles from Berwick (whither Arran went) matters so dressed, as upon the assurance of his service to the Queen of England, it was promised that the exiled Lords, who lay near the Borders waiting to raise some stir, should be called to London, and upon verification of the Conspiracy wherewith Mains and the rest were charged, put forth of England. In this hope the Master of Gray is sent into England, and Commission given him for remanding the fugitive Rebels; or, if that could not be obtained, for removing them farther off from the Borders of Scotland: more privately he was desired to use all means for winning the Queens favor to the Earl of Arran. And for preparing the way to his Legation, the Archbishop of S. Andrews was sent some weeks before to inform the Queen of the King his sincerity in Religion, because of the rumor which the Ministers who fled thither had dispersed to the contrary. The Queen, professing to have received great content by his information, recommended to the King above all things constancy in his Profession, assuring him in that case of her unchangeable friendship.

The Master of Gray at his coming had favourable acceptance, though he was known to be a Catholick Roman; and for the point of remanding was answered, that he did not think those Gentlemen whom the King called Rebels intended any harm to his Person, but if the contrary was made to appear, they should not be suffered to remain in her Kingdoms: And for that the King required touching their farther remove from the Borders, the same was promised, and the Lords accordingly called from thence, and commanded to stay at Norwich. This answer reported to the King by the Master of Gray at his return, drew another Legation, wherein Sir Lewis Ballenden Justice Clerk was employed. The thing committed to him was the Accusation of the banished Lords, and verifying against them the Conspiracy for which Mains and Drumwhaffill had suffered.

The Lords upon this were brought from Norwich to London, and there challenged by the Ambassador, who, as appeared, insisted with great fervor against them. But the Master of Glamis, answering for the rest, made their innocency in that particular to be clearly seen, which was heard no less willingly by the Judges than delivered by the Speaker. Neither was the Accuser any worse minded towards them, for all the shew he made; and at the same time were grounds laid both for their restitution, and Arran his subversion; the Queen and Council of England being privy to all, and secretly advancing their enterprise. Arran in the mean time had assurance given him of the Queens friendship, and supposing all things to be right, went on in his accustomed manner, not caring what enmity he drew upon himself. The Earl of Athol, the Lord Home and Master of Cassils were committed to prison. The first, because he refused to divorce from his Wife (a Daughter of the Earl of Gowry) and entail his lands to him; the next, for that he denied him his part of the lands of Dirleton; and the third, for denying him a loan of some monys, which it was thought he might spare.

His last falling out in that kind was with the Lord Maxwel, for an excambion of the Barony of Mernis and the lands of Maxwel-beugh with the Barony of Kinneil, which he possessed by the forfeiture of the Hamiltons. Maxwel, not liking to change his old inheritance with such a new and uncertain purchase, excused himself, and would not hearken to the change: but he thinking to force him thereto by some indirect means, travelleth with the Lady Johnston, who gave attendance at Court, to cause her Husband to accept of the Provostry of Dunfreis, and moveth the King to write unto the Town to elect Johnston their Provost, for that he, being Warden of the West Marches, would thereby be made more able to keep good order in these parts. Maxwel interpreting this to be done, as it was,

to

to his disgrace, at the time of Election convoked his friends, and debarring Johnston from entering the Town, procured himself to be continued in the Office. Hereupon informations were made to the King, that there could no quietness be expected in these parts unless Maxwel his power was curbed. Charges were also directed to cause him present certain of the name of Armestrong, for whom he was obliged; which he not performing was denounced Rebel, and Commission given to the Laird Johnston to pursue him; for whose better enabling he had two companies of hired souldiers allowed him, under the charge of two Captains, Lamby and Cranston. Maxwel hearing of these preparations gathered his forces, and with a part thereof sent his natural brother Robert Maxwel to intercept the two Captains ere they should joyn with Johnston. They encountering in the Moor of Crawford, after a sharp Conflict the Captains were defeated, Lamby and most of his company killed, and Cranston with divers others taken prisoners.

Johnston, lest he should be thought to do nothing, did then make Incurfions upon Maxwel's lands, raising fire, and carrying away great spoil: which Maxwel repayed with the burning of the house of Lockwood, and the slaughter of some of the Johnstons in Annandale. And thus did they make war one against another, till it happened that Johnston in a certain Conflict was taken by Maxwel, and made prisoner. The grief of this overthrow gave Johnston shortly after he was liberated his death: but the wrath of the Court still continuing, a Convention of the Estates was called to suppress Maxwel, and a Subsidy granted of 20000 pounds for levying of soldiers to pursue him. Thereafter all that could bear Arms, dwelling on the South of Forth, were commanded to be in readiness for attending the King in an Expedition that he intended towards these parts. But the Plague breaking out in Edinburgh did rage so vehemently all that Summer as nothing could be done; so the Expedition was put off certain months.

Meanwhile there fell out an accident which did quite alienate the Queen of England's favor from Arran. Sir John Forrester and Thomas Kar of Farnherst, Wardens of the middle Marches, being met for restoring some goods taken from the English, a Tumult fell out, wherein Sir Francis Russel Son to the Earl of Bedford was killed: this was laid upon Farnherst, and he said to have done it by Arrans instigation; for they two were at that time in great friendship. And when the Queen did require Farnherst to be delivered, Arran did strongly oppose it: yet the King for her satisfaction did confine them both, the one in S. Andrews, and the other in Aberdene. Arran after a little time was relieved to his house at Kinneil; the other contracting sickness kept bed a long space, and as was thought died of displeasure at Aberdene. A man he was of an haughty spirit, and had endured much trouble in the service of the Kings Mother, which he esteemed should have made him better respected than as he conceived he was.

Shortly after this accident Sir Edward Wotton was employed in an Ambassage from England, for contracting a League offensive and defensive with the King in the cause of Religion. For then came that Holy League, as they called it, to be discovered; which the Pope, the Spanish King, the Guises & others had made to extirpate the Reformed Religion. The Queen of England understanding her self to be principally aimed at, found nothing better than to make a counter-League with the Princes Reformed: and to that effect sent Sir Thomas Bodley to treat with the King of Denmark and the Protestant Princes in Germany, and at the same time employed Sir Edward Wotton towards the King. The motion did so please him, as presently he called the Estates at S. Andrews, and having in a long and pithy speech expressed the dangers threatened to Religion, with the necessity that the Reformed Princes had to unite themselves strongly together, procured the Act following to be concluded.

We the Nobility and Estates presently convened, understanding that divers Princes and Potentates, who term themselves Catholicks, have joyned under the Popes authority in a most unchristian Confederacy against the true Religion and Professors thereof, with full intent to prosecute their wicked resolution not only within their own Estates and Dominions, but likewise in other Kingdoms, where they can pretend no lawful Power nor Authority; a purpose long since projected, and hitherto cunningly carried,

G g 2

An. 1585.

Troubles be-
twixt the
Maxwells and
Johnstons.

Johnston tak-
en prisoner
and shortly
after dyeth.

Sir Francis
Russel, Son to
the Earl of
Bedford, kil-
led at a meet-
ing in the Bor-
ders.

Arran and
Farnherst con-
fined.

Farnherst di-
eth at Aber-
dene.

Sir Edward
Wotton Am-
bassador to
Scotland about
the beginning
of June, 1585.

A Convention
of the Estates
at S. Andrews.

A League con-
tinued with
the Queen of
England.

An. 1585. but now openly manifested, and in divers parts begun to be executed with hard and cruel effects: and considering withal how it hath pleased God to bless this Realm with the sincerity of the Gospel (the defence whereof is the most just and lawful cause that Christians can maintain:) We have thought it requisite not only to unite our selves, and joyn the whole forces which God hath granted us under our most Religious and Christian Sovereign, for the better assurance of our own estates, and the more peaceable enjoying of so great a benefit; but also, for withstanding the dangerous course intended against all the Professors of the Truth, we have judged it needful that a general League and Christian Confederacy of Princes and States, professing the true Religion, should be opposed to the ungodly Confederacy of the enemies thereof; especially that the two Crowns of Scotland and England, which nature, blood, habitation, and the profession of one Religion hath joyned, may be unseparably united by a more firm and strict League than hath been betwixt any Princes their Progenitors in times past. For which effect we under subscribing, for our selves, and in name and behalf of the whole Estates of this Realm, whose body in this Convention we represent, have given and granted, like as we by the tenor hereof do give and grant, to our Sovereign Lord King James the Sixth, his Council or such of them as his Majesty shall please to nominate, our full power, privilege, assent and authority whatsoever, competent to us and to the three Estates of this Realm, to treat or cause to treat, confer, transact and conclude a Christian League betwixt his Majesty and his Highness dearest Sister and Cousen, the Queen of England, and to nominate and appoint Commissioners for that purpose, who shall meet at such time and place as his Highness shall agree upon with the Commissioners to be directed from his said dearest Sister, the nomination and election of whom we have remitted and do humbly remit to our dread Sovereign Lord, faithfully promising for us, and in behalf fore said, to ratifie, approve and confirm, in the first Parliament, whatsoever thing his Majesty shall agree unto, or his Highness Commissioners in his name shall contract, indent, subscribe or seal concerning the said League, with all Heads, Clauses and Articles thereof: which we do and have the more willingly done, because of the trust we repose in his Majesties wisdom, circumspection, and earnest zeal to maintain the Truth of God against all that shall happen to attempt any thing to the contrary. Providing always that the League do not infringe or prejudice in any sort any former Alliances and Leagues betwixt this Realm and any other ancient Friends and Confederates thereof, except only in matter of Religion, concerning which we do fully consent that the said League be made offensive and defensive, avowing, and by our solemn oaths, swearing, neither to spare life, lands, houses, goods, nor whatsoever it hath pleased God to grant unto us, in defence and maintenance thereof.

This Act was past on the last of July with a great consent, and was subscribed by the Archbishops of S. Andrews and Glasgow, the Bishop of Dunkeld, the Commandators of Culroß, Balmerinock, Driburgh, Kinross, Lindors, Blantire and Pettinweyme, representing the Spiritual Estate; by the Earls of Arran, March, Athol, Montross, Marshal and Rother, the Lords Oliphant, Thirlstane, Gray, Sinclair, Down and Fleming for the Nobility; and by the Commissioners of Burghs, and all the Officers of Estate, amongst the rest by the Master of Gray, who, though he did profess himself a Roman Catholick, would in nothing that the King affected be thought refractory.

It was thought that the Ambassador did rest well satisfied with the Kings forwardness towards the League, and that he should have presently returned; but he had some other business in truit, which was carried more closely. This was to make friends to the exiled Lords, and labor their restitution, as had been concluded in England. To this effect he kept divers private meetings with the Master of Gray, the Secretary and Justice Clerk; giving the Lords intelligence from time to time of his proceedings. Among other means he thought expedient that they should reconcile their private quarrels with the Lord Hamilton and his brother Claud, who were likewise exiled and living then in England. He wrought so as they were brought, as it seemed, to a perfect Accord, promising to take one course, and joyn all in the same cause. But Claud fearing either the event of the enterprise, or not having

having buried his former grudges, did afterwards separate, and by discovering their purpose procured to himself liberty to return; yet did he not find that acceptance which he expected, being shortly after his coming confined in *Aberdene*, and within a little while commanded to leave the Country, and go into *France*.

There came this Summer from *Denmark* certain Ambassadors to redeem as they pretended, the Isles of *Orkney* and *Shetland*, alienated of old from that Crown; yet the true Errand was to propound that Marriage unto the King which was some four years after happily perfected. The King receiving them kindly, and excusing himself for the matter of *Orkney*, because of the Pestilence which raged as then in *Edinburgh* (where the Registers of the Kingdom were kept) promised, how soon commodity served, to give all reasonable satisfaction, and to send some in Commission to treat of those matters.

How soon they were dimitted, the King went into *Striveling*, and from thence to *Hamilton*, to recreate himself as he was accustomed, where he received advertisement that the banished Lords were come down to the Borders, and that *Maxwel* was to joyn his forces with them. Hereupon he returned to *Striveling*, and sending for *Arran*, made Proclamations to go through the Country, commanding all the subjects to meet him at the Castle of *Crawford* the 22 of October, for resisting the attempts of the Rebels. But things were so prepared at Court by the English Ambassador, as the Lords did prevent the King in his Expedition. They had appointed their Rendezvous at *Linton* in *Tweddale*, and meeting there did solemnly swear, not to separate nor give over the prosecution of their enterprise till the King should be moved to accept them in favour, and put *Arran* forth of his company. *Maxwel* brought with him 300 soldiers that had served against *Johnston*, and about 700 horsemen; all the others did scarce equal that number, though *Bothwell*, *Home*, *Teister*, *Cesford* and *Drumlanrig* had joyned with them. To justify their proceedings, they gave forth a Proclamation in all the places they came unto, declaring the causes of their enterprise to be, *The defence of the Truth, the deliverance of the King from corrupt Counsellors, and the preserving of Amity with England*. In this Proclamation nothing was left unsaid that might make *Arran* odious and hateful; amongst other things he was charged to have bragged of his descent from *Duck Mordock* (who was beheaded in the time of King James the first) and to lay claim to the Crown by that Title, calling himself King James the Seventh. It is true, that in the Parliament held the year preceding he took protestation in open Court, that he renounced any title that he might pretend to the Crown that way; which I suppose he did to purge himself of that aspersion: but the Protestation was laughed at in the time by the wiser sort, and gave them to think that such a folly had once possessed his mind.

The Proclamation did often mention him and Col. Stewart as abusers of the King. Of the rest of the Counsellors there was no speech, which increased *Arran*'s jealousy of them. Now how soon the Ambassador heard that the Lords were entered in the Country, fearing that some notice should be taken of his dealing, he left *Striveling*, and went in haste to *Berwick*, without saluting any man. They sent a Post after him with a letter, desiring to know the cause of his sudden departure, and whether he was directed by the Queen his Sovereign to go away in such sort. Being overtaken at *Alnwick*, he answered, that he had no such direction from the Queen when he was first employed, but that of late he had received a command to retire, because she saw no hope of the delivery of that wretched *Farnherst*. This he made the pretext of his departure; yet in reason he could not alledge it, *Farnherst* lying bedfast at the time in *Aberdene*, where he was committed, which was notified to him, and he knew to be a truth. In the conclusion of his Letter he said, *That he could not grant that he had departed in salutary hospite, seeing he performed that Office both with his heart and hand, and that he should by all possible means endeavor that his departure should rather help to maintain than dissolve the Amity betwixt his sovereign and him*. That which he speaketh of his hand was a Letter that he left to be given to the King the day after he was gone, in which he laid the cause upon *Arran*'s credit, without whom he saw nothing could be obtained. *Arran* seeing the Letter that he left to be given to the King, began to think that all was not found,

An. 1585. Lord Claud after his Agreement with the banished Lords took a course by himself. Ambassadors from Denmark, July 12.

The King advertised of the Enterprise of the banished Lords.

A Proclamation to meet the King at the Castle of Crawford.

A Proclamation given out by the banished Lords.

The Ambassador went, not saluting the King.

A Post is sent after him, and his excuse.

An. 1585.

The Lords
make haste to
striving.The Town of
Striveling taken.Two of the
Council directed to the
Lords.The Lords
Answer.The Kings
care of those
that attended
him.The King is
pleased to admit the Lords
in his presence.

sound, and accused the Master of *Gray* as being privy to the Ambassadors departure, which he denied; yet all that time nothing was done that was fitting either for the Kings safety or reputation; and not so much as the Castle furnished with victuals, which might have easily been provided.

Neither were the Lords ignorant of this, which made them use the greater speed, marching directly to *Falkirk*, and the next day, which was the last of *October*, to *Striveling*, at the Church called *St. Ninians*, (a half mile or less from the Town) they put themselves in order of battel, and stood so till night fell; at which time, upon warning given them by their friends within the Town, they advanced, and knowing all the passages, entred by a certain back way without any resistance.

Arran had taken upon him to watch that night, and was keeping the Town-gate, when a cry was raised that the Town was taken. The Earl of *Crawford*, who watched with him, fled to the Castle; but he escaped by the Bridge of which he kept the keys. Some weak resistance was made by Colonel *Stewart* at the head of the Market-street, but he was soon put back with the slaughter of one or two of his company. The Borderers, according to their custom, fell upon the stables, and made prey of all the Gentlemens horses, whereof they found good store. The spoil otherwise was not great, as of a Town not very rich in Merchandise.

In the morning betimes the Castle was inclosed, which they knew could not long hold out, for it was unfurnished, and scarce provided with victuals of one day. In this extremity the King was advised to employ two of his Council towards the Lords, to ask what they intended. Choice was made of the Secretary and Justice Clerk, as men whom they would willingly hear. At the first meeting the Secretary was rough enough with them, saying, *That such violent forms were not to be approved, and to deal in that manner with their King they would find it unsure; for what was extorted from him by force or fear he would soon find means to undo, and never want men to serve him in that whereunto his will was bent: That humble Petitions became subjects, and had been more fitting than to come in the manner they did.* The Lords answered, 'That it grieved them fore to be reduced to that necessity, nothing being more dear to them than the Kings honor and safety. But what could they have done? they were banished from their Country, put from their livings, their friends used with cruelty, the King not permitted to hear them in their just defence, and always shut up from presenting their Petitions. That their coming in that manner was not to dishonor nor force the King, to whom they would be most humble Supplicants, and upon their knees, if they should find access, beg mercy at his hands. All they did was to save themselves from ruine, and to be secured from their adversaries, who had wronged them and the whole States of the Kingdom. Wherefore they besought them, as their Countrymen and friends, to intercede with his Majesty, that they might be accepted in favour, and all things composed in the most quiet and honorable manner for the King and State that could be devised.'

This reported to the King did mitigate his mind a little. *For my self*, said he, *I did never like that mans violence (meaning Arran) and howbeit I cannot but offend with their doings, yet for the Countrys sake, and preservation of publick Quietness, I can pardon and overpass all: but one thing I desire you that have been in conference with them to look to, that none in my company receive any harm. I know there are quarrels betwixt the Earl of Crawford and the Master of Glamis; that the Earl of Angus doth not like Montros; and I believe that Colonel Stewart is not well beloved for things done in my service. These I cannot see with mine honor hurt; provide for that, and that they may be in safety, and I shall willingly admit them.*

When this was shewed the Lords, they said. 'That they had not taken up Arms for any private quarrel, nor would they mixe their particulars with the publick; but it should be good, for eschewing such inconveniencies as might happen, that the Noblemen (whom the King had named) were put in custody with some special persons, and that the Colonel should be discharged from his Office of the Guard, and the same conferred to another. This being declared to the King, he gave his consent to receive them.

Being

Being brought unto his presence, they fell all upon their knees, and the Lord *Hamilton* (who had the precedency in regard of blood) taking the speech, said, *An. 1585.* 'That they were come in most humble manner to beg mercy, and his Majesties love and favor. The King answered, *My Lord, I did never see you before, and must confess that of all this company you have been most wronged: you were a faithful servant to the Queen my mother in my Minority, and when I understood not, as I do, the estate of things, hardly used. The rest of you that have since that time been exiled, and put from your livings, cannot say but it was your own fault, and that your misbehavior procured the same. But (turning himself to Bothwell) what should have moved thee, Francis, said he, to take this course, and come in Arms against me? Did I ever do thee any wrong? or what cause hadst thou to offend? I wish thee a more quiet spirit, and that thou mayest learn to live as a subject, otherwise thou wilt fall in trouble. To you all who, as I truly think, have not meant any harm to any Person, I am pleased to give both my hand and my heart, and will remember nothing that is past, providing you carry your selves from henceforth as becomes men of your places, and behave your selves as dutiful Subjects. So they arose one by one, and kissed his Majesties hands. It was observed that he received the Lord *Hamilton* with greatest kindness, and gave him more respect than any others. This was the day after their entering into *Striveling*.*

Two days after in Council the King, renewing his promise, did by publick Act confirm the Pardon granted to them and their Assisters, which was by sound of trumpet proclaimed. The Earls of *Crawford* and *Montros* were commended to the Lord *Hamilton*, who used them honorably, and Colonel *Stewart* suffered quietly to depart. *Arran* after his flight went unto *Coile*, and lived private amongst his friends, deprived of all his Honors. The charge of the Guard was given to the Master of *Glamis*, the Castle of *Dumbritton* put in the Lord *Hamiltons* custody, *Striveling* restored to the Earl of *Marre*, and the Castle of *Edinburgh* delivered to Sir *James Home of Coldinknows*. In this manner did the banished Lords recover his Majesties favor, and returned to their places; albeit *Thuan*, deceived by some information, hath otherwise related the same.

How soon the Noblemens peace was proclaimed, *Duntraith*, who had touched them in his deposition against *Mains*, (saying that he was told by one *John Home*, the Lords had hired every one of them two men to kill the King) compeired before the Council undesired (so the Act of Council beareth) and confessed that he was suborned by Captain *James* (who is henceforth to be so named, the title of *Arran* being returned to the right owner) to make that Deposition, which in it self was false and untrue, out of fear and to save his life. For verifying whereof, and to shew that he did not confess this to please the Noblemen whom he had wronged by such a Confession, he declared that for the space of eight weeks before their return he had revealed the same to the Master of *Gray*, and to the Provost of *Lincluden*; both which upon oath testified no less to the King. The Council, for clearing the Noblemen, ordained his Confession to be published; which was not very needful, (for no man did believe the delation) only it served to discover the falshood of the suborner.

In December following a Parliament was held at *Linlithgow* for ratifying the Peace, and abolishing the memory of things past. In this meeting the Ministers who returned in company of the Lords did earnestly urge the repealing of the Acts concluded in the year preceding against their Discipline: which the King did utterly refuse, ordaining that none should either publicly declare, or privately speak or write, in reproach of his Majesties Person, Estate or Government, as is to be seen in the first Act of the Parliament. The Ministers offending greatly therewith, especially Mr. *William Watson*, in his preaching before the King, to complain of the neglect that was made of the Church, and condemn the Acts above mentioned.

This young man the Bishop of *S. Andrews* had placed in *Edinburgh*, after the departing of the Ministers to *England*, and he to this time had carried himself very orderly: but now either fearing that his admission by the Bishop should be questioned,

An. 1585.
The Lord
Hamilton in
name of the
rest suppli-
cates mercy.
The Kings
Answer.

The Kings
speech to Both-
well.

The King his
Pardon pro-
claimed.

The Master
of *Glamis*
made Captain
of the Guard.
Thuan. hist. l.
43.

Duntraith
confesseth the
Deposition he
made against
the Lords to
be false.

A Parliament
at *Linlithgow*.

The Ministers
offend with
the reconciled
Lords.

Mr. *William*
Watson Minister
committed.

An. 1585.

James Gibson
committed for
the like in-
felicity.The Superin-
tendent of
Lothian his
death, with a
short descrip-
tion of his life.

oned, or to insinuate himself this way in the favours of the Ministers, who he thought would rule all matters of Church as they pleased, he took the boldness to reprove the King to his face. This his unseasonable and insolent doing was by all wise men condemned, and he therefore committed to the Castle of *Blackness*. Not the less another of the same humor, called *James Gibson*, Minister at that time at *Pencailand*, usurping the Pulpit at *Edinburgh*, where the sickness was somewhat relented, fell out in the like impertinent railing, saying, *That Captain James, with his Lady Jesabel, and William Stewart (meaning the Colonel) were taken to be the persecutors of the Church; but that now it was seen to be the King himself, against whom he denounced the Curse that fell on Jeroboam, That he should die childless, and be the last of his Race.* This man called before the Council confessed the speeches, and proudly maintained the same; for which he was likewise committed. *Watson*, upon promise to amend and behave himself more dutiful, was suffered to return to his Charge; but the business with the other lasted to a longer time, as we will afterwards hear.

A few days before this Parliament deceased Mr. *John Spottiswood*, Superintendent of *Lothian*, a son of the House of *Spottiswood* in the *Mers*, within the Barony of *Gordon*, of which Surname it seems his first progenitors were by the Arms they have common with the *Gordons*. His Father was killed at *Floudon*, in the unfortunate Battel wherein King *James* the Fourth died, and he left an Orphan of four years old. When he was come to some years, his friends put him to School in *Glasgow*, where he took the degree of a Master of Arts; and having a purpose to study Divinity, which he most affected, was wholly diverted from following the same by the Persecutions he saw used against those they called Hereticks. So leaving the Country he went into *England*, and there falling in familiarity with Archbishop *Cranmer*, was by his means brought to the knowledge of the Truth. Soon after the death of King *James* the Fifth he returned to *Scotland*, and stayed a long time with *Alexander* Earl of *Glencarn*, who was known to be affected that way. In his company he came to be acquainted with *Matthew* Earl of *Lennox*, and was by him employed towards *Henry* the Eighth, at the time that *France* did cast him off by the Cardinals dealing, as we touched before. Matters succeeding to the Earl of *Lennox* his mind, and he settled in *England*, he remained with him some months; after which, longing to visit his friends, he returned; and being known to Sir *James Sandilands* of *Calder*, a man of great authority in those times, he was by him allowed to accept the parsonage of *Calder*, which fell then void. And living sometimes with him, sometimes with the Prior of *S. Andrews*, in whose company he went to *France* at the time of the Queens Marriage, he made no great stay in any one place, till the work of Reformation began; at which time he took himself to reside in *Calder*, and was how soon those Troubles ended chosen Superintendent of the Churches of *Lothian*, *Mers* and *Teviotdale*, which by the space of 20 years he governed most wisely. His care in Teaching, planting of Churches, reducing people and persons of all sorts into the right way, was great, and so successful, as within the bounds of his Charge none was found refractory from the Religion professed. In his last days, when he saw the Ministers take such liberty as they did, and heard of the disorders raised in the Church through that confused Parity which men labored to introduce, as likewise the irritations the King received by a sort of foolish Preachers; he lamented extremely the case of the Church to those that came to visit him (who were not a few, and of the better sort.) He continually foretold, *That the Ministers by their follies would bring Religion in hazard, and, as he feared, provoke the King to forsake the Truth; therefore wished some to be placed in authority over them to keep them in awe: for, the Doctrine, said he, we profess is good, but the old Policy was undoubtedly the better; God is my witness, I lie not.* And that these were his ordinary speeches some two years before his death, many then alive could witness. He was a man well esteemed for his piety and wisdom, loving, and beloved of all persons, charitable to the poor, and careful above all things to give no man offence. His happy life was crowned with a blessed death, which happened the 5 of *December*, 1585, in the 76 year of his age.

But

But to turn to the History. The King having settled with the Noblemen, was very desirous to be at rest with the Church, and for that effect called some of the principal Ministers to a Conference, wherein certain Articles were agreed for the better ordering of the Ecclesiastical affairs; the full determination thereof being remitted to the general Assembly of the Church, which was appointed to meet at *Edinburgh* the tenth of *May* following. In the mean time *Maxwel*, puffed up with the Victory at *Siriveling*, the praise whereof he ascribed wholly to himself, grew so insolent, as that the next *Christmas*, taking with him a company of lewd and dissolute persons, he went in procession from *Drumfries* to the College-Church of *Lincluden*, and caused a Mass to be said. Complaint being made to the King, he was brought before the Council, and committed to the Castle of *Edinburgh*, where he remained some months. This gave occasion to the Proclamations which followed against Priests, Jesuits, and trafficking Papists, who were all commanded to leave the Country before a certain day, under pain of death.

Whilst these things were a doing Mr. *Andrew Melvil*, to be revenged of *S. Andrews*, who had devised, as he imagined, the Acts made in the Parliament 1584, and penned the Declaration thereafter published, did in a Synod holden at *S. Andrews* raise a new stir, calling a number of Barons, Gentlemen and Ministers together, as to a Synod. Mr. *James Melvil* his Cousen made the Exhortation, in which, after a bitter Invektive against the devisers of the foresaid Acts, he admonished the Assembly to censure him that was known to have had a chief hand therein, meaning the Bishop. The Exhortation ended, Mr. *Robert Wilkie*, Professor of Philosophy in *S. Leonards*, was chosen Moderator; and their Doctrine, as their manner was, being approved, it was proponed that, according to the admonition given them, they should proceed in censuring the Bishop. The opinions were divers: some holding it dangerous, and doubting what might be the consequence of it; others inquiring if he was cited to the Diet: a third sort, more zealous than the rest, cried out that it was the cause of God, in which no man ought to forecast or fear any danger, and that a Citation needed not where the iniquity was so manifest; or if that was thought necessary, that he might be warned to the next Session, being then in the City. This course was held most formal, and so was he ordained to be cited.

In the afternoon he compeired, and protesting that he did not acknowledge that *Judicatory*, desired to understand what they could charge him with, that he might justify himself. They, misregarding the Protestation, did accuse him of devising the Statutes made in the year 1584, of penning the Declaration published thereafter by his Majesty, of traducing the brethren that fled into *England* in the time of his Ambassage, and a number the like. To this the Bishop, repeating his Protestation, answered, *That the Statutes were not of his devising, but when they were proponed, he gave his opinion that they were good and lawful Acts, and therein had served his Conscience, the very second Act of that Parliament being an expresse confirmation of Popery, in so far as by it the dignity and authority of the three Estates was ordained to stand unaltered according to the ancient custom of the Realm.* This, said they, is a ratifying of the Episcopal Jurisdiction, according as it was in time of Popery. The Bishop replied, *That the Bishops were not by themselves an Estate, but they represented in a part the Estate of the Church, which was ever reputed the first Estate of the Realm (since the Kingdom became Christian; and that in the Act alledged no Jurisdiction was established: howbeit for the Episcopal power there was enough to be said, if the time and place were fitting. But if they had no further to say, he would leave them, putting them again in mind that they were not his Judges, and that these were matters too high for subjects to meddle in.* At last, perceiving they would proceed with their Censures, he appealed to his Majesty, the Council and three Estates of the Realm, or any other lawful Assembly convened by his Majesty, and so departed.

When he was gone, they entered into consultation what to do: many were of the judgment, that after Appellation there could be no proceeding; others thought that the Appellation was not to be regarded. The matter being put to voices, it was concluded

An. 1585.
An Assembly
of the Church
at Edinburgh.The Lord
Maxwel go-
eth to Mals;
and is com-
mitted.A Synod at
S. Andrews
called against
the Bishop,
April 1586.The Bishop
being cited
compeired,
and protested
against the
Judicatory.His Accusati-
on.He appealeth
to the King
and Estates.The Bishop
excommuni-
cated by the
Synod.

An. 1586.

concluded only by two voices more that he should presently be excommunicated. The Moderator by his place was to pronounce the Sentence, but he refused, albeit he was no friend to the Bishop at that time; nor would any other of the Assembly take on them to do it. In end when all were dissolving, and a great part gone forth out of the Schools (for the Assembly was kept in *S. Leonards*) a young fellow named *Mr. Andrew Hunter* willed them to stay, professed that he was warned by the Spirit to pronounce the Sentence, and so ascending the chair he read the same out of the Book, a few only remaining as witnesses.

Mr. Andrew Hunter and *Mr. James Melvil* excommunicated by a servant and Canon of the Bishop.

The Appellation with the reasons sent to the King.

This scornful and disorderly proceeding was the next day requited in a form nothing better. Two of the Bishops servants going to the Church at the time of Prayer, caused one *Mr. Samuel Cunningham*, Cousen to the Bishop, go unto the Readers seat, and pronounce the same Sentence against *Mr. Andrew* and *Mr. James Melvil*, and some others of the Ministers of *Fife*, who had been most eager and forward against the Bishop.

The Appellation was sent by the Bishop to the King, wherein first he excepted against the Synod as being unlawfully convened; next, against their unjust proceedings. The first he proved, saying, 'That Convention was express against the Statutes of Parliament, and neither convoked by his Majesties Letters, nor by the Bishop of the Diocese; moderated by a Laick person, that had no imposition of hands; made up of a company of Barons, Gentlemen, Masters of Schools and Colleges, who bare no Function in the Church, and ought not to have any suffrage in Ecclesiastick Assemblies, and no sufficient number of Ministers assisting; who, though they had been present, by the Apostles rule were subject to the Bishops censure, and he not to theirs. The injustice of their proceeding he qualified, first, by their Citation, which neither contained a lawful cause, nor did allow him a reasonable time for his appearing. 2. That at his compeiring (which was under Protestation that he did in no sort acknowledge that Judicatory) they accused him for defending his Majesties Authority in matters Ecclesiastick, and for his consent given to the Statutes made in Parliament 1584, which were the Laws of the King and three Estates, which they ought not to take on them to condemn. 3. That they transgressed the order set down in their own Assemblies, which appoints Admonitions and Prayers to be used for persons before the Sentence be pronounced. 4. That the conclusion they took to Excommunicate passed not with consent of those who were present, and was carried only by the voices of two ignorant Ministers. 5. That the Moderator of the pretended Synod refusing to pronounce the Sentence, one *Hunter* servant to *Mr. Andrew Melvil* had taken on him to do the same, alledging he was moved thereto by the Spirit of God: which was a conceipt of the Anabaptists, and ought to be severely punished. And, 6. That Ministers in their Synods, were they never so lawfully convened, may not excommunicate any person without consent of the Church whereof he is a member. Saint *Paul* (on whose example they grounded their Excommunications) not presuming by himself to cast forth the incestuous man, but writing to the Church of *Corinth*, that when they were convened together they should do the same. In end he intreated his Majesty, whom it specially concerned, to take cognition of their unruly and tumultuous proceeding, and to consider how dangerous a thing it was to put the Spiritual sword in the hands of such men, who might possibly attempt the like against his Majesties self and others of the Council.

A Transaction betwixt the Bishop and the Assembly.

When the King heard of this business, he was greatly commoved; yet because the Diet of the Assembly was approaching, he thought best to continue the matter to that time; where, instead of examining the Process, or discussing the Bishops Appellation, a Transaction was made in this sort. That the Bishop, by his hand-writing or personal appearance in the Assembly, should deny, 'that ever he publicly professed or meant to claim any Supremacy, or to be Judge over other Pastors and Ministers, or yet avowed the same to have a ground in Gods Word; and if so he had done, it had been an error against his Conscience and knowledge. That he should also deny, that in the last Synodal Assembly he did claim to be Judge of the same; and if he had done it, that he erred therein, and in his imperious beha-

vior

An. 1586.

vior and contempt of the said Synod. That thirdly, he should promise to behave himself better in time coming, and crave pardon for any oversight by him committed, claiming no farther than justly he might by Gods Word; and in all other things carry himself as a moderate Pastor ought, laboring to be the Bishop described by *S. Paul*, submitting his life and doctrine to the judgment and censure of the general Assembly, without any reclamation, provocation, or appellation from the same in any time coming. That the Assembly on the other part, for his Majesties satisfaction, and to give testimony of their willing minds to obey his Highness so far as they could, and in conscience they might, and for the good hope they had of his Majesties favorable concurrence in building up the house of God, should hold the said Process and Sentence as undeducted, and not pronounced, and restore the Bishop, in so far as concerned the said Process and Sentence, to the estate wherein he was before the pronouncing of the same; especially because the said Process was led and deducted during the time of the Conference, whereupon his Majesty had conceived offence: with this proviso, Always that the Bishop should observe what he promised in the premises, and carry himself dutifully in his Vocation in all times thereafter.

What should have moved the King to hearken to a mediation so prejudicial both to his own Authority, and the Episcopal Jurisdiction which he labored to establish, cannot well be conjectured; except we will think, that by yielding to the Churches advice in this particular, he hoped to win them in end to those things which served for his peace and their own quietness; or, which I rather believe, that he did only temporize not seeing another way how to come by his ends, and was content to keep them in any tolerable terms, till he should find himself of power sufficient to redress these Confusions. Whatsoever the reason was, the Bishop did set his hand to the conditions proposed by the Assembly, and received that declarator for an Absolution. Yet did not this satisfy the adverse party, who peremptorily urged the justifying of their Process, with the confirmation of the Sentence they had pronounced; which when they could not obtain, the same *Hunter* that pronounced the Sentence protested publicly against the Assemblies proceeding; and that, notwithstanding the Absolution granted, the Bishop should still be esteemed as one justly delivered to Satan, till his Conversion were seen to be true and effectual: unto which Protestation *Mr. Andrew Melvil* and *Mr. Thomas Buchanan* did adhere.

The reasons moving the King to give way to this Transaction.

A motion was made in the same Assembly for censuring the Ministers that had allowed the Acts concluded in the Parliament 1584 by their Subscriptions; but they were found to be so many, as it was feared the urging thereof would breed a Schism and division in the Church: wherefore after some altercation the matter was left, and all the Ministers exhorted to judge charitably one of another, notwithstanding their diversity of opinions.

The Ministers exhorted to judge charitably one of another.

The Articles agreed upon in the Conference with certain Ministers, whereof the determination was remitted to this Assembly, made more ado: for they having condescended to accept Bishops, and to give them a chief hand in the Government of Church affairs, they always being subject to the Censure of the general Assembly, it was strongly opposed, and after a long dispute concluded; That in respect the Bishop was a Pastor, as other ordinary Pastors are, he should for matters of Life and Doctrine be tried by the Presbytery and Synod, and for his Commission otherwise in Church affairs be subject to the general Assembly. The Secretary, Justice Clerk, with the Lord Privy Seal and other Commissioners for the King, dissented, and made Protestation, That seeing the Assembly had gone from the Articles agreed upon in the Conference, nothing either then or at the present concluded should stand in force. And thus were they like to dissolve, but that *Mr. Robert Pont*, *James Martin* and *Patrick Galloway*, being directed to inform his Majesty of the difference, things were drawn to this middle; That the Bishops and others having Commission to visit Churches should be only subject to the trial of the general Assembly, and such as had power from them, till farther order was taken. And that where Bishops and Commissioners were resident, they should preside in the meetings

Acts concluded in the Assembly.

An. 1586.

His Majesties
Answer to the
advice given
him by the
Chancellor.

ings of Presbyteries and Synods, Five only excepted, where Mr. Robert Wilkie was appointed to moderate the Presbytery of S. Andrews until the next Synod. In the mean time was the order of the Presbyteries set down, and their power defined, the King taking no notice of their doings in that kind.

The Secretary, who then supplied the place of Chancellor, perceiving the King so vexed with the affairs of the Church, and the Ministers so refractory and unwilling to be ruled, did advise him to leave them to their own courses, saying, 'That in a short time they would become so intolerable, as the people would chase them forth of the Country. True, Answered the King, if I were proposed to undo the Church and Religion, I should think your counsel not ill; but my mind is to maintain both, therefore can I not suffer them run into these disorders that will make Religion to be despised. This answer did shew the Kings love to the Church, and his care of the good estate thereof, which in this place I thought was not to be passed.

In the Estate matters went not much better at this time, and amongst others nothing gave more offence than the acquitting of Mr. Archibald Douglas by form of Assise. This man was known to be guilty of the Murther of the King his Father, and had fled into England six years before. The Earl of Morton at his death, and one Binny, Mr. Archibalds own servant, who was executed about the same time, did both declare that he was present at the doing of that wicked fact, for which the King had often by his Letters and Ambassages intreated the Queen of England to have him delivered, yet could not obtain it. At this time a remission being purchased to him for the concealing of that Murther, with a Letter of rehabilitation, whereby he might stand in judgment and plead against his Forfeiture, he was in a Jury held the 26 of May declared innocent, and absolved of the Crime.

This was done by the procurement of the Prior of Blantire, who had intruded himself in the Parsonage of Glasgow, whereof Mr. Archibald had been titular, and otherwise than by his restoring could have no right in Law to retain it. Many were grieved to see Justice in that sort abused for maintaining a Sacrilegious possession; but to have sent him back to England, with a commission to reside there as Ambassador for the King, which likewise was done, was an error inexcusable: and how he and the Master of Gray, who was chief man in that led Assise, carried themselves in the Queen of Scotlands business, wherewith they were trusted, we will hear in the end of this year.

In the Isles this Summer there arose great troubles betwixt Mackeneil of Dunnoraig and Macklain of Dowart, two principal men in those parts. Macklain, by his education in the Continent, had learned civility and good manners, and living accordingly was in great respect both with his own people, and all his neighbors about. Mackeneil out of an emulation made many quarrels to the other, and in end laid a plot to murther him (though he had married his Sister;) which he went about in this manner. He sent a message to Macklain, offering to visit him at his house, and to stay some days, providing he would come back, and make merry with him in his Country, that the world might see all injuries were forgotten, and that they loved one another as brethren and good neighbors ought to do. Macklain answered, that he should be welcome, but for his going back with him they should talk at meeting. Mackeneil receiving this answer, came the next day, and was received very kindly by Macklain. Some four or five days he stayed, using the fairest shews of amity that could be wished, and being to part homewards, intreated Macklain to go with him, saying, that he would leave his eldest Son and a Brother-german pledges for his safety. Macklain upon his importunity yielded to go, but refused the pledges; lest he should seem to distrust him, and so went, taking with him of the trustiest of his kindred and servants some 45.

They arrived in Kintire early in the morning, and all that day were welcomed with liberal feasting, according to that peoples custom. At night when they were gone to rest, Mackeneil beset the house wherein Macklain and his people lay, with a number of men, and called him to come forth and drink; he answered, that of drink they had too much, and that it was then time to rest. Yet it is my will, said Mackeneil, that ye arise and come forth. Macklain hearing this began to suspect some

A Trouble in
the Isles be-
twixt Mack-
eneil and
Macklain.

some bad dealing, and dressing himself and his men, did open the door, where perceiving a company in Arms, and Mackeneil with his Sword drawn, he asked what the matter was, and if he meant to break his faith. No faith, said he, I gave none, and must now have an account of you and your friends for the wrong I have received. Macklain had taken that night his Nephew a little child to bed with him, and being put to his defence, kept the Child upon his left shoulder in manner of a target. The Child cried for mercy to his Uncle: wherewith Mackeneil moved did promise to spare his life, providing he would render his weapons, and become his prisoner. Macklain seeing no better was content, and thereupon was conveyed with some keepers to another House: All the rest (two excepted) upon the like promise rendered themselves. The two whom he refused to spare defended the door so desperately as neither he nor his men durst enter: whereupon fire was put to the House, and they burnt within the same. The others that rendered, notwithstanding the promise given them, were all beheaded in Macklains sight, some of them the next morning, and the rest the days following. Macklain himself had gone the same way, but that it happened Mackeneil by a fall from his horse to break his leg, by which accident his Execution was prolonged. In the mean time, upon notice given to the King of that barbarous fact, an Herald was sent with a charge to deliver Macklain to the Earl of Argile: but this availed not, but still he was detained and compelled to yield unto most unreasonable conditions before he got his liberty; which was no sooner obtained than Macklain, to revenge himself, fell upon Mackeneils bounds, burning and killing man, wife and child without mercy, and so took a cruel revenge of the others treachery.

A little before this Trouble in the Isles, Hugh Montgomery, Earl of Eglinton, a young Nobleman of good expectation, was likewise treacherously killed by certain Cunninghams, who envying the Noblemans worth (otherwise they could pretend no just quarrel) did conspire his death. The chief Actors were, David Cunningham of Robert-land, Alexander Cunningham of Aiket, and John Cunningham of Corsell, who were set on work by the Earl of Glencarn, upon promise that he should maintain them; which afterwards he disclaimed. This unhappy fact did cost much blood, and was afterwards honorably revenged by Robert Master of Eglinton, the Noblemans Brother.

In the month of June was the League with England concluded, which the year preceding had been carefully labored, and by Commissioners sent from both Princes in a meeting at Berwick accorded in this form.

The Earl of
Eglinton trea-
cherously
murdered.A League
with England
concluded.

1. That both their Majesties, finding by the course of the present proceedings in foreign parts, that divers Princes, terming themselves Catholicks, and acknowledging the Popes Authority, were joyned in Confederacy for extirpating true Religion, not only within their own States and Dominions, but also in other Kingdoms, lest they should seem to be less solicitous for the defence thereof, than were their enemies who thought to overthrow the same, have thought it necessary, as well for the preservation of their own Persons, on whose safety doth the Well of their subjects depend, as for the better maintenance of the true ancient Christian Religion which they now profess, to joyn and unite themselves in a more strict League than hath been between any Princes their Progenitors.

The Articles
of the League.

2. That they should labor and procure by their best endeavors to draw the Princes professing the same Religion to joyn and concur with them in the like defence thereof.

3. That this League should be offensive and defensive against all that should attempt to disturb the exercise of true Religion within their Kingdoms, notwithstanding of any former Leagues of Friendship or Amity contracted with the said attemptors.

4. That if any Prince or State whatsoever should invade the Realms and Dominions of either of their Majesties, or attempt any injury against their Persons or subjects, upon notice thereof given or received, neither of them should yield aid, counsel, advice or support, directly or indirectly, to the said invader, notwith-

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standing

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standing any Consanguinity, Affinity, League or Treaty made or to be made. 5. That in case of Invasion they should aid and assist each other in manner and form following. That is to say, if the Realm of *England* should be invaded by any forein forces in parts remote from the Realm of *Scotland*, the King, upon signification made unto him by the Queen of *England*, should furnish 2000 horsemen and 5000 footmen, or a lesser number, as it shall please the said Queen to require, and should cause them to be conducted from the Borders of *Scotland* into any part of the Kingdom of *England*, upon the charges of the said Queen. And in case the said Realm of *Scotland* be invaded in any part remote from the Borders of *England* by any forein force, the Queen of *England*, upon requisition made to her by the King, should furnish 3000 horsemen and 6000 footmen, or a lesser number at the option of the said King, and shall cause them to be conducted to any part of the Realm of *Scotland*, upon the Kings charges.

6. That in case the Invasion should be upon the North parts of the Realm of *England*, within 60 miles of the Borders of *Scotland*, the King, being required by the Queen, should gather all the forces he could make, and joyn with the *English* power for pursuing the said Invaders, and keep them together for the space of thirty days, or so much longer (if it be required) as the subjects of *Scotland* are usually accustomed to stay in the fields for the defence of their own Kingdom.

7. That upon any Invasion or trouble arising in the Realm of *Ireland*, the King upon notice given to him thereof, should not only inhibit the repair thither of any of the inhabitants of *Argile*, *Isles* and places adjacent, or any other parts of his Dominions; but also, if it shall happen them or any of them to go into *Ireland* with a number extraordinary, and in hostile manner, the King, upon signification of the same, should denounce them his Rebels, and pursue them as Traitors.

8. That neither of their Majesties should hereafter aid, supply, assist or entertain the Rebels or adversaries of the other, nor permit them to reside either privately or publicly in any part of their Dominions, but upon the first requisition of the Prince to whom they are Rebels they should undelayedly be delivered according to the old Leagues and Treaties, or then expelled forth of their Dominions, and redress made for any injuries they should happen to commit during their abode in the same.

9. That all controversies about matters of Borders or wrongs committed in the Marches since the time of the Kings accepting the Government in his own person, and by the space of four years preceding, should be friendly determined and satisfied at the sight of Commissioners to be appointed on both sides, who should meet at the within six months after the date of the presents, and decide thereupon.

10. That neither of their Majesties should enter into any League or Treaty (without the consent of the other, by Letters signed with their hands under their privy Sgnet) with any other Prince or State whatsoever, to the prejudice of the present Treaty.

11. That all former Treaties betwixt their Majesties Progenitors and both Realms, notwithstanding any discontinuance thereof, should stand in full force, so far as they should not be found derogatory to the present Treaty: and that this Treaty should not infringe any League made by either of their Majesties or their Progenitors with other their Friends and Confederates in any time by-gone, the cause of Religion only excepted, wherein the present League is declared to be offensive and defensive.

12. That both their Majesties should confirm the League by their Oaths and great Seals, which should be interchanged, and mutually delivered to others.

13. Lastly, that the King, at his coming to the perfect age of 25 years, should cause the present League to be ratified by the States of the Kingdom; like as the Queen at the same time should cause it to be confirmed in her Parliament of *England*.

These were the Articles of the League concluded at *Berwick*, and signed by *Francis Earl Bothwell*, *Robert Lord Boyd*, and *Sir James Home of Coldinknows*, Commissioners

The names of the Commissioners of both Kingdoms.

missioners for the King; as likewise by *Edward Earl of Rusland*, *William Lord Evers* and *Sir Thomas Randolph*, Commissioners for the Queen of *England*.

It was believed that this Amity contracted with such deliberation should have continued firm; for (besides the publick League) the Queen had sent to the King a Letter under her own hand, wherein she did faithfully promise to suffer nothing to be done that might derogate or prejudice his Right and Title to the Crown of *England*; and, for a farther demonstration of her kindness, had presented him with a gift of annuity answerable to the lands possessed by the Lady *Lennox* in her time, which the King by divers Ambassadors had formerly required as due to him. Yet a few months after brake out a business that put them in worse terms than before, and was with no small difficulty pacified; the Story whereof shall next be related.

The Queen of *Scots* being touched in the trial of *Babingtons* Conspiracy, as having interchanged divers letters with him, a consultation was kept concerning her, and what was fittest to be done; for they considered that all the Conspiracies made against the Queen of *England*, being chiefly intended in hope of the *Scottish* Queen her Succession, so long as she lived their Sovereign should never be secured, and that therefore the surest course was to put her out of the way: but how this should be done, the opinions were different. The Earl of *Leicester* advising to dispatch her secretly by Poison, Secretary *Walsingham* did mightily oppose it, as that which would draw upon the Queen both danger and dishonour, and besides in it self was a thing unjust, and no better than a cruel Murther. Wherefore his opinion was, that the course of Law should be kept, and Commission given for making her Process, and as the Trial should prove for giving sentence and judgment. This opinion prevailing, certain Noblemen Counsellors and Judges were chosen for the business, who meeting at the Castle of *Fotheringhay* (where the Queen of *Scots* was kept) the eleventh of *October*, and calling her before them, did charge her with the said Conspiracy, and intercourse of Letters. She refusing to answer and be tried as a Subject, being her self an absolute Queen; they notwithstanding went on, and finding her guilty, pronounced the Sentence of Death: which was shortly thereafter confirmed by the Estates of Parliament, and a Supplication therewith delivered to the Queen for putting their Decree in execution.

How soon the King was advertised thereof, he sent *William Keith* Gentleman of his Chamber to the Queen, with a Letter to this effect, *That howbeit it seemed strange to him that the Nobility and Counsellors of Scotland should take upon them to give Sentence upon a Queen of England, and one descended of the Royal blood of England; yet he would think it much more strange, if she should stain her hands with the blood of his Mother, who was of the same Royal condition with her self, and of the same sex: which as he could not believe would enter into her heart to do; so if it should be, he desired her to consider how much it touched him in honor, that was both a King and a Son, to suffer his Mother an absolute Prince to be put to an infamous death.*

No answer being returned to this, upon new advertisement that the Queen was like to be drawn by the importunity of her Estates to give way to the Execution, he wrote to *William Keith* more sharply, 'requiring him to shew the Queen how unjust he held that proceeding against his Mother, and that it did neither agree with the will of God, who prohibiteth to touch his Anointed ones, nor with the Law of Nations, that an absolute Prince should be sentenced and judged by Subjects: and if she would be the first to give that pernicious example of profaning her own and other Princes Diadems, to remember her, that both in respect of nature and honor it concerned him to be revenged of so great an indignity; which if he should not do, he should peril his credit both at home and abroad: and therefore willed him for to labor for a delay, until he should send an Ambassador with overtures that might content and satisfie her Majesty. For by a Letter sent from Mr. *Archibald Douglas*, that stayed as *Liege* in *England*, he found him not well disposed in the business, and thereupon resolved to employ a more honorable person, and one of greater trust.

H h 2

William

A new Breach between the King & Queen of England.

The proceedings against the Queen of Scots.

Sentence of Death pronounced against her.

William Keith sent into England about the midst of November.

A Letter to *William Keith* from the King.

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The Queen in
passion at the
sight of the
Letter.

William Keith having intreated the Queen for a delay, when as he could not obtain the same, did shew her the direction he had received from the King: at which she grew into such a passion, that if *Leicester* and others of the Council, who stood by had not pacified her, (saying that the King did only request that his Mother might be well used, which was a thing natural, and in him an honourable part; and that some ill-affected persons possibly had stirred him up to write so sharply) she had simply refused him any more hearing. But after she had calmed a little she said, *That she would give no answer in anger, and would think of it to the next morning.* At which time calling him again, she said, *That no precipitation should be used, and if any did come from the King within a few days, she would stay all proceeding to that time, and be glad to hear such overtures as might save the Queen of Scots life, and assure her own.*

The King ex-
cuse the
sharpness of
his Letter.

The King advertised of this, and conceiving some hope that matters would draw to an agreement, wrote of new to the Queen, and shewed, 'he was sorry to understand that his Letter sent to *William Keith* had been construed as if he did threaten her and her Estates, whereas his purpose was only to inform her of the rumors going in the Country, and how much his Subjects were moved at these forms of proceeding with their Queen. That for himself, he knew well enough how hardly she was pressed, by objecting unto her the peril of her own life; and that he never blamed her directly for any thing that was done. Therefore prayed her to accept him her most honest and steadfast friend, since he never had nor should deserve any other at her hand, and that for his sake she would continue any proceeding against his Mother till his Overtures should be heard, which the Master of *Gray* should bring with him, who was to take journey on the Saturday following.

The Master of
Gray and Sir
Robert Melvil
sent into Eng-
land.

This Letter was speedily carried to the Queen, which gave her some content; for thereby she perceived the rumors to be vain which were dispersed, that he was minded to break the League, and denounce War. The King in the mean time having convoked the Estates, and imparted to them the case wherein his Mother stood, had very liberal promises given him, and a present supply of money granted for dispatch of his Ambassador. And being advised by the Estates to joyn Sir *Robert Melvil* in Commission with the Master of *Gray*, as one that had served his Mother long and was truly affected unto her, the Commission was given to them both, and they put in equal trust. So parting from *Halirudhouse* the 20 of December, they came to *London* the penult of the month.

The first Au-
dience.

The next day Master *Archibald Douglas* being sent to desire Audience, the same was refused, upon information that they had been with Monsieur *Bellicur* the French Ambassador, who was employed in the same errand, and had parted from the Queen in wrath; yet the contrary being shewed, and that they refused to make any visit till they had presence of her Majesty, they had access granted the first of January. At her first meeting she quarrelled the Letter sent to *William Keith*; asking if they were sent with the like threats. They answering that his Majesties Letter might receive a good construction, and that he had interpreted himself by another directed since that time to her Majesties self, she brake forth into these speeches; *I am unmeasurably sorry that there can be no means found to save the life of your Kings Mother and assure mine own: I have laboured to conserve the life of us both, but now I see it cannot be done.* The Ambassador replied, that the case was nothing to desperate, and that means would be found to put her Majesty in assurance: yet because they perceived her to be somewhat commoved, they did not think meet to enter at that time more deeply in the business.

The second
Audience and
effect thereof.

At their second Audience, which was on the tenth day, the Queen begun with them in this sort: *A thing long looked for should be good when it cometh; I would now hear what are your Kings offers.* The Master (as having the first place) answered, No man makes offer, but for some cause. If it like your Majesty, we desire to know if the person be extant for whom we offer, (for the rumor went constantly that the Execution was past.) As yet, said the Queen, I think she be; but will not promise an hour. Nay, said the Master, we come not to shift, but to offer from our Sovereign whatso-

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whatsoever in reason can be required; specially that he shall interpose his credit in behalf of his Mother, and give the chief of his Nobility for pledges, that no Plot nor practice should be contrived against your Majesty with her knowledge or privacy: of if that be not sufficient, and that it shall please your Majesty to set her at liberty, and send her into *Scotland*, a course shall be taken for securing your Majesty from all such attempts by her occasion.

The Queen calling the Earl of *Leicester*, with the Lords Admiral and Chamberlain, who were nigh by, repeated in their hearing these offers, setting them all at nought: whereupon the Master took occasion to ask, What should move any man to attempt against her Majesty for the Queen of Scots? Because, said the Queen, they think she shall succeed to me, and that she is a Papist. And if these means shall be taken away, said the Master, apparently the danger will cease. This, says the Queen, I would be glad to understand. If her right Succession to England shall be made over in our Sovereigns person, (said he) Papists will have no more hope; and this I think the Queen his Mother will dimitt and resign to him. But she hath no right, said the Queen, the hope of Papists ceaseth, and it is not to be feared that they will enterprise for her. But the Papists, said the Queen, do not allow our Declaration. Then let it fall, said he, in the Kings person by her Resignation.

The Earl of *Leicester* objecting that she was a Prisoner, and could not dimitt; the Master answered, That the Dimission being made to her Son, with the advice of all the friends in Europe, in case (as God forbid) the Queen by any attempt should be cut off, she would have none to partake with her against her Son, all the Princes her friends standing obliged for her Resignation, that it should be valid and effectual to her Son. The Queen making as though she did not understand him, the Earl of *Leicester* said, that the Ambassadors meaning was, that the King should be in his Mothers place. Is it so? says the Queen, then I put my self in worse case than before. By Gods Passion (this was her Oath) that were to cut my own throat: he shall never come in that place, and be party to me. The Master answered, that he would be more party, if he should come in his Mothers place through her death. Well, said the Queen, tell your King what I have done for him, to keep the Crown on his Head since he was born, and that for my part I mind to keep the League that stands betwixt us; which if he break, it shall be a double fault. And with these words she made away. Sir *Robert Melvil* following her, requested for some eight days continuance of the Execution; whereunto she answered, Not an hour.

The King advertised of this Conference, and that nothing but extremity was to be expected, wrote with his own hand to the Master of *Gray* as followeth. Re-serve your self no longer in your dealing for my Mother, for you have done it too long, and think not that any thing will do good if her life be lost, for then adieu with far-ther dealing with that State. Therefore if you look for the continuance of my favor, spare no pains nor plainness in this case, but read my Letter written to *William Keith*, and conform your self wholly to the contents thereof; and in this let me reap the fruits of your great credit there, either now or never. Farewell.

But before this letter came unto the Master, he was drawn upon another course, and made more cold in the business, &c. (as the same went) had taken upon him to pacifie the King, though the Execution proceeded. Meanwhile the Earl of *Leicester* wrote to the King a letter, wherein not obscurely shewing what was resolved, he advised him to deal more moderately in that matter of his Mother, her cause not being worth the losing of such a friend as the Queen his Sovereign was. For albeit no man, said he, can blame your Majesty to speak for the safety of your Mothers Life; yet under your favor, your Majesty being a Prince & a King, you ought to weigh without partiality the case of other Kings and Princes, as if it might be your own. Justice should in the bosome of all Princes have such place, that howsoever Affection may draw them, if the thing which any of them doth for the preservation of their own life & estate be warranted, it ought to be born withal by others. And proceeding in this manner, he said, Let the case of the Queen my Sovereign be made your Majesties; & that any King or Prince be-
ing

A Letter from
the King to the
Master of Gray.The Master of
Gray drawn
upon another
course.

ing in your hands, claiming Title to your Crown, would raise War within your Realm against you, or conspire with Traitors within your Court or Country to kill you; in that case I would fain know what would be thought fit by any faithful or good subject of yours, that you should do to such a one. Nay give me leave, I humbly beseech you, to ask even of your self, what you would think fit in such a case. There is no other difference, but that this offence is done to the Queens Majesty by your Mother. And after that a little, (for the letter is long) If my plain speech may be without offence to your Majesty, I would wish you to think well of this case: remember how near it is to you, and how much nearer it may be to you: it is seen to all the world wherefore the Life of our Mistress is sought, whose death may be as far out of your way, as your Mothers Liberty hath heretofore been dangerous to your Estate. And if it be true which I have heard, your Majesties self, by her will, had as well been dispossessed of the possession of that you have, as defeated of any remainder you thought to have interest in. And therefore as Kings be and ought to be jealous of their own estate, so I doubt not but your Majesty will deeply consider of this case of your Mothers, wherein you may perform both the office of a son and of a King. And as I have always advised you, so do I still, except for a just cause, (which I am persuaded you shall never have) give not her Majesty any cause to conceive a breach of love and friendship on your part. She is the person and Prince in the world that may do you most good or most harm; let no persuasion or device make you think otherwise: the world is full of practice, and the worst heads most buse, &c.

Secretary Walsingham writing to the Lord Thirlstan the Kings Secretary, with whom he kept intelligence, declared, 'that it was wondrous by all wise and religious men in England, that the King should be so earnest in the cause of his Mother, seeing all the Papists in Europe that affected the change of Religion in both Realms did build their hopes altogether upon her; and that she had shewed her self so passionate in point of Religion, as she had transferred her pretended Right to both the Crowns unto the King of Spain, in case the King her Son should persist in his Profession.

At the same time Secretary Walsingham writing to the Lord Thirlstan the Kings Secretary, with whom he kept intelligence, declared, 'that it was wondrous by all wise and religious men in England, that the King should be so earnest in the cause of his Mother, seeing all the Papists in Europe that affected the change of Religion in both Realms did build their hopes altogether upon her; and that she had shewed her self so passionate in point of Religion, as she had transferred her pretended Right to both the Crowns unto the King of Spain, in case the King her Son should persist in his Profession.

It is true that such Informations were given out amongst the Papists, to divert the King from constancy in his Profession; but that any such Translation was made by her it is not probable, and a thing not to be believed; her Declaration at the time of her death being far other, as we shall hear: Albeit a Popish Abbot, describing the life of Laurens the Cardinal, who was at that time Protector of the Scottish Nation, affirmeth the foresaid Translation to have been in his hands, and to have been delivered to him by Count Olivarez the Spanish Ambassador at Rome. But that doth merit little credit: such forged Titles would perhaps have served, if the enterprise of 88 had succeeded; but they are now of little purpose.

The King commandeth the Ministers to remember his Mother in their prayers.

The King perceiving by all these Letters that the death of his Mother was determined, called back his Ambassadors, and at home gave order to the Ministers to remember her in their publick prayers: which they denied to do, though the Form prescribed was most Christian and lawful; which was, *that it might please God to illuminate her with the Light of his Truth, and save her from the apparent danger wherein she was cast.* Upon their denial charges were directed to command all Bishops, Ministers and other Office-bearers in the Church, to make mention of her distress in their publick Prayers, and commend her to God in the Form appointed. But of all the number, Mr. David Lindsay at Leith and the Kings own Ministers gave obedience. At Edinburgh, where the disobedience was most publick, the King purposing to have their fault amended, did appoint the third of February for solemn Prayers to be made in her behalf, commanding the Bishop of S. Andrews to prepare himself for that day; which when the Ministers understood, they stirred up Mr. John Cowper, a young man not entered as yet in the Function, to take the Pulpit before the time, and exclude the Bishop. The King coming at the hour appointed, and seeing him in the place, called to him from his seat, and said, Mr. John, that place was destinate for another; yet since you are there, if you will obey the charge that is given, and remember my Mother in your Prayers, you shall go on. He replying, *he would do as the spirit of God should direct him,* was com-

manded

The third of February appointed for solemn prayers in her behalf.

The Bishop of S. Andrews appointed to preach, Mr. John Cowper usurpeth the place.

manded to leave the place: and making as though he would say, the Captain of the Guard went to pull him out; whereupon he burst forth in such speeches, *This day shall be a witness against the King in the great day of the Lord*; and then denouncing a woe to the inhabitants of Edinburgh, he went down, and the Bishop of S. Andrews entering the Pulpit did perform the duty required. The noise was great for a while amongst the people; but after they were quieted, and had heard the Bishop (as he was a most powerful Preacher) out of that Text to Timothy discourse of the duty of Christians in *praying for all men*, they grieved sore to see their Teachers so far overtaken, and condemned their obstinacy in that point. In the afternoon Cowper was called before the Council, where Mr. Walter Balcanquhall and Mr. William Watson Ministers, accompanying him, for some idle speeches that escaped them, were both discharged from preaching in Edinburgh during his Majesties pleasure, and Cowper sent prisoner to Blackness.

The Ministers at Edinburgh discharged.

The Queen of Scots some moneths before having notice given her of the Sentence pronounced against her, and being willed to prepare her self for death, was nothing thereby dejected, but thanking God for that her sorrowful life was now to end, intreated the Queen of England by her Letters for three things. 'First, that her Body might be carried by her servants into France, to be buried besides her Mother. Next, that she should not be put to death secretly, but in the presence of her servants and others, who might bear witness of her dying in Christ, against the false rumors which her adversaries might disperse of her. Thirdly, that her servants might have leave to go whither they would, and enjoy the mean Legacies she had bequeathed unto them in her Testament. Which things she requested in the name of Jesus Christ, by the Soul and memory of Henry the VII. Progenitor to them both, and by the Royal Honor and Title which she had carried. In the same Letters she complained of the indignity done unto her in the taking away of her Royal Furniture, and that her keepers did use her without that respect which was due to her estate and birth. But to none of these desires was any answer given, the Queen of England dissembling that she had received any such Letter.

The Queen of Scots her request to the Queen of England.

Yet was she much perplexed and doubtful what to do, whether to take her out of the way or not. If she should be spared, she doubted the Noblemen who had given sentence against her would take it ill, and perhaps run other courses to free themselves from her malice; and to take her away, she knew it would be interpreted a great cruelty on her part, as likewise that the King her Son would be sore displeased: for albeit that the Master of Gray at his parting from her had in private given hopes that the Kings Title being reserved, and no prejudice made thereto by the Sentence given against his Mother, her Death would be forgotten; yet Sir Robert Melvil, who was joyned in Commission with him, had assured her, if rigor were used, that friendship would no longer be kept. Debating thus with her self some days upon the most expedient, she signed a Warrant for the Execution, and gave it to Davison one of her Secretaries to be passed the great Seal: which was no sooner done than, repenting the direction, she told him that she would take another way. But having before communicated the Warrant with the Council, they presently sent Beal their Clerk with the Mandate and Letters to the Earls of Shrewsbury, Kent, Derby and Cumberland, to see the same performed.

The Queen of England is doubtful which way to take.

The Earls, accompanied with the Sheriff of the Shire and Justices of Peace, came to Fotheringhay on Tuesday the 7 of February, and having signified the cause of their coming, willed the Queen to prepare her self to die, for that she was to suffer the next morning. She was no way moved, as it seemed, and said, *I did not think that Queen Elizabeth my Sister would have consented to my Death; but since it is so, Death is to me most welcome. That Soul is not worthy of the Heavens Joys, whose Body cannot endure one blow of the Hangman. Only I will request, said she, that I may speak with my Confessor, and Melvil my Steward.* It was answered that her Confessor would not be permitted to come unto her, but she should have the Bishop or Dean of Peterborough, who were nigh by, to give her comfort. She replied, *They are of another Profession and cannot be fit comforters to me: but since you will not allow my Confessor to come at me, I will comfort my self in God.*

The Queen of Scots willed to prepare her self for Death.

Some

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Her behaviour
& preparation.

Some other speeches passed amongst them touching *Babington*, and her Secretaries *No* and *Curle*, who had both confessed the interchange of Letters with *Babington*; after which the Earls departed. She, calling for Supper, commanded her servants to make haste, that she might have leisure to set things in order. Having supped sparingly, (as her custom was) she made an Inventory of her goods and moveables, setting down the names of those for whom she appointed them; and unto some she gave money with her own hand. This done, she wrote unto her Confessor, intreating him to pray unto God for her; and a few lines to the French King and Duke of *Guise* in behalf of her servants. At the ordinary hour she went to bed, and slept some hours quietly; after which having awaked, she spent the rest of the night in Prayer.

The day beginning to break, she apparelled her self as she was wont to do on the Festival-days, and calling together her servants, shewed unto them her Will, desiring them to take in good part the Legacies she had bequeathed unto them, since her means were at the time no better; and then gave her self wholly to Devotion. About eight of the clock the Sheriff of the Shire, named *Thomas Andrews*, entered the Chappel, where she was praying on her knees, and told her that all was ready: And I am likewise, said she. Thus arising, she came forth to her Chamber of Presence, where she made a short speech to her servants, willing them to fear God and live virtuously; and so kissing her Women, and giving the men-servants her hand to kiss, she bade them farewell.

She biddeth
her servants
farewel.

The Earls and other Gentlemen meeting her, she shewed a most cheerful countenance, nothing dejected, but looking grave and devout, with a Crucifix of ivory in her hands. As she was going towards the Hall, where she was to suffer, when *Andrew Melvil* her Steward did bewail his mishap, in that he should be the carrier of the news of this Ladies Death into Scotland, she said, *Do not lament, but rather be glad for thou shalt straightway see Mary Stewart delivered from all her cares: you may tell them that I die constant in my Religion, and firm in affection towards Scotland and France. Hitherto thou hast served me faithfully; and howbeit I take thee to be in Religion a Protestant, and I myself am Catholick, yet seeing there is but one Christ, I charge thee, upon thine account to him, that thou carry these my last words to my Son, and shew that I pray him to serve God, to defend the Catholick Church, and govern his Kingdom in peace, and never to put himself in the power of another, as I have done. Certifie him that I have done nothing prejudicial to the Crown of Scotland, and will him to keep Friendship with the Queen of England; and serve thou him faithfully.* With these words some tears falling from her eyes, she bade him farewell.

Her directions
to Andrew
Melvil her
Steward.She is brought
to the place of
Execution.

After this she was brought to the Hall, in the midst whereof, over against the Chimney, (where was a great fire) a Scaffold was erected of two foot high and twelve foot broad, having two steps to ascend: the Scaffold was railed about almost a yard high, and all covered with black cloth, as were the Chair, Stools, and Block, and Cushions to kneel upon. Before she went up, turning to the Earls, she requested that her servants might stand by at her death. They answered, that their passionate weeping would disquiet her, and do no good else. Nay, said she, *I will promise for them, they shall not do so: it is but a small favor, and such as Queen Elizabeth would not deny me, to have my Maids present.* She named *Melvil* her Steward, *Burgoin* her Physician, her Apothecary and Chirurgion, with two Maids.

The Dean of
Peterborough
offereth to
comfort her.

Being on the Scaffold, and silence made, the Clerk of the Council did read the Commission, which he listened to, as it had been some other matter: That ended, the Dean of *Peterborough* began to remember her of her present condition, and to comfort her in the best way he could. She interrupting his speech, willed him to hold his peace, for that he would not hear him. And when, excusing himself that what he did was by command of her Majesties Council, he began again to speak; *Peace Mr. Dean*, said she, *I have nothing to do with you, nor you with me.* The Noblemen desiring him not to trouble her farther, she said, *That is best, for I am settled in the ancient Catholick Religion wherein I was born and bred, and now will die in the same.* The Earl of *Kent* saying, that as yet they would not cease to pray unto God

God for her, that he would vouchsafe to open her eyes, and enlighten her mind with the knowledge of his Truth, that she might die therein: she answered, *That you may do at your pleasure, but I will pray by my self.* So the Dean conceiving a Prayer, and all the company following him, she likewise prayed aloud in the Latin Tongue: and when the Dean had finished, she in the English Language commended unto God the estate of the afflicted Church; prayed for her Son, that he might prosper and live happily, and for Queen *Elizabeth*, that she might live long, and govern her subjects peaceably; adding, that she hoped only to be saved by the blood of Christ, at the feet of whose Picture presented on the Crucifix she would willingly shed her blood. Then lifting up the Crucifix and kissing it, she said, *As thy arms, O Christ, were spread abroad on the Cross; so with the outstretched Arms of thy Mercy receive me, and forgive me my sins.*

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She prayeth
by her self.

This said she rose up, and was by two of her Women disrobed of her upper Garments. The Executioners offering their help, and putting to their hands, she put them back, saying, *She was not accustomed to be served with such Grooms, nor dressed before such a multitude.* Her upper Robe taken off, she did quickly loose her Doublet, which was laced on the back, and putting on her Arms a pair of silken Sleeves, her body covered with a Smock only, she kissed her Maids again, and bade them farewell. They bursting forth in tears, she said, *I promised for you that you should be quiet; get you hence, and remember me.* After which kneeling down most resolutely, and with the least token of fear that might be, having her eyes covered with a handkerchief, she repeated the Psalm, *In te Domine confido; ne confundar in eternum.* Then stretching forth her body with great quietness, and laying her neck over the Block, she cried aloud, *In manus tuas Domine, commendo spiritum meum.* One of the Executioners holding down her hands, the other at two blows cut off her Head, which falling out of her attire seemed to be somewhat gray. All things about her were taken from the Executioners, and they not suffered to carry their Aprons, or any thing else with them that her Blood had touched; the Clothes and Block were also burnt, her Body embalmed, and in solemn manner buried in the Cathedral Church at *Peterborough*; and after many years taken up by the King her Son, and interred at *Westminster* amongst the rest of the Kings.

The manner
of the Execution.

This was the end of Queen *Maries* Life; a Princess of many rare Vertues, but crossed with all the crosses of Fortune, which never any did bear with greater courage and magnanimity to the last. Upon her return from *France*, for the first two or three years, she carried her self most worthily; but then giving ear to some wicked persons, and transported with the passion of revenge, for the indignity done unto her in the Murder of *David Rizio* her Secretary, she fell into a Labyrinth of Troubles, which forced her to flee into *England*, where after 19 years Captivity she was put to death in the manner you have heard. Nigh unto her Sepulchre at *Peterborough* was affixed at the time, by some friend that bewailed her Death, this Inscription.

A brief description
of her Fortune.

MARIA Scotorum Regina, Regis filia, Regis Gallorum vidua, Reginae Angliae agnata & haeres proxima, Virtutibus Regis & animo Regio ornata, Jure Regio frustra saepius implorata, barbara & tyrannica Crudelitate, Ornamentum nostri seculi, & Lumen vere Regum extinguitur; eodemque nefario judicio, & MARIA Scotorum Regina morte naturali, & omnes superstites Reges plebei facti morte multantur. * hic extat. Cum sacris enim vivae MARIAE cineribus, omnium Regum atque Principum violatam atque prostratam Majestatem hic jacere scito. Et quia tacitum Regale satis superque Reges sui officii monet, plura non addo, Viator.

The inscription
on secretly affixed
on her Sepulchre.[* videtur ali-
quid disjuncte.]

That is.

MARY Queen of Scotland, Daughter of a King, Widow of the King of France, Kinswoman and next Heir to the Queen of England, adorned with Royal Vertues and a Princely spirit, having often, but in vain, implored to have the Right due to a Prince done unto her, the Ornament of our Age, and Mirror of Princes, by a barbarous and tyrannical Cruelty is cut off; and by one and the same infamous judgment, both MART Queen of Scotland is punished with death,

The same Eng-
lished.

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'death, and all Kings living are made liable to the same. A strange and uncouth kind of Grave this is, wherein the living are included with the dead; for with the Almes of this blessed MARY, thou shalt know that the Majesty of all Kings and Princes lies here depressed and violated. But because the Regal secret doth admonish all Kings of their duty, Traveller, I will say no more.

The Author was not known, nor could be found out, so it was taken away. But as soon as it was told the Queen that the Execution was done, she grieved exceedingly, and put on a mourning habit, laying all the fault upon Secretary Davison to whom she had said that she would take another way. Mean while she sent Mr. Robert Cary, one of the Lord Hunsdons Sons, to the King, with this Letter of her own hand-writing.

The Queen of England writeth to the King by Mr. Robert Cary.

MT dear Brother, I would you knew, though not felt, the extreme dolor that overwhelmeth my mind, for that miserable accident which far contrary to my meaning hath befallen. I have sent this Kinsman of mine, whom ere now it hath pleased you to favor, to instruct you truly of that which is too irksome for my pen to tell you. I beseech you that as God and many mo know how innocent I am in this case, so you will believe me, that if I had done it, I would have abode by it: I am not so base minded, that the fear of any living creature should make me afraid to do what is just, or done to deny the same; I am not so degenerate, nor carry so vile a mind; but as not to disguise fits most a King, so will I never dissemble my actions, but cause them shew as I mean them. This assure your self for me, that as I know it was deserved, if I had meant it, I would never lay it on anothers shoulders; and to impute to my self that which I did not so much as think of, I will not. The circumstances you will be pleased to hear of this bearer: And for my part, think you have not in the world a more loving Kinswoman and more dear Friend, nor any that will watch more carefully to preserve you and your State. And if any would otherwise persuade you, think they bear more good will to others than to you. Thus, in haste, I leave to trouble you, beseeching God to send you a long Reign.

Your most assured loving Sister and Cousen,
ELIZABETH R.

The King denieth him access.

The King denying him presence, and refusing to receive his Letters, he advertised the Queen, who willed him, if he could not find access to his Majesty, to deliver his Message and Letters to some of the Council, if it should be the Kings pleasure to take information from them. This after the delay of a few days was yielded unto, and with the Letters a Writing delivered to be shewed his Majesty of this Tenor.

Mr. Caries Declaration in writing.

WHereas the Queens Majesty, my Mistress, desiring to have your Majesty certified aright of the Death of the Queen your Mother, and in what sort the same was done, hath commanded me, since I am denied your presence, to declare my Message to certain of your Council; I have thought best to put it in Writing, because words may be mistaken, and my charge this way better performed. First, She commanded me to assure your Majesty, that it never entered in her thought to put the Queen your Mother to death, notwithstanding the daily persuasions of her Council, the supplications of the Nobility, Knights and Gentlemen, and the hourly outcries of her poor people and Commonalty, wherewith she was wearied, and out of measure grieved to see their determination fixed that way. And that upon advertisements coming every day unto her, of the preparation of Ships and men both in France and Spain to invade her Realm, and reports of the breaking open of Fotheringhay Castle, and the Queen your Mothers escape; lest she should in any such extremity be unprovided, she had signed a Warrant to her Council for doing what they thought best with your Mother; which Warrant she delivered to her Secretary Mr. Davison to be kept, not intending it should be given out of his hands, except some Invasion from abroad or Insurre-

Insurrection of Rebels at home were made to procure her Liberty. But her Secretary, otherwise than she had purposed, having shewed the Warrant to two or three of the Council, they called the whole number together, and presently sent a Mandate for her Execution; which was done. She protests to God, before she knew of it. Hereupon the Secretary is committed, and will not escape her high displeasure. This is the effect of my Message; which if I could express so lively as I did hear her utter it with a heavy heart and sorrowful countenance, I think your Majesty would rather pity the grief which she endureth, than in any sort blame her for the fact whereunto she never gave consent.

This Declaration gave the King no content, for he could not think that her Council would have presumed without her own knowledge to take the life of his Mother; and for the censure of the Secretary, he did esteem it but a mockery, and not a repairing of the wrong he had received. Neither wanted he persons about him to sharpen him to take revenge; some out of a desire to have all things troubled, others out of the hatred they bare to Religion, and some truly resenting the injury as done to the whole Nation. Which when the Queen understood, and that her Messenger was returned without audience, she labored by her Ministers, of whom she was ever well furnished, to pacifie his mind, and divert him from the War he had intended. These working privately with the Kings chief Counsellors, and such of his Chamber as he was known to affect, dealt so as they kept off things from breaking forth unto open Hostility, which was every day expected. Secretary Walsingham first by a long Letter directed to the Lord Thirlstan, who was then in most credit, and had the chief administration of affairs, proponed divers weighty and important considerations, that should keep the King from taking any such resolution. Because the Letter contained the very true reasons that in end moved his Majesty to forbear violence and take a more calm course, I thought meet to set it down word by word, as it standeth in the Original.

The Declaration giveth no content to the King.

The Queen laboreth to divert the King from War.

SIR, being absent from Court when the late Execution of the Queen your Sovereigns Mother happened, I did forthwith upon my return impart to Mr. Douglas some things concerning the course was conceived here, by your said Sovereigns best friends, fit to be holden in this remediless accident for continuance of Peace and Amity between the two Crowns, as a thing for the weal of both Nations to be desired. But finding him unwilling to meddle therewith, I have thought good to write to the same effect unto your self. The rather for that I presently understand, by some advertisements out of that Country, that the death of the Queen is likely to breed so strange an alienation of his Majesties mind towards this Realm, tending (as is reported) wholly to violence, and to revenge of that which hath been so necessarily done by the whole Body of the same; whereof as for my own part I should be right sorry, so it is generally hoped that his Majesty, being of that singular judgment himself, by the good help and advice of such as you are in credit and authority about him, men of wisdom and experience, whom he will hear, this mischief will notwithstanding be carefully and prudently prevented, considering how every way, all things being rightly weighed, this course will be found prejudicial as well to your said Sovereigns Estate as to his Reputation, if he resolve to persist therein.

For, first, the enterprize will undoubtedly be condemned in the sight of all such as shall not be transported with some particular passion: for that they shall see that he takes Arms for revenge of an Action, besides the necessity wherein it is grounded, full of so honorable and just proceedings, as howsoever the effect was contrary to their liking, the manner thereof by the late Queens great favorers could not but be approved and allowed. And as on the one side, the King your Sovereign oppugning the course of Justice; of so unlawful, unjust and desperate a Quarrel cannot be expected any other thing than a most unhappy and miserable issue: so we, being assured that in the defence of Justice the assistance of his mighty arm will not fail us whose judgment this was, need not to fear whatsoever man shall attempt to the contrary against this Realm.

A Letter of Walsingham to the Lord Thirlstan.

'But

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‘But not to stand upon the justness of the Quarrel, which every man perhaps will not so much regard; it would be considered what means your Sovereign shall have to go through with such an enterprise, if he take it in hand. For the forces of his own Realm being so far inferior to these in *England*, no man is so simple but seeth it were no way safe for his Majesty, trusting only thereto, to make head against the power of this Land; neither is it thought that any man will be found so unadvised as to wish him so to do.

‘But as it may be that a great number for lack of understanding are carried away with such vain discourses, as some without solid ground imagine of what might be done in this case by a King of *Scotland* backed and assisted (as they conceive in the air) with the *French* and *Spanish* aid; so it is likely enough there shall not want those that either for satisfaction of their private passions, or supply of their necessities, or better affectionating some other their private designs, would be content to serve themselves of this present publick occasion and opportunity; who will propound, and promise also, more to his Majesty of such foreign assistance, than they know in their consciences can be performed, if he would declare himself enemy to this Realm; which that he should (though to his own ruine) the enemies of both Realms will do what they can to procure.

‘But men of wisdom and understanding, laying before their eyes as well the accustomed delays, and after long solicitation and pursuit the simple supplies and support commonly found at these foreign Potentates hands; as also, how doubtful and uncertain the success of War may prove, *England* (God be thanked) being so prepared, and in case to defend it self, both otherwise, and by the conjunction of *Holland* and *Zeland*s forces by Sea, in respect whereof this Realm need not fear what all the Potentates of *Europe* being bended against us can do for to annoy the same; Due consideration, I say, being taken hereof, you will easily judge and find, how vain it were for your Sovereign upon so uncertain hopes to embark Himself and Estate in an unnecessary War. But much more if you shall consider what a sequel and train of dangers and hazards this War draweth therewith, the consequence whereof reacheth to whatsoever your Sovereign possesseth or hopeth for in this life. For escaping to be slain in field, if he should happen to be taken prisoner, or be constrained to retire himself out of the Realm (things that have fallen out oft in experience) and then, having incensed this whole Realm against him, he should be disabled from any Right in the Succession of this Crown, (as authority is given to do it by the same Statute whereby they proceeded against the Mother) for attempting the Invasion of this Land, what extremity should he be reduced unto?

‘And truly it could not otherwise be, the ancient Enmity between the two Nations, now forgotten, being by drawing blood one of another again likely to be in such sort revived, as it would be impossible to make them like of a Prince of that Nation, and specially him who had been upon so unjust a ground the author of that unfortunate Breach.

‘Besides that the greatest part of the ancient Nobility, by whose Judgment the late Queen was condemned, and the rest of the principal Gentlemen of the Realm, who confirmed the same in Parliament, should have just cause to adventure any thing, even to the marching over their bellies, rather than to yield to his Government, who, carrying such a vindictive mind, they might doubt would one day call their lives and honours in question.

‘And as for the remedy and relief which he might attend (standing in these terms) of foreign Princes, there are many examples of the former Ages, and within fresh memory. As the King of *Navarre*s Grandfather by the Mothers side, and *Christiern* King of *Denmark*, both were allied to *Francis* the First and *Charles* the Fifth, two of the mightiest Potentates that reigned, in long time. And that this present *Don Antonio* may suffice for ensample, to teach all Princes, if they can avoid it, to beware how they fall into that state whereby they shall be enforced to seek their own by other Potentates means. Princes are not so ready in these days to

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‘to embrace others mens quarrels, but where they are extraordinarily interested in their own fortunes.

‘Wherefore I doubt not but it will be seen by men of judgment, nor transported with passion or led away with private respects, that it should be every way the only best course for your Sovereign, by a good and kind usage of her Majesty, and by shewing that Princely moderation, as well in this grievous accident of his Mothers Death, as his whole proceeding with this Realm (which the excellency of his Highness Education seemeth to promise) to seek to win the hearty good will of this Realm, as the chief and principal assurance he can in any sort obtain.

‘For to trust to depend either upon the *French* King or the King of *Spain*, as if by their assistance he might attain to the present Possession of this Crown, which be indeed the only two Potentates whom he must have recourse unto, if he reject the Amity of *England*; whosoever shall so counsel your Sovereign, as things presently stand, shall, in the judgment of men of best understanding, bewray great want either of fidelity or judgment, drawing his Majesty unto so untoward and desperate a course.

‘For it is no way safe for any Prince to repose his trust and strength upon their favor and assistance to whose desires and designs his Greatness may yield any impeachment and hinderance: so were it clearly against common Reason to expect other support and assistance from them than might stand with their own commodities and pretensions, in respect whereof neither of the two foresaid Kings can simply and roundly joyn with your Sovereign to his good.

‘First, His Religion being odious to them both, and likely to prove most prejudicial to the Catholick cause, he growing so great as he should be made by the Union of the two Crowns: the consideration whereof caused his Mothers affairs to stick a long time, and made now in end leave him quite out of the reckoning, ordaining the King of *Spain* her Heir if her Son became not Catholick.

‘Next, it is merely repugnant to the Policy of *France*, were it but in respect of the ancient claim *England* maketh to that Crown, to suffer the uniting of this Island under one Prince.

‘They have been content in former times, when *England* had a footing in *France*, to serve themselves of your Nation, therewith to annoy this Realm, by the means of diverting or dividing the forces thereof; and so perhaps the Politicks of *France* can be content to wish at this day, by your Sovereigns quarrel or any other such like, to be eased of the burthen and miseries of the present War where-with they are plagued, by transporting the same into this Island. But as this Realm hath good means to prevent that mischief if it were intended; so were your Sovereign to look, when all were done, but to be made an instrument, as his predecessors have been, of the effusion of much *Scottish* blood for *French* quarrels, and the desolation of that Realm.

‘And as things stand presently in *France*, it is not thought that you should find the King ready to hearken to any enterprise against this Land, the said King being most desirous to live in Peace both with his neighbours abroad and his subjects at home, but that he hath been forced full sore against his will, by the practice of them of the house of *Guise*, to countenance with his authority the Civil War raised in that Realm; which maketh him, whatsoever shew he maketh of the contrary, to hate them in his heart.

‘Neither would it be held sound counsel to be given him by any that depends upon his fortune, to farther the advancement of a King of *Scots*, so nearly allied to that Family which he hath discovered and greatly feareth to level at his own Crown, with any intention to depose him, which by the greatness of a King of *Scots* they should be so much the sooner and better able to effect.

‘The King of *Spains* assistance, being now in War with this Realm, were more likely to be obtained, but far more dangerous to be used in respect of his insatiable ambition, deep practices and power accompanied in this case with a colour of right; wherein how far he would seek to prevail, any opportunity or advantage being offered, it may justly be doubted by the experience that sundry States have

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'have had, which upon slender grounds of title have been extorted and wrung from the true inheritors, and annexed to his own Kingdom; as *Navarre, Portugal*, and all he possesseth in *Italy* hath been.

'It is believed that the King of *Spain*, considering his years and unferled estate every way, would willingly incline to Peace, if it were offered with reasonable Conditions, and not over-readily at this present embark himself in any new enterprize.

'But otherwise it is well known, that as he had fancied to himself an Empire of all this part of *Europe*, so he had an eye to this Realm ever since he was King in right of his Wife. The Conquest was intended under colour of Religion, as was discovered by some that were of his own Privy Council at that time. His pretention to be the Heir of the house of *Lancaster*, and, since the late Queens death, the first Catholick Prince of the blood-Royal of *England*, as also the Donation of this Crown made him by the Queen of *Scots* in her Letters, with a promise to confirm it by Testament, (things blazed abroad by the said Kings Ambassador at *Paris*) ought to breed jealousy and suspicion in your Sovereigns head, and give him to think how he should be used at such an assistants hand. Auxiliary forces have ever been reputed dangerous, if they either in number or policy were superior to them that called them in. The assistance therefore of *Spain* and *France* being of this nature, as your Sovereign hath need of neither, so he shall do well to forbear them both, and so shall it be most for his ease.

'It may be some will pretend, that by change of his Religion your Sovereign shall better his condition in regard of these foreign Princes, besides a great party within this Realm that thereby shall be drawn wholly to depend upon his fortune. But the poor distressed estate of *Don Antonio*, being a Catholick Prince spoiled by a Catholick, and receiving so little succour at Catholick Princes hands, shall be a sufficient bar to all that can be alledged in that behalf.

'As for the Catholick party in *England*, in his Mothers life it was never so united as they drew all in one line, much less will they be brought suddenly to relieve upon him if he should alter his Religion (as God defend) which would be his utter discredit and overthrow both with the one and the other party, neither having cause to repose any confidence in him; the Protestants, because he had renounced the Religion wherein he was with great care brought up; the Papists, because they could not be assured in short space that he was truly turned to their Faith. Yea, all men should have reason to forsake him who had thus dissembled and forsaken his God.

'And where it was given out, that divers do insinuate unto your Sovereign, that his Honour and Reputation is so deeply interested herein, as it must necessarily turn to his perpetual ignominy and reproach, if he give not some notable testimony to the World of the Affection and dutiful Love he bare to his Mother; your King, being of that singular judgment that he is thought to have, cannot be ignorant how far true Honour ought to possess a Christian Prince; that is, not whither Passion or Fury useth to carry men, but whither Reason and Wisdom have laid the bounds, that is, within the compass of possibility, decency, and justice. If the late Queen had been innocent, Revenge had been necessarily just and honourable; but being culpable, contrary in all reasonable mens judgments, he hath sufficiently discharged the duty of a Son in mediating for his Mother so long as she was alive, and so far as he was able to prevail. They which require more at his Highness hands, may be presumed not to regard what becometh his place and dignity, but to seek the satisfaction of their own particular passions and desires.

'And whosoever persuadeth his Highness, that the Mediation used by him for his Mother, contrary to the humble pursuit of the whole Parliament, hath already given that offence to the Nobility and people of this Land, as it behoveth him of force to have recourse to foreign supports, doth greatly abuse both his Highness and this Realm: for as they were not ignorant what Nature might and ought to move his Highness unto, so long as there was any hope of her Life; so they do not

'not doubt but that Reason would induce him to leave sorrowing and thinking of her in due time.

'Thus have I troubled you with a long discourse, whereunto the desire I have of the continuance of Amity between the two Crowns hath carried me unawares farther than I purposed; all which I refer to your good consideration, not doubting but you will afford most readily and willingly all good offices that shall lie in your power, to the end that a happy conclusion may ensue hereof, which shall tend to the common good of the whole Island. And so I commit you to God. From the Court at *Greenwich*, the 4 of *March*, 1586.

Your Lordships assured Friend,
F. R. WALSINGHAM.

His Letter shewed to the King, served much to allay his anger, as afterwards appeared. In the *May* after, the Estates being assembled at *Halirudhouse*, they shew a great forwardness all of them for assisting the revenge of his Mothers Death, every man offering to spend his goods and life in that quarrel: yet the business was so timed out that Summer by the private dealing of certain Counsellors, as hopes were given to the Queen that matters should compose, and a more peaceable course be taken.

It was at this time that Sir *William Stewart*, brother to Captain *James*, returned again to Court, and gave his attendance upon the Master of *Gray*. The Master then was plotting a change of Court, and had conspired with the Lord *Maxwel* to kill the Lord *Thirlstan*, Sir *James Home* of *Coldingknowes*, and Mr. *Robert Douglas* Collector, whose power with the King he greatly envied. This he reveals to Sir *William*, as one that he believed would take part in the business; and to make him the more forward tells, that it was *Thirlstan*, the Justice Clerk, *Blantyre*, and himself that brought in the Lords at *Striveling*, and put his Brother from Court, which he repented, and would help so far as he could to recall him. Sir *William* knowing the mans nature, and that he was not to be trusted, gave him some hopes of joining with him, but in the mean time related all to the King. This coming to *Thirlstan*'s knowledge, he complaineth thereof in Council, and desireth a trial. The Master denied that any such purpose had passed betwixt them: whereupon Sir *William* was called, and standing to that he had told the King, they two fell a contesting. After some bitter speeches, Sir *William* taking him up roundly, said, that he deserved no credit, as having abused his Ambassage to *England*, and treacherously consented to the death of the Kings Mother.

There had a rumor gone of a Letter written by the Master to the Queen of *England* after his parting from that Court, advising her to put the Queen of *Scots* out of the way; and the words he had used, *Mortui non mordent*, Dead folks bite not, were in every mans mouth: and now the challenge being made publick, the Council moved the King to put the Master to trial, and commit both the one and the other. So were they both the same night sent to the Castle of *Edinburgh*. The Lord *Thirlstan*, and those others that were touched with the enterprize of *Striveling*, made great instance to be cleared in that point: but the King, not liking to search too deeply in those businesses, said, That their own Purgation, with the Declaration of the Noblemen that came home at that time, was sufficient. There were present of that number the Lord *Hamilton*, the Earls of *Marre* and *Bothwell*, who upon oath declared, that they had no assurance from any about the King at the time of their coming, till they were received by his Majesty in favour. The like Purgation was made by the Lord *Thirlstan*, the Justice Clerk, and the rest, and so that business ceased.

After some two or three days the Master of *Gray* and his accuser were brought again before the Council, where the same things that before we heard being repeated by Sir *William Stewart*, he added farther, That he knew the Master to be a trafficker against Religion, and that he had written divers letters to the King of *France*

An. 1587.
A Convention.
of the Estates.The King is informed of certain speeches uttered by the Master of *Gray*, 20. Apr.The Master of *Gray* and Sir *William Stewart* committed.Sir *William Stewart* insists in the challenge of the Master of *Gray*.

An. 1586

and Duke of Guise, declaring that the King was to seek their assistance in revenge of his Mothers Death, but intreated them not to grant him any help, unless he did grant Toleration to the Catholicks for exercise of their Religion. The Master being desired to answer, and, as he look'd for any favour, to deal ingenuously, and confess the truth, said, That he could not deny his dealing for Toleration of Catholicks, and that he disliked some of the Officers of State, and could have wished an alteration; but that he never had so much as a thought against his Majesties Person; beseeching to impute these things wherein he had offended to his youth and foolish ambition. Being enquired touching the Letter sent to the Queen of England, he confessed That when he perceived her inclining to take the Queen of Scots Life, he advised her rather to take her away in some private way, than to do it in form of Justice; and acknowledged the words *Mortui non mordent*, to be his, but not used by him to the fence they were detorted.

Sir William Stewart liberated, and the Master of Gray imprisoned.

His Confession did liberate his Accuser, who was presently set at liberty, and he himself sent to the Tolbooth of Edinburgh to attend his Arraignment, which was made a few days after. There, having repeated the same things in effect, he submitted himself to the Kings mercy; who thereupon gave order to the Justice to banish him the Realm, and in case he did return without licence to pronounce the sentence of death. Meanwhile he was prohibited to go either into England or Ireland, under the like pain. A punishment too mild, as many at that time judged, for crimes so hateful and odious. But the innated clemency of the King, and his unwillingness to use rigor towards them whom he had once favoured, did not suffer him to inflict the punishment which the offence had merited.

Captain James Stewart information against the Lord Thirlstan.

Captain James, who since the enterprise at Striveling had lurked amongst his friends, did now begin to shew himself, and importune the King with delations of Thirlstan and some other Counsellors, as being accessary to his Mothers Death, and having a purpose to deliver him into England. These informations he sent inclosed in a Letter to the King by Henry Stewart of Craigihall. The King communicating the same to the Council, direction was given to charge him to enter his Person within the Palace of Linlithgow, and remain there till the truth of these delations should be tried: certifying him, that if he failed to obey, process of Forfeiture should be laid against him, as a sower of discord betwixt the King and his Nobility. When at the time prefixed he entered not, the Office of Chancellery, whereof as yet he used the title, was declared void, and bestowed upon the Lord Thirlstane.

Thirlstane created Chancellor.

A Parliament indicted at Edinburgh.

The Noblemen reconciled.

The King being now 21 years complete, a Parliament was indicted to be holden at Edinburgh the 29 of July. For a preparation thereto, and that the King might find the better assistance, the Noblemen were sent for, they especially betwixt whom there were known to be any quarrels. At their coming the King did press them with a submission of all controversies, and having obtained their consents, made them all friends. Only William Lord Reister, refusing to reconcile with Traquair, was committed and sent to the Castle of Edinburgh, where he was detained some months, till that variance was also composed. Such content the King conceived of their agreement, that he did feast them all Royally at Halirudhouse, thereafter caused them walk in hands two and two in form of procession from the Palace to the Mercat-Crofs of Edinburgh, where they sealed their concord by drinking healths one to another, to the exceeding great joy of all the beholders.

A general Assembly of the Church.

The Kings propositions to the Assembly by his Commissioners.

A general Assembly was then also called by his Majesties Proclamation to the 20 of June, where the King did purpose to have all matters settled betwixt him and the Church: but this meeting had not the like success. For the Chancellor and Justice Clerk being sent thither with certain Articles, of which two specials were to desire satisfaction for the offences committed by James Gibson and Mr. John Cowper Ministers, and that Mr. Robert Montgomery might be received without any Ceremonies into their fellowship; answer was made, That if the Petitions of the Church in the approaching Parliament should be granted, they would labour to bring matters to such a middest as might best agree with the honour of the Ministry, satisfy the offence of the godly, and the Conscience of their Brethren, against whom his Majesty had taken offence. And for Mr. Robert Montgomery, they should dispense with some Ceremonies used in admitting Excommunicants, in case the King

was

was willing to remit somewhat of the satisfaction craved of the other two brethren. An. 1587. This answer did so displease the King, as refusing to enter into any such capitulations, he left off all farther treating with them at that time.

But Montgomery being redacted to great necessity, and not knowing what course to take, (for the Duke of Lennox his agents having possessed themselves in the Bishoprick, he was no more acknowledged) did resign his title in favor of Mr. William Areskin Parson of Campsie, a friend and follower of the Earl of Marre. This Gentleman being well beloved of the Ministry, and otherwise of good parts, obtained the consent of the Presbytery of Glasgow, and was admitted thereto by them, although he was a Laick, and bare no charge in the Church. They being called to an account of this their doing in the next Assembly, excused themselves, saying, That since Church-men were not permitted to enjoy the Bishoprick, they esteemed it better he should be in title of it than any other; and that he had given his bonds to renounce the same, in case the general Assembly did not allow of his Admission. The excuse for the time was accepted, yet their doing was disallowed, and they ordained to pursue him upon his bonds for disannulling the Admission: but he found means to retain the same, till Bishop James Beaton (who lived in France) was restored. Montgomery his Resignation being then made publick, he was shortly after as informally absolved as he was excommunicated, and placed at a Church in Cunningham, where he lived in a poor estate to his death.

Montgomery resigneth the Bishoprick of Glasgow to Mr. William Areskin.

The Parliament keeping at the time appointed, Mr. David Lindesay, Mr. Robert Pont and some others, having Commission from the Church, did present themselves in the Parliament-House at the first sitting, and in name of the Church desired the Prelates that were presented to be removed, as having no authority from the Church, and the most of them no Function nor Charge in it at all. Mr. Edward Bruce, Abbot of Kinross, rising up and directing his speech to the King, made a long discourse of the right they had to sit and give voice for the Church in these meetings; complaining that the Ministers had most disorderly shut them forth of their places in the Church, and now they thought to exclude them from their places in the Estate, which they hoped his Majesty would not suffer, and would punish as a presumptuous arrogancy on the part of the Petitioners. Mr. Robert Pont replying somewhat bitterly, the King willed them to be quiet, and present their Petitions orderly to the Lords of the Articles, where they should be answered according to Reason. When it came to the Articles, this being in the front of their Petitions was simply rejected: some other Petitions were passed as they had desired, for ratifying all Laws made in the Kings Minority in favors of the Church, for trying and censuring the adversaries of true Religion, and for the punishment of such as did menace or invade the Ministers of the Church.

The Churches Petition to the Parliament against the Prelates.

It was in this Parliament that the Temporality of Benefices was annexed to the Crown, upon a pretext of bettering the Patrimony thereof, and that the King might have means to bear forth the honor of his Estate, and not burthen his subjects with Taxations for his support. This was the publick pretext, and the King made to believe that the reservation of the Prelates Houses and Precincts, with the Tithes of the Churches annexed to their Benefices, would suffice to maintain their dignity and estate. But privately to such of the Ministry as sought the subversion of Episcopal Government it was whispered, That this was the only way to undo the Prelacy, for there being no Livings to maintain them, (as in this case there would be little or nothing remaining, most of the Bishopricks being founded on Temporal lands, and having but Churches annexed) none would be found to accept those places: which also proved true. Hopes besides were given to those Ministers, that they should have the Tithes to use and dispose at their pleasure. Yet was it not long ere the King did find himself abused, the Temporalities formerly disposed (which were not a few) being all in the same Parliament confirmed, and those that remained in a short time begged from him, and given away to the followers of Court, so as nothing was left to benefit or reward any well-deserving servant. When as he saw this, and that the Spiritual Estate was by this mean utterly decayed, the Priors and Abbots being all turned temporal Lords, he did fore forthink the passing of the Act, calling

The Temporality of Benefices annexed to the Crown.

The King forthinketh the passing of the annexation.

An. 1587.
* *Passion*
Augv. lib. 2.
pag. 43.

The small Barons admitted to give voice in Parliament.

The Lord *Hunsdon* hath presence of the King.

A Proclamation against Incursions in England.

The Ambassadors sent into Denmark return.
* 15 May.
* Latter end of August.

A Proclamation against Jesuits and Priests.

calling it * a vile & pernicious Act, and recommending to the Prince his Son the annulling thereof. The Ministers that look'd for restoring the Tithes, perceiving themselves likewise deluded, began also to exclaim and condemn the course, howbeit somewhat too late.

In the same Parliament an Act was made in favor of the small Barons, giving them by their Commissioners a voice in Parliament and Conventions with the others Estates. The Earl of *Crawford* did strongly oppose, and in name of the Nobility protested against their receiving. That which the King intended by this was, to free the Barons of their dependence upon Noblemen, and have the Estates more particularly informed at their meeting of the abuses in the Country. But so far was he from obtaining these ends, as to the contrary they did work him great business in all the ensuing Parliaments.

Soon after the Estates dissolved, the Lord *Hunsdon* Governor of *Berwick* sent to intreat presence of the King; who yielded the more willingly, because he of all the Nobility of *England* had meddled least in the proceedings against his Mother. The Nobleman proposing the same Reasons in effect which *Walsingham* had used in his Letters to the Chancellor, and laying before the King the danger wherein he might bring the Title and right of succession, (which otherwise was undoubted) if he should enter into open War with *England*; did earnestly beseech him, 'seeing that which was done could not be undone, to give place unto necessity, promising (because it was still beaten into the Kings ears that the Execution of his mother did bar his Succession) to bring unto him a Declaration under the hands of all the Judges of *England*, that the Sentence given against his Mother was no hurt to his Right, nor could work any prejudice to his Succession.

This Conference did break the King very much from his resolution; yet the outrages of the Country were great, and their desires so vehement for revenge, that he parted with *Hunsdon* in doubtful terms. But when the Declaration of the Judges which he had promised, was brought unto him, and therewith the Sentence given against *Davison* in the Star Chamber, (whereby it appeared that the Execution was done without the Queens knowledge) he became more appeased, and suffered Proclamations to go out, inhibiting all that dwelt in the Borders to make Incursions upon *England*, as they were begun to do.

About the same time did *Patrick Vans of Barnbarrough*, and Mr. *Peter Tourg* his Majesties Elemosynar, (who had been sent unto *Denmark* to treat of the Marriage *) return * making report of their agreement: whereupon conclusion was taken, that in the opening of the Spring a Nobleman should be directed to accomplish the Ceremonies, and bring home the young Queen. But the death of King *Frederick* her Father, who departed this life in the month of *April* next, with other occasions that intervened, made the business to be delayed certain months.

In the end of the year there came from beyond Sea divers Jesuits and Priests, to deal with the Catholic Noblemen for assisting the *Spanish Armada*, which was then preparing to invade *England*, if possibly they should take land in *Scotland*: for their hope was to find the King favourable, because of the Queens proceedings against his Mother, and that he should joyn his forces with the *Spanish* for revenge of that wrong. But he considering his own danger, if Strangers should set foot in the Isle, and not trusting that the *Spaniard* would take the pains to conquer for him the Crown of *England*, (for that also was profered) refused to give ear unto such motions. Mr. *James Gordon* Jesuite, and Uncle to the Earl of *Huntley*, had been all the Summer before in the Country, and was overseen because of his Nephew, whom the King intended to match with the Duke of *Lennox* his eldest Sister; neither was he much feared, as being a simple man, and not deeply learned. Mr. *Edmond Hay*, brother to *Peter Hay* of *Meginch*, a Jesuite also, but of greater account and more politick and wife, did thereafter arrive, pretending that he came to take his farewell of his friends; and after him came divers others: which made the King give out a Proclamation against the resettlers, and for apprehending their persons.

In this Proclamation, besides Mr. *James Gordon* and the said Mr. *Edmond Hay*, I find named Mr. *Gilbert Brown* Abbot of *Newabbey*, Mr. *John Dury* son natural to *George*

George Dury sometimes Abbot of *Dunfermling*, Mr. *Alexander Mackwhirry*, Mr. *James Cheyn*, Mr. *Alexander Meldrum*, Mr. *William Creighton*, Mr. *James Seaton* and Mr. *John Morton*. Most of these upon their supplications, and sureties given to depart in the first Ships, obtained a protection unto the last of *January*: which did so offend the Ministers, as they did call a number of Noblemen, Barons and Commissioners of Burghs, to meet at *Edinburgh* the sixth of *February*, for advising upon some remedy against the present dangers. The meeting was frequent, and Mr. *Robert Bruce* by the suffrages of all chosen to preside. He had preached ordinarily at *Edinburgh* a year or somewhat more, and was in great respect with all sorts of people, but had not entered as yet into the Ministerial function.

Certain Assessors chosen according to the custom, the first thing proposed was touching the dangers threatned to Religion, and the readiest means for quenching the fire of Papistry kindled through the whole Country, which they were all greatly exhorted to take to heart, and to consider what course was best to obviate these dangers. And to the end things might be done advisedly, the Noblemen were advised to meet apart, the Barons and Commissioners of Burghs likewise apart, to set down their advice in writing, and present the same to the whole Assembly the next Session.

The day following all being convened, the advice of the Noblemen and Barons was presented, containing three Heads. 1. That the Laws of the Country should be prosecuted against Jesuits, Seminary Priests, Idolaters, and the maintainers thereof. And for the more speedy effectuating of the same, that the names of all such should be enrolled and delivered to the Thesaurer, with the names of their resettlers and entertainers, to the end Citations might be directed against them. 2. That in regard of the danger so imminent, his Majesty and Council should be earnestly solicited to proceed in execution of the Laws against the principal Jesuits and their maintainers without delay. 3. That the Noblemen, Barons, Ministers, and whole Assembly should go together to his Majesty, and regrave the peril whereunto the Church and Kingdom was brought by the practices of Jesuits, making offer of their lives, lands and friendship to be employed at his Majesties direction for preventing their wicked devices.

This advice being approved, command was given to meet at two of the clock in the afternoon, that all might go together from the place of the Assembly to the Palace of *Halirudhouse*, where the King then remained. When this was told to the King, and that they were to present themselves in such numbers, he grew into choler, and said *They meant to boast him with their power, and force the execution of their demands*. Therefore refusing access to the multitude, some few of the Principals only were called, to whom he uttered his dislike of those irreverent and tumultuary forms. Yet because he did acknowledge their complaint to be just, and that there was need of a remedy to the evils complained of, he promised to appoint six of the Council to meet with such as the Assembly should design, for advising upon the best remedies.

This reported to the Assembly, they did nominate the Lords of *Wedderburn*, *Calluthie*, *Caphinton*, *Ormston* and *Whittingham*, *John Johnston* Commissioner for *Edinburgh*, *Oliver Peblis* for *Perth*, and *William Menzeis* for *Aberdene*; Mr. *Robert Pont*, *David Lindeisay*, *Andrew Melvil*, and *Peter Blackburn* to attend. These convening the next day, with the Chancellor and some others of the Council did urge in name of the Church, That Mr. *James Gordon* and Mr. *William Creighton* Jesuits, who were known to be in Town, should be apprehended; and that the resettlers of Jesuits and Priests, none excepted, whether they were Noblemen or others of an inferior degree should be punished according to the Laws. For the Noblemen, the Chancellor answered, that the King did mean to use them more calmly, and as he had begun with the Earl of *Huntley*, (of whose Conversion there were good hopes) so he would proceed with others of that degree. For the two Jesuits, it was promised that order should be taken for their dispatch forth of the Country.

The Assembly no ways pleased with the report of this Conference, resolved to present their Grievs to his Majesty in writing, and insist for a more direct answer to King.

An. 1587.
The Jesuits find caution to depart.

A general Assembly of the Church.

A Proposition made for the dangers threatned to Religion.

The advice of the Noblemen and Barons.

The King refuseth access to the multitude.

A Conference betwixt certain of the Council and the Assembly.

The Grievances of the Church presented to the King.

An. 1587.

to their desires, as they did, exhibiting therewith the names of Jesuites, Priests, and their refetters, such as had been delated to the Assembly. Among others they complained of the Lord *Hereis*, and the disorders committed by him at *Dumfreis*, where he had openly erected Mafs, and forced the Ministers to leave the Town. The King having considered the Grievs, made answer, *That albeit they had no warrant from him to assemble at that time, yet (as he had signified before to the Noblemen that were sent unto him) he was glad to hear that they were convened in so frequent a number, the business being of such importance, and that he should do what became him as a King to do, neither should any of those that he found unreclaimable have credit or countenance of him* For the Lord *Hereis* he said, *that he was more offended with him than any of themselves, and had resolved to take journey in the beginning of March unto Dumfreis, for punishing that and all other insolencies committed by him.*

The Minister *James Gibson* censured for his speeches against the King.

This answer reported by the Chancellor gave some content; thereafter as he was directed he shewed the Assembly that the King did expect a reparation of the offence committed by the Minister *James Gibson*, for he had obtained his liberty upon promise that he should give satisfaction at the Churches sight. Hereupon the Minister was called, who acknowledged his offence, and was enjoined the next Sermon-day to preach, and publickly acknowledge the speeches complained of to have been unadvised and rashly uttered. This he promised to do; yet when he came to the place, he made no mention at all of that business; and being immediately charged for not doing that he had promised, he answered, *That out of infirmity and weakness he had confessed a fault, albeit his Conscience did tell him he had not spoken anything that might give just offence.* The Chancellor perceiving the mans inconstancy, and that he had been diverted by some ill-disposed persons, required the judgment of the Assembly, *Whether or not they did esteem it an offence to call the King a Persecutor of the Church, and to affirm in Pulpit that he should be the last of that race.* The question was a while declined; yet in end being put to voices, it was found that the speeches were slanderous and offensive, and that he ought therefore to be censured.

It being then 12 of the clock, the defining of the Censure was continued to the afternoon, and the Minister warned to attend. The hour come, and he not appearing, the business was greater than before: some alleging that Citation must be used ere any Censure was inflicted; others excused his absence upon just fear, being pursued by so great personages. Hereto it was replied, *That there was no fear of any indirect or violent course to be taken; the King, who by his own Authority might have punished him, having, for the regard he carried to the Church, chused to complain to the Assembly, and remit the offender to be censured by themselves.* Next for the Citation required, it was answered, *That the warning given him in the face of the Assembly was sufficient, and that by his not appearing he had added contumacy to his offence.* These answers being held sufficient, and the voices ask'd touching his Censure; by the greater number he was ordained to be suspended from the Ministry during the pleasure of the Assembly. Yet this did not end the business; for in August thereafter another Assembly being convened, the Minister appearing declared, *That the reason why he withdrew himself in the former Assembly was not any contempt or stubbornness on his part, but the care he had of the Churches peace, the affairs whereof, as he was informed, had been cast off if he had compeired, and not been punished.* Upon this Declaration without once acquainting the King, he was purged of Contumacy, and thereby a way made to his reponing. The King, as he had reason, being greatly offended with these proceedings, and intending to right himself otherwise, the Minister fled to England, and remained there a long space, entertained by the Factious brethren in those parts, who were labouring at that time to bring in the Holy Discipline, as they termed it, into that Church.

The Lord *Hereis* in the mean time, being certified of the Kings intended Expedition into the West Marches, prevented him and came to Court, offering himself to trial. Nothing being found but certain neglects in the administration of his office (for the complaint of erecting Mafs at *Dumfreis*, and compelling the Minister

The Lord *Hereis* cleared of the accusation made against him.

to leave the Town, was not verified) upon promise to amend, and surety given that he should resort to Sermons, and suffer nothing to be done within his Wardenry to the prejudice of Religion, he was sent back to his Charge. *An. 1588.*

Soon after, the Lord *Maxwel*, who had been licenced to go abroad, and had remained some months in Spain, having seen the preparation made for invading of England, by the advice of some Scottish Catholics returned into the Country, (notwithstanding the assurance he had given not to return without licence) taking land at *Kirkubright* (a part of *Galloway*) about the end of April. It was then expected that the Navy should take their course to the West parts of Scotland, where they might land more safely, and with the assistance of *Maxwel* and others that would joyn with them enter into England by the Borders: which if they had done, would doubtless have been more to their advantage; but they took their counsels as we shall hear. *An. 1588.*

The Borders begin to stir upon the Lord *Maxwel's* return.

Upon *Maxwel's* return numbers of broken men and Country People resorted unto him, conjecturing there was somewhat in hand which would give them work. The Lord *Hereis* not able to command them, and fearing if any disorder arose, the same should be imputed to him, came and shewed the King what appearance there was of Trouble. Charges were incontinent directed for *Maxwel's* appearing before the Council; but he disobeyed, and fortifying his Houses and other Strengths that he had in custody, began to levy some companies of foot and horse: which being told to the King, he with such forces as he could have of a sudden took journey to *Dumfreis*, and came upon him so unexpected, as he had almost surprised him in his Houle at *Dumfreis*. But upon warning given him, an hour before the Kings coming, he escaped, and went to *Galloway*. Some little resistance was made at the Port, which gave him leisure to escape, and was excused by the Towns ignorance of the King his being there in Person.

The Kings Expedition to *Dumfreis*.

The next morrow, which was the 28 of May, the Houses of *Lochmaben*, *Langholm*, *Trewe* and *Carlawerok*, were summoned to render; all which obeyed, the Castle of *Lochmaben* excepted. This was kept by one Mr. *David Maxwel*, who trusting foolishly to the strength, refused to yield, though the King himself going thither did call him by name, (for he knew the man) commanding him to render. Upon his disobedience the House was inclosed; and because there was no munition at hand whereby to batter it, a Post was directed to borrow some Ordnance from the English Warden, which was quickly conveyed thither, and a company of soldiers sent to guard the same. These began no sooner to play, than the Keepers, terrified with the noise, craved a parley. Sir *William Stewart*, Brother to Captain *James*, being employed to confer with them, they yielded, upon promise, as was said, that their lives should be spared. But the Captain, because he had refused the King himself at first, was hanged; the rest were pardoned, and suffered to depart.

Lochmaben rendered, and the Keeper executed.

The King returning the same night to *Dumfreis*, directed Sir *William Stewart* to try what course *Maxwel* had taken, and to do as he found occasion. Having learned that he had taken Sea in a small Bark, he followed in a ship rigged forth by the town of *Aire*, and overtaking him some miles off, brought him back and delivered him prisoner to the King, who was then returned to *Edinburgh*. It was no small piece of service, and by all men so esteemed. But the countenance the King gave him made the man so swell, as falling in a contest for I know not what matter with the Earl of *Bothwell*, he used some uncivil speeches to the Nobleman, who meeting him a few days after in the high street of *Edinburgh*, did in a sudden conflict kill him outright.

The Lord *Maxwel* taken Prisoner at sea by Sir *William Stewart*, and brought Prisoner to *Edinburgh*. Sir *William Stewart* killed by *Bothwell*, penult. *Julii.*

The news of the Spanish Navy being then divulged, and the King advertised of their setting forth, he called the Estates to a meeting at *Edinburgh*, and imparting to them the advertisements he had received, did ask their advice how he should carry himself in that business. For howbeit, said he, *I have no great occasion for myself to fear, being under League & Friendship with all Christian Princes & Estates; yet the ease of England ere it be long may turn to be our own, & we forced to share with them in their troubles. The intention of Spain, I know, is against Engl. & considering the right I have to that Crown after the Queens death that now reigns, I see not how it shall*

A meeting of the Estates upon the rumor of the Spanish Navy, beginning of August.

His Majesties Speech to the Estates.

An. 1588. *shall be safe for me to let another possess himself of that Kingdom; nor will any man make me to think, that the King of Spain, if he shall chance to prevail, will part with it, and give place to my Right, having once made conquest thereof. As now whilst the event is doubtful, they speak fair and make liberal promises; but if matters succeed to their minds, we shall hear other words. They take Religion for a pretext of their Invasion, but it is the Kingdom they seek: and granting that Religion were the true cause, are not we our selves in the same case with England? The Prosecution of the Holy League will strike no less upon us than them. But for my self, I have ever thought mine own safety and the safety of Religion to be so conjoined, as they cannot well be separated; neither desire I to live to reign any longer than I may serve to maintain the same. I am not ignorant what the opinion of many is, and that they think I have now a fair occasion to revenge the wrong and unkindness I received by the Death of my mother. But whatsoever I think of the excuses which the Queen hath made to me, I will not be so foolish as to take the help of one that is mightier than my self; nor will I give such liberty to mine own passions, as therefore to neglect Religion, and cast in hazard both this Kingdom and those others that belong to me after her death. By this you see what my mind is, and the reasons that lead me to it, I have called you that I may have your counsel and assistance at this time, and therefore desire to hear of you what is the best both for you and me to do.*

The Chancellor his Speech seconding the King.

Bubwell persuaded the Invasion of England.

Colonel Semple his arrival at Leith.

The Colonel apprehended, and relieved by the Earl of Huntley.
* 21 July.

This Speech was seconded by the Chancellor, who did out of his reading adduce divers Histories to make good what the King had said; 'That it was no way expedient to side with Spain in that Invasion, or suffer him to possess himself of England: yet since the Queen had not required any aid from him, his opinion was, that he should strive to assure his own Kingdom, and not to permit them to take Land in his bounds. That a general muster should be taken in the whole Realm, and some Noblemen named, unto whom, upon occasion, the Subjects might resort; Watches appointed at all the Sea-ports, and Beacons erected in the highest places, for advertising the Country if any Fleet was seen at Sea; and that the King and Council should stay at Edinburgh to attend the success of things, and direct the Subjects accordingly. His opinion was applauded of all, Bothwell excepted, who was earnest to have the occasion embraced of invading England, and therein was so forward, that upon his own charges he had levied Soldiers to serve under him, if the resolution which he expected should have been taken. But the King willing him to look unto the Sea (for he was Admiral by his office) and to take care that the Ships within the Country were ready for service, he acquiesced.

A little after the Convention dissolved, Colonel Semple, who had betrayed the town of Lir to the Spaniard some six years before, and remained for the most part with the Prince of Parma in Flanders, arrived at Leith, pretending a Commission from that Prince to the King. But the matters he proposed were of so small importance, as the King apprehending the Commission to have been given him rather for a colour of his practices with some ill-disposed Subjects, than for the business pretended, commanded Sir John Carmichael, Captain of the Guard, to have an eye upon him unto his return, (for he was then going to Falkland) and if he perceived any letters brought unto him in the mean time, to take and present them to the Council. Carmichael getting notice that a Pinnace was arrived in the Firth, and a passenger landed, went straight to the Colonels lodging in Leith, and finding him unsealing the Letters, shewed what he had in charge, and that it concerned him to present the same to the Lords. The Colonel offering to go himself to the Council, the Earl of Huntley, who did then reside in a lodging near the Palace of Hali-rudhouse, with his young Lady whom he had married a few days before,* upon notice of his apprehension, did meet Carmichael in the way, and forced him to quit his prisoner, saying, that he would enter him to the Council. Advertisement going of this to the Chancellor, who was then at the Evening-service in S. Giles, (for it was a time of publick Humiliation) he came forth, and, being followed by a great number of people, made towards Huntley; and had certainly taken back the Colonel, if the King, who was then come from Falkland, had not happened to encounter him as he went down the street, with whom he returned to the lodging within the City, where at that time and most of the Winter the King did keep his residence.

There

There the Chancellor declared what had fallen out, and whither he was going, intreating his Majesty to take some order with the infolency committed. Huntley being called, after some frivolous excuse did promise to present the Colonel the next morning; but he escaping the same night was not any more seen. The King did highly offend at his escape, yet was loth to use the Nobleman with rigor, having matched him so lately to his Cousin; only he discharged him to come in his presence, neither was he admitted unto it till the news were brought of the dissipation of the Navy; and then, as in a time of publick joy, that fault was overseen and pardoned.

The Queen of England in the mean time hearing what course the King had taken, how he had committed Maxwell to prison, and was preparing to resist the Spaniard, sent Sir Robert Sidney to give him thanks for his good affection, and to make offer of her assistance if the Spaniard should make offer to land in Scotland. The King received him graciously, and as he was a discouraging of the ambition of Spain, and his purpose to take in England, said, that the King needed not to expect any greater kindness at his hand, if he prevailed. The King merrily answered, *That he look'd for no other benefit of the Spaniard in that case than that which Polyphemus promised to Ulysses, namely, to devour him after all his fellows were devoured.* Neither did Sidney sooner return than a fresh advertisement was sent from the Queen of their overthrow.

Sir Robert Sidney sent from England to the King, 29 Aug.

Of this Navy and the destruction that befell it many have written so particularly as nothing can be added. Yet because the benefit redounded to this Church and Kingdom no less than others, and that the spoils of that wreck fell for some part in our Northern Isles, we shall touch it a little. The Navy consisted of 134 sail, a great part whereof were Gallies, and rather like Castles pitched in the seas than Ships. The vessels carried 8000 Sailors, 22000 Souldiers and above, besides the Commanders and voluntary adventurers, who were reckoned 124: and for provision, they had abundance of whatsoever was necessary either at sea or at land. Their direction was to joyn with the Prince of Parma and his forces, who were appointed to meet them in the narrow Seas, and to invade England together. But whether the Prince had not time sufficient to prepare himself, or that he was kept in by the Holland Fleet, he came not as was expected. At Plimmouth the English had the first sight of the Navy, and kept combat with them till they anchored in the road of Calais. Before they came thither they lost the Gallion wherein Don Pedro de Valder and divers other Noblemen were, which was taken in fight and sent to Plimmouth. And the Gallion commanded by Don Michael de Oquendo took fire, and therein many were burnt to death; yet the nether part of the ship being saved, was likewise sent thither. The Gallie of Naples, commanded by Don Hugo de Moncada, perished in the sands of Calais; where whilst they lay at Anchor, Captain Drake by a Stratagem put them in great confusion: for chusing out eight small ships that were least useful, he filled them with pitch, brimstone, gunpowder, and the like combustible matter, and charged the Ordnance with bullets, stones, broken iron, and chains. The ships driven with the wind and tide into the midst of the Navy, and the trains taking fire, put the Spaniards in such fear, (the same falling out in the night season) as having no leisure to weigh their Anchors, they were forced to cut their Cables, and make to the Sea.

The History of the Spanish Navy.

Captain Drake's Stratagem.

The next morning, ranging themselves again in order, they approached to Greveling; but no supply coming from Parma, and the English ships hotly pursuing them, they were compelled to pass by. In this conflict perished the Gallion of Biscay, and two other great ships. Two Gallions of Portugal, the one called S. Philip, the other S. Matthew, having lost their tackling, and being torn with shot, made towards the coast of Flanders, and were taken by the Zelanders. Once, as it seemed, the General with the rest of the Navy bent their course towards Scotland; but not knowing what favour they should find there, and the wind blowing fair, they resolved to make home by the North Isles. The General himself with the best-provided Vessels took the main Ocean towards Biscay, and arrived safely in Spain. The rest seeking to take in fresh water, partly in the Isles, and partly in Ireland, were so tossed with Tempests and contrary winds, that 40 and above were cast away in those

The Navy returneth to Spain.

seas:

An. 1588. seas. A ship of *Florence* driven upon the West coast of *Scotland*, was spoiled and set on fire by certain High-landers. Shortly, the destruction was so great, as of the 134 ships that set sail from *Lisbone*, 53 only returned to *Spain*; of the soldiers, besides the Mariners, 13500 were lost by one way or other. And, as they write, not a family in *Spain* of any note there was which suffered not in this Expedition, having lost either a Son, or a Brother, or some nigh Kinman. Such was the success of the *Spanish* Navy, which had been four years in preparing with no small cost, and in a few days was thus overthrown; one *English* ship only being lost, and about 100 men in all. The King caused solemn Thanksgiving for this Deliverance to be given to God in all Churches of the Kingdom, beginning in his own Court for an ensample to others.

The death of Archibald Earl of Angus.

This was *The marvellous Year*, talked of so long before by the Astrologues, which this Defeat and the accidents that fell forth in *France* about the end of the same year did in a part make good. In this Kingdom (which we ought ever to remember with thankfulness to Almighty God) happened no disaster for which we had cause to be grieved, the death of *Archibald* Earl of *Angus* excepted, who deceased in the month of *July*: a Nobleman, as in place and rank, so in worth and virtue, above other subjects; of a comely personage, affable and full of grace, a lover of Justice, peacable, sober, and given to all goodness, and, which crowned all his virtues, truly pious. A long time he lived in exile in *England*, not through his own fault, but the misfortune of his friends, whom he could not forsake. After he was restored to the Kings favour, no man did carry himself in better sort, and in that time which was full of Factions he kept himself free of all partakings. Being employed in the Liefteenandry of the Borders, he discharged himself to his Majesties great content, and to the liking of all the subjects; and not long after fell into that disease whereof he died, leaving no Heir male, and one only Daughter by his second Marriage, who did not long survive him. Never died any Nobleman with greater regrate; and so much the more was his death lamented, that, as it was then thought, and afterwards confessed, he was taken away by Sorcery and Incantation. In the time of his sickness, when the Physicians found his disease not to proceed of any natural cause, one *Richard Graham*, who was executed some years after for Witchcraft, being brought to give his opinion of it, made offer to cure him, saying, as the manner of these Wizards is, that he had received wrong. But when he heard that the man was suspected to use unlawful Arts, he would by no means admit him, saying, *That his life was not so dear unto him, as for the continuance of it some years he would be beholden to any of the Devils instruments; That he held his life of God, and was willing to render the same at his good pleasure, knowing he should change it for a better.* Thus, after a long and languishing disease, he died in *Smecton* near to *Dalkeith*, and was buried in *Abernethy*, in the Sepulchre of his Progenitors. The Houses of *Angus* and *Morton*, which within his Person were conjoined, went by provision of Tail to the Laids of *Glenbervy* and *Lochlevin*.

A Message from the Prince of Parma to the Catholick Lords.

The hopes that our Catholicks conceived of the *Spanish* Navy being now frustrated, they had lost heart quite, but that the Prince of *Parma* did of new encourage them by his Letters, shewing that the loss was nothing so great as it was given out to be, and giving them hopes of another Army that set out more timely, and to be with them the next Spring. These letters were sent by one Mr. *Robert Bruce*, and delivered to *Huntley*, to be communicated with the rest of that Faction. Shortly after came one *John Chesholme*, bringing with him ten thousand Crowns, which were delivered to *Bruce*, to be used as he thought most fit for advancing the cause. The Earl of *Huntley* made instance to have the third part of the summe; Lord *Claud Hamilton* pleaded for as much; and *Maxwel*, lying then in prison, held no less to be due to him. But *Bruce* excused himself by the charge he had to dispose the money by the advice of *David Graham* of *Fintrey*, who was warded at the same time in *Dundy*, and payed them all with one answer. The Lord *Claud* more covetous than the rest, because he could not come by any part of the money, grew more cold in the business. *Maxwel* had some sent him, for his consolation in the prison. But *Huntley*, having

Huntley reconciled to the Church.

ving at the Kings desire subscribed the Confession of Faith, and reconciled himself to the Church, was wholly neglected.

This he excused afterwards by a Letter to the Prince of *Parma*, professing, 'That after the escape of Colonel *Semple* he found himself so busied on all hands, and in such sort pressed by the King, as it behoved him either to yield, or depart out of the Country, or then to have taken the fields: which well he could not do, all hope of help being taken from him by the return of the Navy of *Spain*: but in what he had failed he should endeavor to amend by some good service tending to the advancement of the cause of God, who had put him (he said) in such credit with the King, as he had broken his former Guards, and made him establish others about his Person, by whom at all occasions he might assure himself, and be Master of the King, and so, when the support promised should arrive, spoil the Hereticks of his Authority, and make sure the Catholicks enterprises. Therefore besought him to be persuaded of his unchangeable affection, albeit in outward action he was forced to accommodate himself to the necessity of the time. This Letter was dated at *Edinburgh* the 24 of *January* 1589.

Another of the same date was sent by the Earl of *Arroll* (whom Mr. *Edmond Hay* the Jesuit had seduced and brought on that course) to *Parma*, bearing, 'That since his Conversion to the Catholick Faith he did ever think himself obliged to procure the advancement of the Catholick Kings enterprises, tending principally to that end, and to another Civil cause which had great affinity and conjunction with things at home, in regard whereof he said that ever before his Conversion he had been in his affection one of his friends, and servitors; and that Religion, which was the greatest and most important cause of the world being now joyned to the other, he was become altogether his. This he did in treat his Highness to signify to his Catholick Majesty, and to assure him that in *Scotland* he had not a more affectionate servant than himself. The like he did profess to the Prince, remitting his intentions to be more fully declared by him that should deliver the Letters.

There went other Letters at the same time from the Earls of *Huntley*, *Crawford* and *Morton* (so did the Lord *Maxwel* style himself) to the King of *Spain*, wherein after they had expressed their great regrate for the disappointment of his Preparations, they said, 'That if his Naval Army had visited them, the same should have found no resistance in *Scotland*, and with the support they would have made given enough to do to *England*; but that it seemed the *English* Catholicks who had their refuge it *Spain*, out of an unchristian enmity, did extenuate the means of the *Scottish* aid, to magnifie their own, and to have it thought that they were able to do all by themselves. Therefore they prayed his Majesty to make such account of the one, as he neglected not the other, and to serve himself with them both, to the ends he did aim at. Then remitting to the declaration of some of his own subjects, who had been in those parts, the commodity and advantage of landing an Army in *Scotland*; they said, 'That having 6000 men of his own Country, with money to levy as many more, they might within six hours of their arrival be well advanced in *England*, to assist the forces that he should send thither, and that the expence bestowed upon one Galleas would profit more being so employed, than many of them put to Sea could do. Withal they advised him not to make any more Armies by Sea, but to send a part of his forces to *Scotland*, and another by the back of *Ireland* toward *England*, and so divide the *English* forces, which should be partly attending at Sea, partly employed in *Scotland*, where they should believe all their forces to be landed. A farther Declaration hereof they remitted to Colonel *Semple*; and so praying God to give him a full accomplishment of all his holy enterprises, they took their leave.

Neither were the Jesuites that lurked in the Country in this mean time idle: of these the principals were Mr. *Edmond Hay* and Mr. *Will. Creighton*, who had been prisoners some few months in the Tower of *London*. They advising the Popish Lords to attempt somewhat by themselves, which would make the King of *Spain* more

An. 1589.

An. 1589.

Huntley excuseth his Reconciliation by a Letter.

A Letter from the Earl of Arroll to the Prince of Parma.

Letters sent to the King of Spain from the Catholick Lords.

The Jesuites stir up the Lords to enterprise somewhat by themselves.

An. 1589.
A Plot for taking the King.

more earnest to give succour; a Plot was laid to take the King out of the Chancellor and Thesaurers hands, by whose counsel they thought he was only ruled, and that the pretence should be the neglect of the Nobility, and the ill managing of publick affairs. This way they hoped to procure the assistance of other Noblemen that were discontented; and that no mention being made of Religion, the Country would be more cold in resisting their enterprise. The time and place of meeting being condescended on, *Fintrie* undertook to bring the Earl of *Montrose* to the party, and of *Bothwell* they held themselves assured, as well for the malice he professed to the Queen of England, as because in a conference with *Bruce* the Spanish Agent he had promised, if he should assure him of the two Abbeyes of *Coldingham* and *Kelso*, which he possessed, he should presently turn to their side.

A practice against the Chancellor.

To bring about this their purpose the device was, that they should meet all at the quarrel-holes betwixt *Leith* and *Edinburgh*, and go from thence to *Halirudhouse*, and settle themselves about the King, secluding those two Counsellors; or if they found them with the King, that they should presently kill them. But this device was overthrown by the Kings remaining in *Edinburgh*, who, suspecting some Plots against the Chancellor, did for his security stay in the same lodging with him. *Bothwell* abode at that time in his house at *Creichton*, and kept about him the souldiers that he had conducted, pretending a journey to the Isles, and the collecting of the Kings duties in those parts. *Crawford* and *Arrol* came with their friendship to the North-Ferry. *Montrose* feigned a visit of his Cousin Mr. *John Graham* at *Halycards*, some six miles from *Edinburgh*; and upon advertisement that the King did keep lodging within the Town, advanced no farther. But *Huntley*, who resided then with his Lady at *Dunfermlin*, presuming much of the Kings affection, held on his way, and in the evening on which they had appointed to meet, came unexpected to the Kings lodging, where he found him in conference with the Chancellor.

Huntley cometh to the King.

The King seeing him brake of his purpose, asked whence he came, and how he fell to be so late; and from that falling into another discourse, the Chancellor stept aside to the window. *Huntley* had brought with him the Laird of *Kinfawns*, brother to the Earl of *Crawford*, and some of *Arrols* men, that were esteemed of best courage and action. These filling the presence, and looking as men that had some purpose in hand, the Chancellors friends began to suspect the worst: whereupon the Laird of *Ormeiston*, *Carmichael*, and the Provost of *Lincolnden* drew nigh and stood by him. After the King had talked a while with the Earl, he retired to his Cabiner, and staying somewhat longer than was expected, the Chancellor asking the usher if it was time of supper, and he answering that it was more than time; then said he, Let us go: and with those three that kept fast by him passed forth of the Chamber, and through the company that stood in the presence (all of them making way) to his own lodgings, which were just above the Kings rooms. How soon he came there, he sent one to shew the King how unseemly it was to fill the presence with such companies, and men armed as they were, saying that he would not have permitted the same if he had been alone in the Lodging, nor have cast himself in such danger.

Huntley committed in the Castle of Edinburgh.

Presently the rooms were ushered, and the Earl with his company went forth. The next morning the King sent for him, and at his coming began to examine wherefore he came to Town, and why in that manner his answers not satisfying, he was committed in the Castle. By advertisement given the same day of the companies that were with *Crawford* & *Arrol* at the North-Ferry, and there dissolving, the whole purpose was discovered; whereupon the Earls of *Arrol* & *Bothwell* were cited to appear before the Council, and for their disobedience denounced Rebels. *Montrose* and *Crawford* were not called, having excused themselves, as it was said, and promised to meddle no more in that business. *Huntley*, upon the like promise, after a few days obtained his liberty, and went into the North. In his going thither, whether of purpose or by accident, it is uncertain, the Earl of *Crawford* did meet him at *Perth*; where at first they concluded to fortifie the town as a place most convenient for drawing forces together from all quarters: but doubting how they should make good the enterprise, they gave it over, and getting intelligence that the

Huntley set at liberty.

the Thesaurer was come to *Angus*, and had appointed a meeting of some friends at the Church of *Megle*, they belayed the ways, and gave him the chase unto the house of *Kirkhill*, where he was received. Being desired to render, upon his refuse fire was cast to the House, and he forced to yield himself, as he did, to his Cousin the Laird of *Achindown*, who kept him some weeks prisoner in the North.

The Letters written to the King of Spain and Prince of Parma, whereof we made mention, and some others from Mr. *Bruce* directed to the same Prince, being about this time intercepted, laid open all the practices of these Noblemen; which being reported to the Q. of England, he wrote to the King a sharp Letter, wherein complaining of his remissness in punishing these treacheries, and of the entertainment he gave to the Spaniards that had fled into Scotland after their wrack in the Irish Seas, he besought him not to overslip such happy occasions as it had pleased God to offer him by revealing these practices; as likewise to rid the Realm of those strangers, and send them away with speed. Hereupon order was taken for their dispatch, and Ships conduced to transport them unto West-Flanders. The *Hollanders* advertised of their coming, sent forth some ships to intercept them, and meeting them some two miles from the coast of Flanders, took one of the vessels, and put to the sword all the Spaniards that were therein: the rest ran their vessels on ground, where a number, seeking to save themselves by swimming, were pitifully drowned.

A Letter from the Queen of England to the King.

A Proclamation was likewise renewed against the Jesuites, and their resisters, & Mr. *Edmond Hay*, Mr. *Will. Creichton*, Mr. *Rob. Bruce*, and *David Graham* of *Fentry*, commanded under pain of death to depart the Realm. But they contemning the charges, did stir up the Earls of *Huntley*, *Crawford* & *Arrol*, to make open Insurrection. These three taking Arms, and assembling all the forces they could gather, came to *Aberdene* in the beginning of April, where they made Proclamations in the Kings name, declaring that he was held Captive, & forced against his mind to use his Nobles more rigorously than he desired; requiring all the Lieges to concur and assist them for setting his Person at Liberty. Their hopes were that *Bothwell* with his friendship in the South should make the King such business, as they needed not to fear any sudden pursuit: but the King, having caused denounce *Bothwell* and the chief of his followers Rebels, resolved to begin with them, and leave him to his return. So charges being directed to warn all the subjects remaining on the South of *Aberdene* to accompany the King, and they gathering somewhat slowly, he made forward with those he had in his company toward the middle of April, and having advanced as far as *Comy*, (a little Village some ten miles off *Aberdene*) was there advertised that the Earls were 3000 strong and marching directly towards him.

The Lords make open Insurrection.

The King, nothing dismayed, called the Noblemen that were in the Army together, and spake cheerfully unto them, saying, That they had a great deal of advantage of their enemies, the better cause, and the King on their part. Neither Oaths nor Subscriptions, said he, can assure these men; and if Benefits or good deeds could have made them loyal and obedient, I have not been sparing to them all. Now that I am drawn against my will by their open Rebellion to use force, I do assure my self of your fidelity, and that you will not forsake me. I shall desire you stand no longer than ye see me stand: and howbeit I do not think they dare set their faces against me, yet I shall pray you to dispose all things in the best order you can.

The Subjects warned to accompany the King.

His Majesties Speech to the Noblemen in his Army.

This Speech he delivered with such a grace, as thereby the Noblemen and others that stood by were greatly encouraged, every one avowing to do their uttermost for his Majesties honor. But a question falling between the Lord *Hamilton* and the Earl of *Angus* for leading the Van-guard, was like to have caused some trouble: *Angus* claiming the place by the privileges granted to his predecessors; and the Lord *Hamilton* alleging that none ought to contend with him in honor, because of his proximity to the Royal blood. But the King interposing his Authority, gave the leading of the Van-guard for that time to the Lord *Hamilton*, reserving the rights and privileges of the house of *Angus*, whereunto nothing was done at that time should work any prejudice.

A question for leading the Van-guard.

All that night the King did watch himself, and kept his Army on foot. In the morning early he was advertised that the Rebels were dispersed, and gone back: for

The Lords dissolve their forces.

An. 1589.

The King goeth to *Aberdene*.He returneth to *Edinburgh* about the beginning of *May*. The Earl of *Marshall* goeth to *Denmark* to accomplish the Marriage, *to June*.

The Rebels offer to submit themselves.

Huntley, Crawford and *Bothwell* impeached.

The points of their Indictment.

The Lords found guilty, & committed to several Wards.

Huntley understanding that the King was resolved to put it to a day, declined the fight, because of the danger that might come to the Kings person; *Crawford* for the same reason seemed not very bent: but *Arroll* insinuating to have gone forward, when he saw they would not be moved, parted from them at the Bridge of *Dee* in great wrath. The King came the same day to *Aberdene*, and calling the Magistrates, did threaten them sharply for receiving the Rebels into their City. They excused themselves by their weakness, and the want of power to resist the great forces: which was admitted, upon promise that they should look better to their Town in after-times. Whilest the King stayed there, the Noblemen and Barons of the Country came in and made offer of their service, giving surety not to resort nor intercommune with the Rebels, and to concur with his Majesties Lieutenant when they should be required.

This done the King returned to *Edinburgh*, for he was then about the directing of the Earl of *Marshall* to *Denmark*, for the accomplishing of his Marriage, and bringing home the Queen. There went with him *Andrew Lord Dingwell*, *Sir James Scrymgeour of Dudap*, *Mr. John Sheen* Advocate, and *Mr. George Young* Archdeacon of *S. Andrews*. For defraying the Ambassadors charges a Subsidy of an hundred thousand pounds was granted by the Council, according to a Warrant given them in the Parliament 1587, whereof the subjects made ready payment: so great was their desire to have the King matched, and the Royal Succession established in his Race.

The enterprise of the Rebels being in this sort defeated, the Thesaurer was put to Liberty, and at his coming to Court did solicit the King in favors of the Earls of *Huntley* and *Crawford*, who for thinking the attempt they had made, did offer to enter their persons in Ward, and submit themselves to the punishment his Majesty should be pleased to impose. The Chancellor made the like intercession for *Bothwell*; but for *Arroll* none did speak. After the King had thought a little of it, he was content they should enter, and present themselves to the Justice; but would give no condition. For this effect the 24 of *May* was assigned. At the day *Mr. Edward Bruce*, *Mr. William Oliphant* and *Mr. James Wardlaw* sitting Judges in the criminal Court by Commission, the three Earls compeired. Of Noblemen and others charged to pass upon their Assize there were present the Lord *Hamilton*, the Earls of *Angus*, *Morton*, *Athol*, *Marre* and *Marshall*, the Lords *Seaton*, *Somerville*, *Dingwell*, and *Cathcart*, the Laids of *Pittarrow*, *Closburn*, *Lagg*, and the Constable of *Dundy*.

These taking Oath as the manner is, the Indictment was read, which consisted of seven or eight points. 1. First, they were charged with practising with Jesuites, Seminary Priests, and other Strangers, against Religion; receiving of *Spanish* Gold, and hiring Soldiers therewith to disturb the quiet of the Realm. 2. That they had entered in bond and Confederacy with the Earls of *Arroll*, *Montrose* and others contrary to the Laws, kept Conventicles, and treasonably surprised the Town of *Perth*, of purpose to have fortified the same against his Majesty. 3. That they had conspired to take the King Prisoner at *Halirudhouse*, and kill his servants and Counsellors, especially *Sir John Maitland* of *Thirlstane* Chancellor. 4. That they had besieged the house of *Kirkhill*, put fire to the same, and forced the Master of *Glamis* Thesaurer to render himself captive. 5. That they had convoked the subjects by open Proclamation, and given out that the King was detained Prisoner against his will. 6. That they came with displayed Banners to the Bridge of *Dee*, of mind to invade the King, whom they knew to be upon an Expedition to the North-parts. 7. That they had taken the Kings Herald at Arms in the City of *Aberdene*, spoiled him of his Coat and Letters, when he was about to proclaim them. The 8 and last concerned *Bothwell* particularly, who, besides the rest, was charged to have hired Soldiers, as well strangers as men within the Country, entertaining them in *Dalkeith*, and threatening to invade the Town of *Leith* at his Majesties being in the North.

Bothwell confessing that he had waged Soldiers, and entered in bonds with other Noblemen, did therefore put himself in his Majesties will: the rest of the points he denied,

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denied, remitting himself to the trial of his Peers. *Crawford* confessed that he was in the fields at the taking of *Kirkhill*, and with the Earl of *Huntley* in *Aberdene*; but denied the other points. *Huntley* come in will for the whole. The Assize removing by themselves found *Bothwell* guilty of the enterprise at the Quarrel-holes, besides that which he confessed. They filed *Crawford* of surprising the Town of *Perth*, and coming in Arms to the Bridge of *Dee*. *Huntley* by his own confession was found guilty in all. The Sentence upon the Kings Warrant was suspended, and they committed to divers places; *Bothwell* in *Tantallon*, *Crawford* in *Blackness*, and *Huntley* in the Castle of *Edinburgh*.

In June following the Assembly of the Church convened at *Edinburgh*, where the King giving his presence, after he had spoken a little of his good affection towards the Church, shewed that he was come to desire *Mr. Patrick Galloway* to be appointed one of his Ministers. The Assembly by the mouth of their Moderator rendering his Majesty humble thanks for the beginnings he had made in suppressing the enemies of Religion, did intreat him to prosecute the business, and made offer of their humble service and assistance to the utmost of their power. As to that which he desired, they acknowledged that his Majesty might command any Minister where-soever he served to attend himself and his Court; and so ordained *Mr. Patrick Galloway* to leave his Charge at *Perth*, and wait upon the King.

It was a good beginning, and this gave no small content to all well-disposed men. But things continued not long in that case, for before that meeting took an end a fresh offence was given. The year preceding the King having contracted his Cousin the Duke of *Lennox* his Sister to the Earl of *Huntley*, had caused the Bishop of *S. Andrews* celebrate the Marriage, at which the Ministers of *Edinburgh* taking exception, they complained of the same in a preceding Assembly, and had obtained a Commission to the Presbytery for calling and censuring the Bishop according to the Acts of the Church. Whether the Bishop would not acknowledge them for Judges, or that he esteemed his Majesties Command a Warrant sufficient for what he had done; whilest as he neglected their proceedings they pronounce him deprived from all Office and Function in the Church; and presenting the Process in this Assembly, the same was found formal, the Sentence ratified, and ordained to be published in all the Churches of the Kingdom, only to make the Bishop hateful and contemptible. He complaineth to the King, who shewed himself extremely displeased with their doings; but what course he should take he was doubtful, for every day he was expecting the arrival of his Queen, and loved to have all things quiet and settled at her coming, especially in the Church, with whom it grieved him not a little to be still in question: but espying no better way, he resolved in end to dissemble his anger towards them, and to take the imprisoned Lords in favor, lest he should make himself too much business. Thereupon he returneth to the North, gives *Arroll* a Pardon, putteth *Crawford* to liberty and fully remits him; *Huntley* and *Bothwell* he freeth from imprisonment, but, to hold them in awe, he defers the Declaration of his will concerning them. The Lord *Maxwell*, upon his bond not to practise against Religion under the pain of an hundred thousand pounds, is likewise dimitted.

And in this case stood things when advertisement came that the Marriage was accomplished, and the Queen ready to take Sea. All diligence was thereupon used to prepare for her Reception, and nothing left undone that was required for so great a Solemnity. But a second and unlook'd for Message cometh shortly after, shewing that the Navy appointed for her conduct was driven by a Tempest into *Norway*, and that it was thought she should stay in those parts unto the Spring: the King taking this impatiently concludeth with himself to go thither in person: and because he knew many impediments would be made if his purpose were known, he giveth out that he would send the Chancellor and Justice Clerk to transport her in *Scottish* Vessels, if the *Danes* would not adventure theirs in that season. How soon the Ships were prepared for their journey, no man expecting any such matter, he taketh Sea himself, leaving direction to the Council for the Government of affairs during his absence, with the following Declaration written all with his own hand, but not seen to any till he was gone.

K k 3

In

An Assembly of the Church at *Edinburgh*.The Bishop of *S. Andrews* deprived for the Marriage of *Huntley*.

The course taken with the imprisoned Lords.

Advertisement to the King of the Marriage with the Queen.

The King intendeth a journey to *Norway*.

* 22 October.

An. 1589.

He leaveth a Declaration under his hand.

In respect I know that the motion of my Voiage will be at this time diversly scanned, and misinterpreting may be made as well to My dishonor as the blame of innocents, I have thought fit to leave this Declaration, for resolving all good subjects, first of the causes that moved Me to undertake this Voiage, then, in the fashion in which I resolved to make the same. As to the causes, I have been generally blamed by all men for deferring my Marriage so long, being alone, without Father, Mother, Brother or Sister; and yet a King not only of this Realm, but Heir apparent of another. This my nakedness made Me weak, and mine enemies strong: for One man is no man, as they speak, and where there is no hope of Succession it breeds contempt and disdain: yea the delay I have used hath begot in many a suspicion of Impotency in Me, as if I were a barren stock. These and other reasons moved Me to hasten my Marriage, from which I could yet have longer abstained, if the weal of my Country could have permitted. I am not known to be rash in my weightiest affairs, neither am I so carried with passion as not to give place to Reason; but the Treaty being perfected and the Queen on her journey, when I was advertized of her stay by contrary winds, and that it was not like she should perfect her voiage this year, I resolved to make it on my part possible which was impossible on hers.

The place where I first took this resolution was in Craigmillar, none of my Council being present: and as I took it by my self, so I bethought me of a way to follow the same. And first I advised to employ the Earl of Bothwell in the voiage, in regard he is Admiral; but his preparations took so long a time, that I was forced to call the Council, and send for the Chancellor and Justice Clerk, who were then in Lowder. When as they met, they found so many difficulties in sending forth a number of ships for the Queens Convoiy (for so I gave it out) and who should be the Ambassadors, that I was compelled to avouch, if none should be found to go, I should go my self alone in a Ship: adding, that if men had been as willing as became them, I would not have needed to have been in these streights. This the Chancellor taking to touch him (for he knew he had been slandered all that time for impeding my Marriage) partly out of zeal to my service and partly fearing that I should make good my word if no better way could be found, made offer to go himself in that service. This I embraced, keeping my intention from all men, because I thought it enough for Me to put my foot in a ship when all things were ready, and from the Chancellor himself (from whom I never kept any of my weightiest businesses) for two reasons. First, because if I had made him of my counsel in that purpose, he had been blamed, for putting the same in my head (which had not been his duty) for it becomes no subject to give his Prince advice in such matters; withal considering what hatred and envy he sustained unjustly for leading Me by the nose as it were to all his appetites, as though I were an unreasonable creature, or a Child that could do nothing of my self, I thought pity to heap mo unjust slanders on his head. The other Reason was, that I perceived it was for staying my journey that he made offer to go; so was I assured, if he had known my purpose, he would either have stayed himself at home, or, thinking it too heavy a burthen for him to undertake my Convoiy, he would have lingered so long as there should not have been a possibility for making the Voiage. This I thought meet to declare (and upon my Honor it is the truth) lest I should be esteemed an imprudent Ass, that can do nothing of my self, and to save the innocency of that man from unjust reproaches. For my part, besides that which I have said, the shortness of the way, the surty of the passage, being clear of all Sands, Forelands, and such other perils, safe Harbours in these parts, and no foreign Fleets resorting in these Seas; it is my pleasure that no man grudge at this my proceeding, but that all conform themselves to the Directions I have given to be followed unto my Return, which shall be within 20 days, wind and weather serving; and if any shall contravene these, I will take it as a sufficient proof that he bears Me no good will in his heart; as, to the contrary, I will respect all that reverence my Commandments in the best sort I may. Farewel.

This Declaration, written and signed with his Majesties own hand, was the next day after he was shipped presented to the Council by Alexander Hay Clerk of Register, together with the Directions mentioned in the end thereof, which were thus conceived.

Seeing

Seeing it hath pleased Almighty God to bring Us to mans age, and that nothing hath been more earnestly wished by all Our good subjects than to see Us honorably matched, so that the Crown might descend to Our own Succession after so many worthy Progenitors; We, to satisfy their desires, having resolved upon a Personage that for blood and other commodities of Alliance could not be thought but most worthy, did enter into contract with Frederick King of Denmark lately deceased, and by advice of Our Council directed Our Ambassador to solemnize the Marriage, and conduct her unto this Realm: But having intelligence that by contrarious winds she and her company was driven to Norway, and that it being remitted to her choice whether she would return unto Denmark or make stay there until the opening of the spring, she had embraced the last condition, as the best and most liking to her desire; albeit hitherto We have not behaved Our self dissolutely, but patiently attended the good occasion that God should offer; yet now taking to heart her pains and danger, with the difficulties that have occurred in her Transport, We could find no contentment till that We enterprised to make a Voiage towards her, and bring her home, which We are in good hope to do within the space of 20 days, wind and weather serving.

Yet fearing the time of My stay may be longer at Gods good pleasure, lest any looseness during Our absence should fall into the Government, We have of Our own motion, and not counselled by any, left a declaration with the Clerk of Register, and willed no man to grudge at Our absence, seeing in former times the Kingdom hath wanted a Governor longer than We trust in God it shall want Us; as namely from the death of Our Grandmother the Queen Regent, unto the arrival of Our dearest Mother from France, the space of 14 Months, during which time, for the reverence and love carried to her, albeit a Woman and minor in years, no violence was committed by any person, and greater peace and quietness observed than was before or since that time known to have been kept. And notwithstanding Our expectation is nothing less of the good behaviour of Our subjects in this Our absence, We have taken order, for the better government of the publick affairs, that Our privy Council should reside at Edinburgh, and ordained the Duke of Lennox Our Nephew to be President thereof, and to be assisted by Our Cousin Francis Earl of Bothwell, whom We appoint to attend him with the other Officers of State, namely the Treasurer, Comptroller, Master of Requests, Privy Seal, the Captain of the Castle of Edinburgh, Advocate and Clerk of Register, who shall ever be present, five of them at least, with Our said Nephew.

We have likewise given order that some Noblemen in their courses shall attend at Edinburgh the space of 15 days; the Earls of Angus and Athol, with the Lords Fleming and Innermeth to begin, and the next course to be kept by the Earls of Marre and Morton, with the Lords Seaton and Yester. The Barons of Lothian, Fife, Strive-ling-shire and Strathern We appoint to attend as they shall be warned and directed by the Council. For the South parts We have made the Lord Hamilton Our Lieutenant, that is, within the three Wardenries & Sheriffdom of Lanerick, and to be assisted, when need is, by the Lords Boyd, Hereis, Maxwell, Home, Cesford, and other chief Barons within the Marches; his residence to be at Dumfries or Jedburgh, and his charges to be furnished out of the readiest of the Taxation by Mr. John Colvill Collector thereof. And that peace and quietness may be the better observed, We discharge all Conventions for any cause whatsoever unto Our return. Finally, We require the Ministers and Preachers of the Word to exhort the people to Peace and Obedience, and commend Us and our Journey in their prayers to the protection of Almighty God. As this is Our desire, so We expect that all Our good subjects will follow the same, especially they who have tried Our favour of late, and that they will persist in the Loyalty promised by them: certifying those that do in the contrary, that they shall incur Our high displeasure, and be punished with all rigour; as, on the other part, We shall remember the peaceable and obedient thankfully, when occasion presents.

By another Missive presented at the same time to the Council the Earl Bothwell was declared second to the Duke of Lennox, Sir Robert Melvil Vice-Chancellor, Alexander Hay Secretary for the Scottish language, and Mr. James Elphinston for the Latin and French.

Directions to the Council.

An. 1589.

The King having thus provided for the publick affairs took with him in company Sir *John Maitland*, Chancellor, Sir *Lewis Ballenden*, Justice Clerk, Mr. *Robert Douglas*, Provost of *Lincolnden*, the Gentlemen of his Chamber, and other ordinary Officers of the House. He took also with him Mr. *David Lindesay* Minister at *Leith*, leaving Mr. *Patrick Galloway* his ordinary Preacher to attend the Council; and having a prosperous wind, arrived safely in a Sound or Haven of *Norway* (not far from *Upsal*, where the Queen remained) the fourth or fifth day after his embarking.

The Marriage solemnized at *Upsal*.The Earl of *Marshall's* proceedings ratified.The Kings journey from *Norway* to *Denmark*.Colonel *Stewart* sent with Ships to the King.
Penelt. Martii.

The Sunday following he solemnized the Marriage in his own person, Mr. *David Lindesay* performing the Ceremony in the *French* language. After which, consultation being taken for his return unto *Scotland*, because it was held dangerous to go to sea in that season, and that the Counsellors of *Denmark* did oppose the journey, advising him rather to visit the Queens Mother, and her Son *Christiern* elected King of *Denmark*, he was easily induced to follow their advice, and send back the *Scottish* ships with Sir *James Scrimgeour*, and Mr. *John Skein*. Whilst the King lay at *Upsal*, the Earl *Marshall* in Council made report of his proceedings in the Ambassage, and how according to the Contract past, and interchangeably sealed and signed, the Marriage was compleated, and a form of Attestation taken touching the Isles of *Orkney*, bearing That the King and Regents of *Denmark* should superseed all claim of right to the said Isles unto the Kings perfect age, reserving to each Kingdom their own Right, which by that Treaty should not be prejudged; as the Copy thereof, subscribed by the four Governors, presently exhibited did shew. Together with the Attestation he produced the form of an Oath given by him and his associates, for his Majesties performing of all things promised on his part concerning the Marriage; and was in all and every one of these found to have done good service, and have carried himself honorably according to his Commission.

Soon after this came certain Ambassadors from *Denmark* to invite the King thither, who parting from *Upsal* with his Queen the 22 of *December*, came to *Bahus* (a Castle standing in the Borders of *Norway* and *Sweden*) the first of *January*. There he remained seven days, attending a safe-conduct from the King of *Sweden*, which Captain *William Murray* was employed to bring from *Stockholm*, where that King kept his residence. The conduct brought, he removed from *Bahus* the eighth of *January*, and was met by a Captain of *Sweden* upon the River then frozen with 400 horsemen, and by the space of two *Dutch* miles conveyed unto the land of *Denmark*. The next day he went to the Castle of *Wertburg*, where he remained five days, and from thence journeying by *Falkenburgh*, the Town of *Holmestad* and Castle of *Cowholm*, he came to *Elfsborg*, where he was stayed some three days from crossing the Ferry by tempest of weather; and on the 21 of *January* was received at *Cronenburg* Castle by the Queen-Mother, the young King, the Duke of *Holstat* his brother, and the four Regents of the Realm, with all magnificence possible. There he remained to the end of *February* royally entertained; and because he was to stay upon the Marriage of his Queens eldest Sister with the Duke of *Brunswick*, which was appointed in *April* next, he directed home *William Shaw* Master of *Worke* to advertise the Council of the reason of his stay, and to cause some Ships and expert Pilots be sent with all diligence, for his more safe convoy. The Council upon this advertisement employed Colonel *William Stewart* with six well furnished Ships together; and with him Mr. *Patrick Galloway* the Kings Minister was sent to further his Majesties return. They arriving at *Elfsborg* about the middest of *April*, in the very time that *Brunswicks* Marriage was solemnizing, did signifie to the King the longing that the subjects had for his return, and the Peace that had been observed since his going from *Scotland*. For all that while (which considering the feuds of the Country was strange) two Riots only did happen, one committed by *Archibald Wachop* of *Nudry*, a wicked and insolent man; another by the *Clangregore* in *Bachudder*. It rejoiced the King to hear that the subjects had been so quiet, as he did likewise accompt it a great happiness that in his own company there had no quarrel fallen out, either amongst themselves or with the

the strangers; whereas it is hard for men in drink, at which they were continually kept, long to agree. A little strife at his first coming to *Upsal* arose betwixt the Chancellor and Earl *Marshall* for priority of place: the Earl thinking it due to him, because of the honor he had in the espousal of the Queen: and the Chancellor excepting, that his Ambassage ceased in regard of the Kings presence, and that the same precedency belonged to him by virtue of his Office in those parts, being with the King, that he had at home. But this was pacified without any noise by the Kings determination, who declared the place to belong to the Chancellor.

Brunswicks Marriage and solemnity thereof finished, the King conveyed with many great Ships took journey homewards, and arrived with his Queen at *Leith* the 20 of *May*, where he was received with a wonderful joy and a great concourse of people. After his landing, he went first to Church, and caused publick Thanks to be given to God for his safe and happy return; then after to the Noblemen and Council he gave many thanks for the care they had taken in administration of affairs, and the quietness they had maintained in the Country. The Earl of *Bothwell*, besides the rest, was received with a most gracious countenance, for that contrary to all mens expectation he had carried himself orderly all that time. And he indeed soon after the Kings departing (whether to purchase the opinion of a reformation, or that, as he pretended, remorse of Conscience did move him) in a Conference with *James Gibson* Minister, who was then privately returned from *England*, did offer, for removing the many scandals he had given by his dissoluteness, to acknowledge publicly his offence, and make any satisfaction the Church should enjoy; which also he performed, appearing (as he was appointed) in the Church where Mr. *Robert Bruce* did ordinarily preach, and making confession of his sins, promised to live more regularly, and not to give offence thereafter to good Christians. But it was not long after the Kings return that, falling to his wonted forms, he became more disordered than ever, and there-through procuring the Kings displeasure, wrought his own undoing, as we shall hear.

The next day after the Kings arrival the Council assembled to advise upon the Queens Coronation. The King determining to have it done in most solemn manner, because none of the Bishops were present, nor could conveniently be brought against the day, made choice of Mr. *Robert Bruce* to perform the Ceremony. The Ministers that were in Town being therewith acquainted, some of the number more curious than wife did except against the Ceremony of *Unction*, saying, that it was *Jewish*, and abolished at the coming of *Christ*, introduced into *Christian* kingdoms by the Pope, and not to be used. The chief of this opposition was one Mr. *John Davison*, an idle and turbulent man, who as then had no charge in the Church, but had gained some credit with certain foolish people, that would be thought more holy and zealous than other. Mr. *Andrew Melvil* sided with him at first, reasoning for the same opinion. It was shewed them, That the Ceremony could not be *Jewish*, seeing it never had the beginning from the *Jewes*, nor was it used by that people only. That the Anointing of Kings was mentioned in the book of *Judges*, which, albeit uttered in a Parable, did shew that it was a custom received in creating of Kings. And that it was practised in other Kingdoms besides that of *Judea* was a thing manifest; for *Hazael* King of *Aram* was anointed by *Elias*, and *Cyrus* King of *Persia* is called by *Esay* Gods Anointed: Both these were strangers to the Law and people of the *Jews*, yet were they anointed; wherefore the Ceremony could not be *Jewish*. Then where they said that the Rite was introduced by the Pope of *Rome*; as that could not be made out, so no reasonable man would think that every Rite used amongst *Papists* was to be rejected; for in that case we should be forced to remove many things that are both of good institution and use. Seeing therefore the Function and Authority of Princes continueth the same, and is alike in all free Monarchies, their Anointing could no more be excepted against than their Crowning, and the bearing of the Sword and Scepter before them, which have all the like warrant. Thus they were reasoned with, but nothing could remove their Scruples: which the King hearing, he called them before him, and finding them obstinate in their opinions, told them, 'That he would not have the rite of *Unction* omitted, and if Mr. *Rob. Bruce* would not do it,

An. 1590.

An. 1590.
The King and Queen return to *Scotland*.

Bothwell his satisfaction to the Church.

A difference amongst the Clergy for anointing the Queen.

The Ceremony of *Unction* not *Jewish*.The Queens Coronation at *Haliburtonhouse*.

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An. 1590. (for they had threatned him with Church Censures) he would prorogue the day of Coronation, and stay till one of the Bishops came, who would not refuse. Upon this they fell to a second deliberation, and Mr. Andrew Melvil altogether misliking that a Bishop should be employed in the Action, divided from the others, so that by the plurality of voices in end it was concluded that the Ceremony should be used. Thus the Sunday following the Queen was solemnly Crowned, and all the Rites accustomed performed by Mr. Robert Bruce in the Abby-Church of Halirudhouse.

The Queens
entry into
Edinburgh.

On Tuesday thereafter she made her triumphant entry into the Town of Edinburgh, where nothing was omitted that might serve to express the love and affection of the people. The rest of the month and much of the next was spent in Banquets and royal Shews, for the entertaining of the Strangers. These finished, and order taken for administration of the Rents assigned to the Queen, the Strangers were dimitted, and had rich Presents given them both from the King and Queen.

The Ministers
challenged for
permitting
James Gibson
to preach.

How soon they were gone, the King, upon information that the Ministers of Edinburgh and Dalkeith had permitted James Gibson to preach in their Churches, notwithstanding he was silenced by the general Assembly, caused cite them before the Council. They answered, That his silencing, as they took it, was only to the time of his appearance before the Assembly, and that he was purged of Contumacy. But the Act being produced, and bearing that he was silenced during the pleasure of the Assembly, which was not declared, they confessed their oversight, and promised that he should not have place amongst them till his Majesty was satisfied. The King, constructing their answer to the best, gave order to summon Gibson for his contempt; and he not appearing was denounced Rebel.

The King of-
fended with
the alliance of
Morton with
Arrol.

At the same time there was a Marriage treated betwixt the Earl of Arrol and a Daughter of the Earl of Morton, at which the King took exception, and did inhibit the same, as not liking that he who had so lately rebelled, and was not yet reconciled to the Church, should be strengthened by such an Alliance. Nottheless the Marriage went on, for which the Earl of Morton being called before the Council, answered, that he could not restrain the affection of his Daughter, and was forced to give way unto it. The Council finding him to have failed in his duty, did remit his Censure to the King himself, who, as he was a Prince most tractable, did pass it, upon the Earl his submission.

An Assembly
of the Church.

In the month of June the Assembly of the Church convened at Edinburgh, which the King did honor with his presence. Mr. Patrick Galloway, elected to preside in name of the Church, did put up three Petitions to his Majesty. 'One for establishing the Churches Jurisdiction, and the abolishing of all Acts made to the contrary. Another for purging the Country of Jesuites, Seminary Priests, and Excommunicate persons trafficking against Religion. The Third was for providing a competent maintenance to Ministers forth of the Tithes of the Parishes where they served, and applying what was above to the sustentation of Schools, maintaining of the poor, repairing of the fabrick of Churches, and other the like necessary uses. To the First his Majesty answered, That in all Parliaments the first Act that was concluded did concern the Liberty of the Church, which he should have care to see observed as in times passed. For the second he said, That it was known what pains he had taken therein before his journey to Denmark, and that he would do what lawfully could be done for purging the Country of Papists. And touching the Third, because many were interested therein, he did advise them to make choice of the most discreet of their number to meet with such of the Council as he should appoint, for conferring upon the readiest means to effectuate that which they desired. Thereafter his Majesty falling to speak of the barbarous Feuds which were entertained in the Realm, and the many odious Murthers there-through committed, did seriously commend to them (as those who should of all others most study to make Peace) the removing of such Barbarities so far as in them lay, wishing them in their Sermons to strike on that Point, and make people understand how sinful it was, and how shameful to the whole Nation; as likewise to employ the most wise amongst them for reconciling the Variances that abounded in the Country. For my self, said he, I will employ all the power I have that may; and if you shall apply your selves in your places to do the

The King com-
mended to the
Assembly the
removing of
the deadly
feuds.

the like, my work shall be the more easie and have the better success. This was An. 1591. greatly applauded of all; and indeed after that time he took such pains, partly calling those that were at variance before the Council, and causing them submit their quarrels, partly making strict Laws against the Troublers of the common Peace, as he never ceased till he got the Feuds wholly abolished.

Yet this was not wrought but after some time and with much difficulty, new troubles daily arising in sundry parts of the Country. In the North a dissension brake out betwixt the Earls of Huntley and Murray, that kept those parts a long time in trouble, the occasion whereof was this. John Gordon, son to Thomas Gordon of Cluny, having married the Widow of Grant of Ballendallagh, it happeneth in a private quarrel one of Gordons servants to be killed by the Tutor of the House. Gordon pursuing him before the Justice, for not appearing he was denounced Rebel, and Commission given to the Earl of Huntley as Sheriff of the Country to apprehend him. The Earl making search for him cometh to the house of Ballendallagh, and after some resistance taketh it by force, but findeth not the Tutor. This the family of the Grants interpreting to be done in their disgrace, they betook themselves to the patrociny of the Earl of Murray, and with them the Clan-chatton and divers of the name of Dumbard did joyn. Huntley offending that any in those parts should make head against him, and having understood that the Ears of Athol and Murray were to meet these Clans in Forres, for making up a Confederacy, did assemble his friends, and went thither to dissolve the meeting; but before his coming they had severed, and the Earl of Murray was returned to his House of Tarn-may. Huntley taking that way home, and some of his company riding about the House in manner of a Bravado, they within discharging some Musquets upon them, it happened the same Gordon that married the Widow to be killed. To be revenged of this affront, Huntley gathereth forces to invade the Earl of Murray; and he, assisted by the Earl of Athol his Cousin, prepareth to defend. The Convocations were great on either side; whereof the King receiving advertisement, charges were directed to command Athol home, and inhibit Huntley from coming by West the River of Spey, and Murray not to come on the East of Findorne. This course did restrain them for a time, but gave not an end to those Troubles.

A trouble be-
twixt the Earl
of Huntley and
the Earl of
Murray.

A little after this fell out the slaughter of William Ker of Ancram, a Gentleman of great sufficiency, who was killed in Edinburgh under night by Sir Robert Ker apparant of Cersford. There had been a long and old emulation betwixt the two Families of Cersford and Farnherst for the Warderney of the middle Marches, and the Provostry of Jedburgh. But Fernherst being then deceased, and the Heir left young, this Gentleman, as descended of the House, did what he could to maintain the reputation of it, which was an eye-sore to the other. It happened also some little time before, this Gentleman, in the trial of goods stolen from England, to find out the committer of the Theft, and when the same was denied, (for the matter was brought before the Council) to verifie the same by clear testimonies; which was taken to be done out of spleen, and to rub some infamy upon Cersford, who was then Warden; for the man accused was one of his followers. This the Lady Cersford, a woman of an haughty spirit, did apprehend so deeply, as she never ceased till she had moved her Son, being then very young, to bereave the Gentleman of his life. A hateful fact it was, both for the manner in which it was done, and for the loss the Country received by the Gentlemans death; for he was a man generally well given, wise, of great courage, and expert beyond others in the Laws and Customs of the Borders. The King was highly offended, and was resolved to use exemplary Justice upon the Actor. But he eschewing, and living a Fugitive some months, was pardoned, upon satisfaction made to the Gentlemans children, as was thought by the Chancellors intercession, who afterwards married him to his Neece, a Daughter of Lethington.

Most of this Winter was spent in the discovery and examination of Witches and Sorcerers. Amongst these Agnes Samson (commonly called The Wise wife of Keith) was most remarkable; a woman not of the base and ignorant sort of Witches, but, Matron-like, grave and settled in her answers, which were all to some purpose. In An. 1591. A Sorcereress, Agnes Samson, apprehended.

her

An. 1591.

her Examination she declared, 'That she had a Familiar Spirit, who upon her call did appear in a visible form, and resolve her of any doubtful matter, especially concerning the life or death of persons lying sick. And being ask'd what words she used when she called the spirit, she said her word was, *Holla Master*, and that he had learned her so to do. She farther confessed, 'That the Earl *Bothwell* had moved her to enquire what should become of the King, how long he should reign, and what should happen after his death; and that the Spirit having undertaken to make away the King, after he had failed in performing, and was challenged by her, confessed it was not in his power, speaking words she understood not, but as she did take them, the words were, *Il est homme de Dieu*. *Richard Graham*, another notorious Sorcerer, being apprehended at the same time, made the like Confession of *Bothwell*, which was the cause of his committing in April following; for such Curiosities are not thought to possess the minds of those that wish well to their Princes, and hath proved the cause of many mens ruine.

Bothwell committed for consulting with Witches.

The Laird of *Dun* his death.

In the end of the year died *John Ereskin* of *Dun*, Superintendent of *Angus* and *Mernis*, a man famous for the services performed to his Prince and Country, and worthy to be remembered for his travels in the Church, which out of zeal to the Truth he undertook, preaching and advancing it by all means. Before the Reformation, his House was to those who in that time were called Hereticks a special place of refuge; afterwards such was the scarcity of Ministers that he took upon him the Charge, and was chosen with the first to have the oversight of the Churches in these North-parts, which he governed to his death most wisely and with great authority, giving no way to the Novations introduced, nor suffering them to take place within the bounds of his Charge, whilst he lived. A Baron he was of good rank, wife, learned, liberal, of singular courage, who for divers resemblances may well be said to have been another *Ambrose*. He died the 12 of *March*, in the 82 year of his Age, leaving behind him a numerous posterity, and of himself and his virtues a memory that shall never be forgotten.

Bothwell breaketh his Ward.

Bothwell had not stayed above a month in Ward, when, seducing his Keeper, he made an escape, and thereby increased the suspicion of his guiltiness: whereupon the King gave order to pronounce the Doom of forfeiture against him, according to the conviction passed in *May* 1589, and causing denounce him Traitor, did inhibit by Proclamation all the subjects to intercommune or keep intelligence with him. And lest the proceeding should have been thought too rigorous, it was declared in the Proclamation. 'That he being tender in blood to his Majesty, and advanced by him to sundry Honors and Offices, had out of his ungodly and unnatural humor, after divers slaughters committed by him and overseen, taken Arms against the King, and practised with Strangers for subversion of Religion, and endangering his Majesties Crown, whereof being convicted in a Justice Court holden in *Edinburgh* the 24 of *May* 1589, the Doom and Sentence was superseded in hope of his amendment. And that notwithstanding all these favors he continued in his wicked course; and heaping treason upon treason, had now at last consulted with Witches and Necromancers for bereaving his Majesty of his life, (as was manifest by the Confession of some that had already suffered, and others yet alive who were shortly to be executed) and for the same being committed in the Castle of *Edinburgh*, he had broken Ward, and thereby taken the crime upon him; whereupon the Doom which at that time was delayed being now pronounced, his Majesty did will all his subjects to acknowledge him for no other but a Rebel and Traitor.

The doom of Forfeiture pronounced against him.

His Majesties Declaration concerning *Bothwell*.

Bothwell layeth the blame of his Rebellion upon the Chancellor.

Bothwell taking the course of all Rebels, which is to turn their malice against some about the King, laid the blame of all upon the Chancellor, and drew together some companies of men, as intending to be revenged of him. With him the Lord *Hume* and divers others did joyn, but to little purpose; for *Hume* upon better advice forsook him, and submitted himself to the King; and others, following his example, used their best means to obtain pardon; so as *Bothwell* was compelled to flee into *England* with some few that went with him.

In the Assembly of the Church that convened this Summer at *Edinburgh* fell out

a great contest betwixt them and the Lords of Session, upon this occasion. Mr. *John Graham*, one of the Senators, had intended in right of his Wife an Action of removing against certain fewers of *Halyeards* within the Parish of *Kirkliston*, and to bear out the plea suborned a Notary in *Striveling*, called *Robert Ramsay*, to give him forth an Instrument that made for his purpose. The Defendants having offered to improve the Instrument, did in the mean time, upon a private Warrant obtained from his Majesty, apprehend the Notary, who confessed that the Instrument which he subscribed was brought formed to him by *William Graham*, Brother to Mr. *John*, and that he knew nothing of the business; and being pursued criminally, was upon his Confession condemned of falsehood, and executed to the death. The pursuer, as he was a man bold and impudent, to maintain the truth of the Instrument, did intend Action against Mr. *Patrick Simpson*, Minister at *Striveling*, (who had dealt with the Notary to bring him to a Confession) alleging that he had seduced the man, and made him deny the Instrument. The Minister complaineth to the Assembly, and thereupon Mr. *John Graham* was summoned to answer for the Scandal raised upon one of their members. He compeiring, answered, *That he would prove what he had alleged before the Judge competent*. The Assembly replied, *That he must qualifie it before them, otherwise they would censure him as a Slanderer*. Hereupon was the Lord *Provant* President, with the Lords of *Culros* and *Barnbarrogh*, two of the Senators, sent to desire the Assembly not to meddle in causes proper to their cognition, especially in the cause depending before them, at the instance of the Lord *Halyeards* (so they styled him) against Mr. *Patrick Simpson*. The Assembly answered, *That what they did was no way hurtful to the privileges of Session, nor were they minded to meddle in any Civil matter, but in the purging of one of their own members they might proceed without the prejudice of the Civil judicatory; therefore wished them not to take ill the Churches dealing in the trial of one of their own number*.

The Lords dimitted with this answer, Mr. *John Graham* was called, who excepted against the Judgment, affirming the cause to be Civil, and that the judgment thereof belonged to the Lords of Session *primario*, in regard the same was depending before them. The Assembly repelling the declinator, found themselves Judges in the cause; therefore willed him to say what he could in his own defence, otherwise they would give process and minister Justice. But he taking documents of their Interloquutor, and protesting for remedy of Law, departed. The Lords esteeming this an encroachment upon their Privileges, and that upon such grounds all Actions that touched any Minister might be drawn from their Judicatory resolved to send a Prohibition to the Assembly, and discharge their proceeding: but by the mediation of some well-disposed persons, that did not like to have questions of Jurisdiction moved, the business was settled, and both Actions ordained to cease. Not the less the Instrument was sustained by the Lords and judged to make faith, which turned in end to the pursuers undoing.

In this Assembly certain Articles were presented subscribed by the Archbishop of *S. Andrews*, allowing the Presbyterial Discipline, and condemning the Government Episcopal, which were afterward imprinted under the title of Mr. *Patrick Adamsons* Recantation. The Bishop lay bedfast at the time, and was fallen into great necessity by his own misgovernment; whereof his Adversaries taking advantage, it was devised that he should be visited by some of the brethren, and desired to leave a testimony under his hand of his opinion of matters of Discipline. This being moved unto him, he said, *That he did not trouble himself with such thoughts at that time, and had never allowed of any other Bishop in the Church but S. Pauls Bishop, which he would willingly set his hand to*. Upon this his answer were these Articles drawn up and subscribed by him. Whether he knew what was contained in them, or that he was induced thereto by a poor Collection they gave him in the time (for so the report went) or otherwise, it is uncertain: but when it was told him that such a Recantation was published in his name, he complained heavily of the wrong that was done him, and, committing his cause to God, ended his days in the end of this year. A man he was of great learning, and a most persuasive Preacher,

Mr. *John Graham* questioned by the Church.

The Archbishop of *S. Andrews* his Recantation.

An. 1591.

A Revocation made in name of the Church.

A Schism in the Presbytery of S. Andrews.

but an ill Administrator of the Church-Patrimony, which brought him to the misery that is pitiful to think of. Divers works he left, of which some are extant, that shewing his Learning; but his Prelections upon the Epistles to *Timothy*, which were most desired, falling into the hands of his adversaries, were suppressed.

In the same Assembly a general Revocation was made in name of the Church by Mr. *Robert Pont* of all things done in prejudice of the Rents and Patrimony thereof, either by Ministers that were beneficed, or by others bearing the title of Churchmen. This in the opinion of wise men was esteemed to be a good way for pleading Restitution, according to the privilege of ancient Laws; but was derided and scoffed at by those that had filled their hands with the spoils of the Church. And folly it was sure to think they could enjoy any benefit by these privileges, having destroyed the estate and dignity of the Church, by which these Privileges should have been preserved.

Soon after this meeting there hapeneth a great division in the Presbytery of *S. Andrews*, for planting the Church of *Luchars*. The pretenders were Mr. *Patrick Weimes* and Mr. *Robert Wallace*. Mr. *Andrew Melvil* with some few that followed him stood for Mr. *Wallace*, Mr. *Thomas Buchanan* and the rest for Mr. *Patrick Weimes*. The matter after a hot contention being put to voices, Mr. *Thomas Buchanan* and some 19 or 20 with him gave their suffrages to Mr. *Weimes*; Mr. *Andrew* and other six that adhered to him gave their voices to Mr. *Robert Wallace*. Mr. *Andrew* taking it impatiently to be thus overswayed, left the place where the Presbytery did meet, and with his six went to the Schools of the new College, and made up another Presbytery. Mr. *Thomas* and the rest abode in the place, and according as they had voiced, appointed Mr. *Patrick Weimes* on the next Sunday to be received Minister of *Luchars*: Mr. *Andrew* with his company gave forth the like Ordinance for Mr. *Robert Wallace*: and thus both were instituted and admitted Ministers to the Church upon one day. The Gentlemen of the Parish went likewise in Factions, some holding with the one and some with the other, which caused a great Scandal. There being none to pacifie the strife, Mr. *Andrew Lambe* (the Minister at *Brunt-Island*) was directed from the Synod of *Fife* to entreat some of the Ministers of *Lothian* to take the pains of bringing them to an agreement. For this effect, Mr. *David Lindesay*, Mr. *Robert Bruce* and Mr. *J. Spotswood* were chosen; who coming to *S. Andrews* in the month of *October*, called the parties before them, to understand the reasons of their dissension. Mr. *Andrew* did plead for the one party, and Mr. *Thomas Buchanan* for the other. It was laid to Mr. *Andrew* his charge, 'That he had made a secession, forsaken the place of meeting, and the fellowship of his brethren, and with some six only that followed him presumed to overturn the conclusion of the greater number. His defence was, *That albeit he and his followers had left the place, yet they could not be judged to have made secession, by reason the others had given the cause, and conspired to prefer a person in worth not comparable to him whom they had elected*. As to the number of voices, he said, *quod suffragia essent ponderanda, non numeranda*, that voices ought not to be numbered, but to be weighed and pondered. Two days they continued reasoning, and in end the Mediators finding no other means of their agreement, took course to displace both the young men, and to appoint a third person for the service of the Church: and for eschewing such contentions thereafter, which were feared because of the heat betwixt Mr. *Thomas* and Mr. *Andrew*, they did appoint the Presbytery to be divided in two, a part to sit at *Couper*, and the rest to abide at *S. Andrews*. Thus was that strife pacified, which many held to be ominous, and that the Government which in the beginning did break forth into such Schisms could not long continue; for this every man noted, *That of all men, none could worse endure Parity and loved more to command than they who had introduced it into the Church*.

But to leave the matters of the Church for a while; whenas the King did think that all was quiet, and *Bothwell* so weakened as he could not make any trouble, (for *Bacleigh* his Son-in-law was by licence gone into *France*, and all the Gentlemen of the South parts, who were of any worth, had given surety to have no meddling with him) there were found in the Court it self instruments apt enough to serve his turn.

For

For of the Duke of *Lennox* his retinue some that envied the Chancellors credit with the King, and others whose hopes wholly depended upon the Trouble of the State, did by secret messages incite *Bothwell* to enterprise somewhat for himself, offering to bring him within the Kings Palace unperceived, where with a few hands he might make himself master of the King and all the Court. *Bothwell* is easily drawn to condescend, and the conspiracy so ordered, that he with his followers should under night be let in at a back passage that lay through the Lord Duke his Stables; and first they should seize upon the Gates, take the keys from the Porter, and go after that to the Kings Chamber, and make him sure. Within the Palace were divers privy to the Conspiracy, especially Colonel *William Stewart*, *John Neswith* Chirurgeon to the King, and *James Douglas* of *Spot*, who was brought to take part in that enterprise by this occasion. Some days before it happened *George Home* of *Spot* his Father-in-law to be killed by certain *Merfemen* of the surname of *Home* and *Craw*. Sir *George Home*, Nephew to *Spot*, and one of the Masters of the Kings Esquerry, did charge *James Douglas* as author or accessory to the Murther, because of a fear he had conceived that his Father-in-law should by a new right possess his Nephew Sir *George* in some part of the lands to which he had right by his marriage: upon this suspicion three of his servants were apprehended and detained prisoners within the Palace, till they should be tried by torture. The Chancellor, on whom *James Douglas* depended, labored all he could to free his servants from that extraordinary form of Trial; but the presumptions being pregnant, the King would have them to be tortured; which when *Spot* understood, and saw that the same would not be eschewed, he thrust himself desperately in the action which but a few hours before was communicated to him by one of the Associates.

This fell out happily for the King, and was it that marred the whole Conspiracy; for when *Bothwell* with his company had entred by the way named, and was come to the inner Court of the Palace, *James Douglas*, that minded nothing but the relief of his servants, drew a number to break open the doors where they were detained, and by the noise thereof all in the Palace were put upon their guard. The King was then at Supper, and being told that armed men were in the nether Court, leaving the rooms wherein he lodged, went up to the Tower as to a place of greater surety. *Bothwell* having directed some to enclose the Chancellors lodgings, lest he should escape, made towards the Queens rooms, where he expected to find entry, and perceiving all shut upon him, called to bring fire. But ere they could find any, Sir *James Sandilands*, one of his Majesties Chamber, who had slipped without the Palace, with a number of the people of *Edinburgh*, entring by the Church of *Halirudhouse*, did beat him and his company from the doors, and was in possibility to have taken them all, if there had been any lights; but those being all extinguished, *Bothwell* with the principals of his company made shift in the dark, and escaped, returning by the same way that he entred. In his out-going he was encountered by a Gentleman of the Esquerry, named *John Shaw*, whom he killed with a Pistol, yet lost some nine of his followers, men of small note, who were executed the next morning.

The enterprise thus defeated, *Bothwell* went into the North, looking to be supplied by the Earl of *Murray* his Cousen germane: which the King suspecting, *Andrew Lord Ochiltry* was sent to bring *Murray* unto the South, of purpose to work a reconciliation betwixt him and *Huntley*. But a rumor being raised in the mean while that the Earl of *Murray* was seen in the Palace with *Bothwell* on the night of the enterprise, the same was entertained by *Huntley*, (who waited then at Court) to make him suspected of the King, and prevailed so far as he did purchase a Commission to apprehend and bring *Murray* to his Trial. The Nobleman not fearing that any such course should be used, was come to *Dunbar*, a House situated on the Northside of *Forth*, and belonging to his Mother the Lady *Downe*. *Huntley* being advertised of his coming, and how he lay there secure, accompanied only with the Sheriff of *Murray* and a few of his own retinue, went thither and beset the House, requiring him to render. The Earl of *Murray* refusing to put himself in the hands of his enemy, after some defence made, wherein the Sheriff was killed, fire was set

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An. 1592.

The success of the attempt.

The Earl of Murray slain at Dunbar, 7. Feb. 1592.

Bothwell's attempt upon Halirudhouse.

An. 1592.

to the Houle, and they within forced by the violence of the smoak and flame to come forth. The Earl stayed a great space after the rest, and the night falling down, ventured among his Enemies, and breaking through the midst of them did so far out-run them all, as they supposed he was escaped; yet searching him among the rocks, he was discovered by the tip of his Head-pice, which had taken fire before he left the house, and unmercifully slain. The report went that *Huntley's* friends fearing he should disclaim the fact (for he desired rather to have taken him alive) made him light from his horse, and give some strokes to the dead corps. This done, *Gordon of Buckie* was dispatched to advertise the King what had happened, and *Huntley* himself took journey Northwards in such haste as he left Captain *Gorden* his Cousen, that was lying on the ground wounded, behind him. This Captain was brought the next day to *Edinburgh* and publicly executed.

The Murderer universally ill taken.

The death of the Nobleman was universally lamented, and the clamors of the people so great, especially against the Chancellor, upon whom all the blame was laid, that the King not esteeming it safe to abide at *Edinburgh*, removed with the Council to *Glasgow*, where he remained until *Huntley* did enter himself in Ward in *Blackness*, as he was charged. But he stayed not there many days, being dimitted upon Caution to answer before the Justice whensoever he should be called. The Corps of the Earl and Sheriff of *Murray* were brought to the Church of *Leith* in two Coffins, and there lay divers months unburied, their friends refusing to commit their bodies to the earth till the slaughter was punished. Nor did any man think himself so much interested in that fact as the Lord *Ochiltrey*, who had persuaded the Earl of *Murray* to come South, whereupon he fell afterwards away to *Bothwell*, and joyned with him for revenge of the Murder.

The Lord Ochiltrey maketh defecti-on to Bothwell.

An. 1592. Petitions in behalf of the Church.

The Parliament, which had been now twice prorogated, did keep in the month of *June*. In behalf of the Church it was there petitioned, '1. That the Acts of Parliament made in the year 1584 against the Discipline of the Church and Liberty thereof should be abrogated and annulled, and a Ratification granted of the Discipline whereof they were then in practice. 2. That the Act of Annexation should be repealed, and restitution made to the Churches Patrimony. 3. That the Abbots, Priors, and other Prelates bearing the titles of Church-men, and giving voice for the Church, without any power and Commission from the Church, should not be admitted in time coming to give voice in Parliament, or convene in their name. And 4. That a solid order might be taken for purging the Realm of Idolatry and Blood wherewith it was miserably polluted. The second and third Petitions rejected, consultation taken about the other two, and satisfying the last, it was condescended, *That saying of Mass, receiving of Jesuites, Seminary Priests, and trafficking Papists against the Kings Majesty and Religion presently professed, should be a just cause to infer the pain and crime of Treason against Jesuites, Mass-Priests, trafficking Papists, and their ressetters*: with a provision, *That if the Jesuites and Seminary Priests did satisfie the Prince and the Church, the foresaid Penalty should not strick upon the ressetters*. Which in effect was no restraint, neither was the trafficking against Religion declared to be a crime of Treason, unless the same was proved a trafficking likewise against the King. So in this point the Church received small satisfaction. As to the complaint of Blood, the same was remitted to the ordinary course of Justice.

The first Petition granted, and in what manner.

But the first Petition was longer debated, the King being unwilling either to abrogate the Acts of the 84, or grant the Ratification desired of the present Discipline: for he foresaw the inconvenients that would grow by the liberty that Ministers should assume to themselves. Yet *Bothwell's* business and the many discontentments within the Realm moved him to give way, lest he should be troubled likewise with their outcries. So the Act passed, but in the most wary terms that could be devised. As for the Statute confirming his Majesties Royal power, the abrogation whereof was chiefly sought, it was only declared, *That the said Statute should be no ways prejudicial nor derogatory to the privilege that God hath given to the Spiritual Office-bearer in the Church, concerning Heads of Religion, matters of Heresie, Excommunication, Collation or Deprivation of Ministers,*

or

or any such essential Censures grounded and having warrant of the Word of God. An. 1592.

Upon the end of the Parliament the King went to *Falkland*, where *Bothwell* made a new attempt, encouraged thereunto by the Earls of *Angus* and *Arrol*, the Master of *Gray*, Colonel *Stewart*, and the Lairds of *Johnston* and *Balwery*, who did all promise their concurrence in bringing him unto the Kings presence. The Master of *Gray* and *Balwery* did meet him with a good number of horse, *Angus* kept the Diet but with a small company, *Arrol* remained with the King within the Palace, and had taken upon him with the assistance of Colonel *Stewart* to open the Gates; but either out of fear, their hearts failing them, or not having a number sufficient to make good their undertaking, nothing was done; yet upon suspicions they were apprehended, and *Arrol* sent to the Castle of *Edinburgh*, and the Colonel to *Blackness*. The company that came with *Bothwell* was not great, and did not exceed sixscore in all, broken men for the most part, whom he had taken up in the *English* and *Scottish* Borders: with these he had journeyed 2 days and nights without either meat or sleep, and came to *Falkland* a little before midnight; where finding his expectation disappointed, and those in the Palace provided to defend, he stayed on the side of the Hill till a little after Sun-rising; some of his followers in the mean time breaking open the Queens Stables, took away the Horses and what else they could lay hands upon. The night was then at the shortest, for it was the 26 of *June*, and the Country gathering from all parts to relieve the King, he was forced to flee. But what way to take he was uncertain; for to pass the Ferrie with his company he could not safely, and to return by the bridge of *Striveling* was a long way, which neither the horses nor their riders after so long watching could indure: yet seeing no better than to be gone, with the haste he could make, about nine of the clock he caused sound the trumpets, and retired.

Arrol and Colonel Stewart committed.

Bothwell and his company fleeth.

The King after the Country people were come followed by the Queens Ferry, thinking he had gone that way; but finding that he had taken his course by *Striveling*, and knowing that the company would separate how soon they had passed the Bridge, he directed most of his followers to apprehend such as they could overtake. Divers were taken in the Moors of *Calder* and *Carnmuth*, but suffered to escape by their takers: many horses were found straying in the fields the riders being overcome with sleep and fallen from them. Amongst others *Archibald Waclop* of *Nidry*, and some 7 or 8 with him, whilst they lay sleeping in a meadow nigh to *Cambusneth*, were taken by the Lord *Hamilton*, and sent to be kept in the Castle of *Draffan*: but his Lady the day after, out of a womanly commiseration, whilst her Lord was absent, suffered them to depart. *Bothwell* himself fled unto the West Borders, and from thence into *England*.

Nidry taken by the Lord Hamilton, and dimitted by his Lady.

The badness of this attempt put the Borders in a great fear, for many of them, especially of the *Johnstons*, had followed him in that journey: yet so great was the Kings clemency, as being at *Dumfries*, whither he went in the beginning of *July*, a general Pardon was proclaimed to all that would submit themselves; whereupon numbers did enter, and were received in favor. *Bothwell*, thus forsaken almost of all, did notwithstanding in the Court again find some that out of emulation and private rancor, more than for any affection they carried unto him, wrought the King new Troubles.

Pardon granted to those that would forsake Bothwell.

Alexander Linde (say) Lord *Spinie*, a great Favourite in that time, out of the malice he bare to the Master of *Glamis* the Treasurer, whom he knew *Bothwell* also hated, did secretly practise to bring him into the Kings presence, and make his Reconciliation. This coming to the knowledge of Colonel *Stewart*, who was still detained in *Blackness*, to procure his own liberty and recover the Kings favor, he signified the same to the King by Sir *James Sandilands*, who as then was keeper of the House; and being brought before the Council at *Dalkeith* stood to the declaration, affirming that the Lord *Spinie* had resset *Bothwell* in his Ladies House at *Aberdowrie*; which he offered to prove by witnesses, circumstances & other clear demonstrations. These were his words. *Spinie* denying all, appealed the Colonel to combat, which the King would not permit, assigning the 12 of September for his Trial before the

The Lord Spinie declared for practising with the Lord Bothwell.

An. 1592. Justice. *Spinie* appearing at the day, the Colonel excused himself by the shortness of the time, and had a new diet assigned him; at which his probation failing, *Spinie* was restored to his honor, dignity and service: yet did he never recover his former credit with the King, but was held still suspected; and whether offending at this, or that the first declaration was true in itself, the year following he took open part with *Bothwell*, and was therefore denounced Rebel.

John Weymis of *Bogie* committed for his practices with *Bothwell* escaped.

At the same time *John Weymis* younger of *Bogie*, Gentleman of his Majesties Chamber, and in great favor both with the King and Queen, was discovered to have the like dealing with *Bothwell*, and being committed to the keeping of the Guard, escaped by the policy of one of the *Dutch* Maids, with whom he entertained a secret love. The Gentlewoman, named Mistress *Margaret Twinssace*, coming one night whilst the King and Queen were in bed to his keepers, shewed that the King called for the Prisoner to ask of him some question. The keepers suspecting nothing, for they knew her to be the principal Maid in the Chamber, conveyed him to the door of the Bed-chamber, and making a stay without as they were commanded, the Gentlewoman did let him down at a Window by a Cord that she had prepared. The keepers waiting upon his return stayed there till the morning, and then found themselves deceived. This with the manner of the escape ministered great occasion of laughter; and not many days after the King being pacified by the Queens means, he was pardoned, and took to wife the Gentlewoman who had in this sort hazarded her credit for his safety. These dealings at Court increased not a little the boldness of others in the Country, so as some of all ranks, both Barons, Gentlemen and Burgeesses, became followers of *Bothwell*, and feared not to entertain him openly. All *Tiviotdale* ran after him; whereupon the King made an expedition to *Jedburgh* 12 October, and finding some of his Rissetters, took Bonds of them for the better behavior.

A Faction made against the Chancellor.

At his return he found new vexations by a Faction made at Court against the Chancellor, whereof the Heads were the Duke of *Lennox*, the Earls of *Argile* and *Morton*, the Master of *Glamis* and Lord *Home*; with these the Earls of *Angus* and *Arrol*, who were released from their wards by the Queens intercession, did afterwards joyn. That which gave the occasion was, a claim made by the Queen of the Lordship of *Mussilburgh*, as being a part of *Dumfries*, which the desired the Chancellor to resign, for he had acquired an heritable right thereof at the making the Act of Annexation. The Chancellor excusing himself, and in effect denying to satisfy her desire, she grew offended, and drew in these Noblemen to oppose him: whereupon he withdrew himself from Court, and remained in *Niddisdale* the rest of that year.

Troubles in the North betwixt *Huntley* and the *Clanbattan*. I have read in a MS. called the Acts of the Gordons, that *Glenmuck*, *Glenavon*, *Strathgairn*, and *Birs*, were spoiled, and *Brachlie* with his Son-in-law slain by *Mackendry* of *Inver-Ar*. The Earl of *Angus* employed in a Commission to the North in November.

In the North there was likewise great unquietness; for the *Clanbattan* conducted by *Angus Williamston*, to revenge the Earl of *Murrays* death, made great spoil upon the Earl of *Huntleys* lands in *Strathspay*, and *Glenmuck*, killing divers, and amongst others two honest men, *John Gordon* of *Brachlie*, and *James Middleton* of *Ballafruin*, against whom they could pretend no quarrel. *Huntley* to be revenged of this wrong made an Incurison upon the lands of *Pettie*, which the *Clanbattan* did then possess, exercising great cruelty; and understanding that *William Malcolm* to be was at the same time spoiling the lands of *Colerick*, encountered him at the head of *Staplegate* hill, where after a short Conflict some threescore of the *Clanbattan* were killed, a few only falling on his side. Shortly after in another Expedition upon the same lands, having drawn together a number of High-landers from *Loqhabar*, *Badenoch* and *Strathdawn*, he waisted, burnt and spoiled all that Country, killing a great many people.

The King, to pacify these Troubles, directed the Earl of *Angus* with a Commission of Lieutenandry unto the North, where he wrought so much as the publick Incurisions of both sides did cease. And in this time was Mr. *George Ker*, Brother to the Lord *Newbottle*, intercepted as he lay at the Isle of *Cumray*, intending a journey towards *Spain*: with him were apprehended divers missive Letters and Blanks signed by the Earls of *Angus*, *Huntley* and *Arrol*, and by Sir *Patrick Gordon* of *Angbendown*. Mr. *Andrew Knox* then Minister of *Paisley*, who was afterwards made Bishop

shop of the Isles, upon some discovery made to him, did enterprize his taking, and making him to be conveyed with a strong Guard, delivered him to the Provost of the City, the King being then in *Alloway* at the Christmasts with the Earl of *Marre*, who but a few days before had married the Duke of *Lennox* his Sister. Advertisement made of his apprehension and of the Letters apprehended with him, the King made haste to return. The night before his coming was the Earl of *Angus* returned from the North, and not having heard any thing of Mr. *George Ker* taking, went as he was accustomed to his lodging in *Edinburgh*, but was presently arrested by the Provost and Bailiffs, and sent prisoner to the Castle. The King esteeming this too great a presumption in them, to have used a Nobleman and Counsellor lately returned from such a publick employment without warrant in that manner, was not a little offended; yet because of the hainous accusations laid against him, their forwardness was excused, and his imprisonment allowed for good service by Act of Council.

The Earl of *Angus* imprisoned in the Castle.

Mr. *George Ker* at his Examination did ingenuously confess all that he knew of the business, the sum whereof was as followeth. That upon a Letter sent from Mr. *William Creighton* the Jesuite, then residing in Spain, and assurance given of the King of Spains aid for the alteration of Religion, Mr. *James Gordon* and Mr. *Robert Abercrombie* Jesuites had devised to send one to Spain, to certify the King of the concurrence of the Scottish Catholics in his service, and that for the greater secrecy the three forenamed Earls should undertake for the rest, and by their Letters testify the same. That this being proposed to the Noblemen, they did willingly consent, and accordingly set their hands to eight Blanks, six whereof were to be filled as Missives from them to the King of Spain, and the two other with Procurations, one for the messengers credit, the other for the Articles that should be drawn up in Spain. That the filling of the Blanks was trusted to Mr. *William Creighton* and Mr. *James Tyrie*; and that Sir *James Chisholm*, one of the Kings Master households, was first chosen to be carrier of the Blanks; but that he being impeded through some private business, they were delivered to him subscribed in the month of October, he being then in *Edinburgh*. He further declared, that by conference at the same time with the Earls of *Angus* and *Arrol* he understood that the King of Spain was to send an Army of thirty thousand men into Scotland, whereof 15000 should remain in the Country, and with the assistance of the Catholics either alter the present Religion, or procure liberty to their own Profession: and that the rest of the Army should invade England, being conveyed thither by the Catholick Lords who were to meet the Army at their landing, which was appointed to be either at *Kirkubright* in *Galloway*, or in the mouth of *Cluid*. This was the sum of his Confession.

The Earl of *Angus* charged with these points denied, affirming the Blanks and Subscriptions to be counterfeited. But *David Graham* of *Fintry*, who was apprehended upon suspicion at the same time, declared that Mr. *Robert Abercrombie* had revealed the purpose to him, and shewed that the Blanks were trusted to Master *George Ker*.

The Earl of *Angus* denieth the Blanks.

This to manifest a discovery of Popish Plots, tending not only to the overthrow of Religion but also of the Realm, which by this Treasonable practice should have been reduced to a miserable Slavery, did animate the King much against the Jesuites: whereupon he published his resolution, to spare none that should try guilty of the Treason, but make them an example to all posterities; requiring in most serious manner all his good Subjects to beware of these Jesuites, Traitors to their native Country, and in their prayers to implore the mercy of God for preservation of themselves, their wives and children from the Conspiracy intended. The Ministers of *Edinburgh*, esteeming it their duty to make the Churches of the Country foreseen of the Conspiracy that was detected, gave notice thereof by their Letters to such as were most nigh at hand, desiring them to meet at *Edinburgh* the 8 of January, for giving their advice touching these dangers, and how the same might best be prevented.

The Kings resolution published for punishing that Conspiracy.

An. 1592.
A Meeting of
the Ministry.

The King his
desire propo-
ned to the
Meeting.

An offer made
by the Meet-
ing.

Finty behead-
ed.

The disposi-
tion and quali-
ties of Mr.
John Graham.

The Earl of
Angus escap-
eth.

The Meeting was frequent, for the report of the discovery drew many thither. Mr. Robert Bruce in a short speech having related the peril wherein the Country and Church were brought by these practices, it was thought meet by some Commissioners to treat of his Majesty the execution of the Laws against Jesuites and their Resettlers, with the punishment of such as should be found guilty of the present Conspiracy. The King accepting graciously those that were sent unto him, and giving the whole Assembly thanks for the readiness they shewed to assist him in the prosecution of that Trial, wished them to consider of what importance the business was, and not only to give their advice for the course that should be taken, but also to let him know what help they would contribute for strengthening him in his proceeding against the unnatural Subjects.

His Majesties desire being reported to the Meeting, their advice was, that a Parliament should be indicted, and the Subscribers of the Blanks cited thereto: and because it was not expected that they would appear, so as his Majesty should be compelled to pursue them by force of Arms; they did humbly offer their attendance upon his Majesties Person, till they should be apprehended or expelled the Country; as likewise to entertain a Guard to his Majesty of three hundred horsemen and an hundred foot, so long as any necessity was, and till the Laws of the Country had taken effect against the Rebels: providing it should not be drawn into a custom, nor prejudice the liberty of the Realm in time coming. The offer was thankfully accepted, and a Proclamation made to meet the King at *Aberdene* the 20 of February, for settling the North parts; and for a beginning of Justice, *David Graham of Fintry* was arraigned, and being found guilty, beheaded in the publick street of *Edinburgh* the 16 of February.

Some two days before his Execution, Mr. John Graham, one of the Senators of the College of Justice, being charged (because of the business he made in behalf of *Fintry*) to depart forth of the Town, and keep ward in *Strathern*, was killed as he was going to the tide at *Leith*. There had been a question long depending betwixt Sir James Sandilands and him for the lands of *Halyeards*, and by reason thereof a professed enmity amongst them; and it falling out at the same time when he was going to *Leith*, that the Duke of *Lennox* accompanied with Sir James and divers others was making towards their sport in the Sands, Mr. John Graham apprehending that they did pursue him, made a turn upon that ascent which is without the Gate of the Town, as if he would stand there to his defence; which Sir James taking for a sort of provocation, he made towards him, and entering in conflict, Sir Alexander Stewart, a grave Gentleman, servant to the Duke of *Lennox*, was killed by the shot of a pistol: presently after Mr. John Graham by another shot was stricken in the breast, and fell to the ground. They who did give him the convoy, seeing him fall, did all flee, and the companies separating, he was led to a poor Cottage near unto the place, and, as he lay in bed, killed by the said Sir Alexander his Page, in revenge of his Masters death.

A man he was but meanly born, and descended of that unhappy race which had an hand in the Murder of King James the First: a long time he served as Deputy to the Earl of *Argile* in the Justice Courts, and after his death waited on Captain James Stewart, by whose means he was preferred to be one of the Senators of the College of Justice in the place of Mr. Robert Pont: of a quick wit and a good and ready utterance; but was excessively proud, covetous and dishonest in his dealings, as appeared in suborning of the Notary of whom we spake, and the fraud which he used to Mr. Andrew Polwart subdean of *Glasgow*, a man of great learning, who being forced to fly into *England* in the year 1584 with the other Ministers that took their refuge thither, had intrusted him with his Living and Rent, upon assurance to be repossessed when the time should change; yet being returned and having obtained his peace, could he never bring him to fulfil his promise; whereupon after a long plea at Law, not finding an outgate, the honest man conceived a displeasure and died.

The Earl of Angus the same day that he was killed made an escape out of the Castle of *Edinburgh* by the connivence of the keepers, and flying to the North joyned

joyned with *Huntley* and *Arrol*. They upon the report of the Kings coming to *Aberdene*, left their Houses and betook themselves to the mountains, sending their Ladies to intercede for them, and make offer of the keys of their Houses, which they had been charged to render.

The King receiving the Ladies courteously, told them that if their Husbands would enter and abide Trial, they should receive no wrong, otherwise the crime laid to their charge did so highly touch the Estate, as he could not stay the course of Justice. In the mean time, for preserving the Country in peace, the Earl of *Arthol* was made Lieutenant within the bounds of *Elgin, Forres, Narne, Innerneffe* and *Cromartie*; and the like Commission given to the Earl of *Marshall* of the Sherifdoms of *Kincardin, Bamffe* and *Aberdene*.

This done the King returned to *Edinburgh*, * where the Lord Burgh did meet him. He was sent from the Queen of *England* to congratulate the discoveries of these treacherous practices, and make offer of her assistance in pursuing and punishing those that should be culpable: wherein she wished him to do as a King ought in such a case; and if he could not apprehend their Persons, to confiscate their Lands and Rents, whereby he should undo them, and better the Estate of his Crown. And seeing the Cause was common, and touched all Princes professing the same Religion, she desired to be certified what his resolution was, that she might assure other Princes her Confederates of the course taken in both their Dominions for resisting the attempts of Spain. The King thanking the Queen for her friendly offer and advice, said, That he knew Sir Robert Bowes her Resident Ambassador had advertised her of the whole particulars, and of the Blanks and Letters intercepted: That he had made a beginning, and was fully resolved to prosecute the same with all rigor against those that he should be culpable; but willed her to consider how dangerous it was for him to have so many great men his Rebels, and what a business it would be to hunt them out of those holes and desert places where they lurked: That he would stand in need of her help and supply, which he doubted not to find, it being more dangerous for her Estate to have the Spaniard set foot in his Kingdom, than either in France or the Low Countries, both which she had liberally helped and supplied with men and monys. But what particular Supply he would crave, his own Ambassador whom he minded to send speedily should declare. This was the effect of the Conference kept with the Lord Burgh at his first hearing.

At the next audience the Ambassador falling again upon the same purpose, said, That her Majesty did wish the King to fortifie himself with a wife, sound and well-affected Council, that might help to discover such wicked practices, and repress them when they were detected: and then casting in somewhat of the punishment that the Queen had taken of those that had given *Bothwell* countenance in *England*, he wished the King to consider what course was best to be held with him in so troublesome a time; and if it were not for his Majesties quiet (having so many Rebels) to receive him upon his submission in favor.

The King passing that which he had told of the punishing of *Bothwells* Resettlers, albeit he knew no such thing was done, answered, That if the Queen did either respect his countenance or her own Honor, she would be so far from giving him refuge in her Dominions, as he thought certainly she would deliver him, according to the tenor of the League standing among them. But for taking him in favor, his offences were unpardonable, and to be abhorred of all Sovereign Princes; therefore desired him to shew the Queen his Mistress, that if he should understand any resset to be given *Bothwell* after that time, he could not but joyn with her greatest enemies for his own safety. As for his resolution in prosecuting the Trial begun, he should have it with him in a Letter of his own hand. This done he was dimitted, Sir Robert Bowes residing still at *Legier*.

In the end of April there was an Assembly kept at *Dundie*, wherein his Majesty directed Sir James Melvil of *Halhill* with certain Articles, in the first whereof he declared, That he would not suffer the Privilege and Honor of his Crown to be diminished, and Assemblies to be made when and where they pleased. Therefore willed them, before the Dissolution of the present Assembly, to send two or three of their

An. 1593.

The Houses of
the Rebels
rendered.

Arthol and
Marshall made
Lieutenants
of the North.

* 25. March.
An. 1593.
A Message
from the
Queen of Eng-
land.

The Ambassa-
dor interced-
eth for *Bothwell*.

Midst of April.

An Assembly
of the Church
at *Dundie*.

Articles sent
by his Majesty
to the Church.

An. 1593. *their number, by whom they should know his mind touching the time and place of their next Meeting.*

By the second it was desired, *That an Act should be made inhibiting Ministers to declaim in Pulpit against the proceeding of his Majesty and Council, under pain of Deprivation; both in regard of his Majesties good intentions known to themselves for maintaining Religion and Justice, and for the ease access that divers of the Ministry had unto him, by whom they might signify their complaints and grievances if any they had.*

Thirdly, *In regard of Mr. Craig's decrepit age, his Majesty desired to have five or six nominated to him by the Assembly, that he might chuse some two of them to serve in his House.*

Fourthly, *Seeing the standing of Religion and Safety of his Person were so straightly conjoined, as they that were enemies to the one could not be friends to the other; that some of every Presbytery should be appointed to inform and advertise his Majesty of the practices of the Papists and the Ressetters of Bothwell, whose whole courses tended to the subversion of Religion, no less than the endangering of his Majesties Person.*

And fifthly, *That they should appoint some of their number to cause the Magistrates of Burghs, where there are any Sea-ports, try those that came into the Country, or passed forth of the same, to delate their names, that the Plots and practices against Religion might be better discovered.*

The Assembly's Answer.

These Articles, especially the first two, favoring of discontent, were answered generally by the Assembly. Concerning their Meetings, they said, that they should follow the Act of Parliament made the year preceding: and for the declaiming in Pulpit, an Act was made prohibiting any Minister to utter in Pulpit any rash or irreverent speeches against his Majesty and Council, or their proceedings; and to give their admonitions upon just and necessary causes, and in all fear, love and reverence. Which the King esteeming to be no restraint, but rather to minister an excuse to the unruly sort when they transgressed than otherwise, rejected, as not satisfying his demand; whereupon the Petitions of the Church proposed against Papists at the same time, and against the erections of Tithes in Temporalities, were not much regarded.

In this Assembly it was enacted, 'That none professing Religion within the Church of Scotland should from thenceforth repair to any of the King of Spains Dominions, where the tyranny of Inquisition was used, for traffick of Merchandise, or other the like negotiations, till the King did obtain liberty from the King of Spain to his Subjects for traffick in these bounds, without any danger of their person or goods for the cause of Religion, under the pain of Excommunication.'

The Merchants offending hereat did petition his Majesty and Council for maintaining their liberty of Traffick; which was granted. Notwithstanding whereof the Ministers proceeded in their Censures, till the Merchants made offer to surcease their Trade with Spain how soon their Accompts were made, and they paid by their Creditors in those parts.

A change of the Mondays Mercat urged at Edinburgh.

But the abolishing of the Mondays Mercat in Edinburgh, though assented unto by the Council of the Town, and past in an Act, took not the like effect: for the Shoemakers, who were most interested in that business, hearing that the same was to be put in execution, tumultuously gathering themselves together, come to the Ministers houses, menacing to chase them forth of the Town if they did urge that matter any more. After which the motion ceased, the Mercat continuing as before. This did minister great occasions of sport at that time in Court, where it was said, *That Rascals and Sowtars could obtain at the Ministers hands what the King could not in matters more reasonable.*

Sir Robert Melvil sent into England.

In the beginning of June Sir Robert Melvil was sent in Ambassage to England: His Commission was, to signify what had been done in the prosecution of the Authors and contrivers of the last practices since the Lord Burgh his return, and to require some aid and assistance for enabling the King to follow that business to an end; and particularly he was desired to crave a supply of money for levying 600 Soldiers,

Soldiers,

Soldiers, and entertaining them some months, till the service was finished, and the Rebels either apprehended, or forced to quit the Realm: withal he was appointed to renew the former complaints of Bothwell his resset and entertainment in the Borders of England, and to crave his delivery according to the League. But while he was pressing that business in England, Bothwell surprised the King at home, and for a while made all these purposes to sleep, so as he returned without effecting any thing.

The occasion and manner of the Surprise was this. The Chancellor, who had all that year been absent from Court, upon a discontent the Queen conceived against him, had sent to the King a Letter, 'requesting his licence to depart forth of the Country, since he could not with safety attend his service; for that to remain at home, and live deprived of his Majesties presence, he said was to him a very Hell, which he could hardly endure; promising to return at such time as his Majesty should find convenient to recal him to his service.'

The King surprised by Bothwell.

The King did shew the Letter to the Queen, because in the same he had protested much of his sincere affection towards her, and being loth to quit him whom he had tried to be so able a Servant, moved her to forget all quarrels, so as he would resign the Lordship of Mussilburgh, which had bred this dissension. The Resignation made, and the Chancellor being on the point to return to Court, the Duke of Lennox, by the advice of Athol, Ochiltry, and other of the name of Stewart, resolved to prevent his coming by the inbringing of Bothwell. The Parliament had broke up some two days before, and the Noblemen resorting to the Palace to take their leave of the King, the Gates were kept patent, and less heed taken of those who entered. Athol with his Lady had lodged all that time in the House then pertaining to the Earl of Gowry, at the back of the Palace, and kept Bothwell private, with Mr. John Colvill, one of his followers. So early in the morning the Lady pretending to bid the King farewell, and making her entry thorough the Postern Gate, taketh Bothwell and his companion along with her, and bringeth them unperceived of any into the Kings Bed-chamber. The King was then private in a retiring room, and when he came back, and saw them stand with their Swords in their hands, cried aloud, *Treason, treason.* They falling on their knees called for mercy. Nay, said the King, *you have dishonoured me: and placing himself in his Chair, Strike, Traitor, faith he to Bothwell, and make an end of thy work, for I desire not to live any longer.* He protesting with many oaths that he came only to beg pardon, and to put himself in his Majesties will: the King replied, *That mercy extorted by violence was not mercy, and that it was not the form of Supplicants to come with weapons in their hands.* Whilst the King was thus talking, the Earl of Marre and Sir William Keith entered into the Chamber, and presently after them a number of Bothwells Faction, who by this time had possessed the outer Court, and assumed the charge of the Gates.

The report of this accident going to the City the people went to arms, and conducted by Sir Alexander Home, their Provost made towards the Palace to give the King relief: but he was then become somewhat pacified, and following the Earl of Marre his advice, after he had shewed himself from a window to the people, and given them thanks for their readiness, he willed them to return to their houses and attend his advertisement. All that day matters were carried fairly in a sort, Bothwell using humble speeches, and offering himself to Trial for the consultation which began his trouble: for his other misdemeanors he desired mercy, excusing himself by the want and necessity whereunto he and his friends were driven. But when he perceived the Kings countenance not to be towards him as he wished, he changed his forms, and letting some words fall that sounded not well, gave divers to suspect that he should attempt some violence. This did set the English Ambassador on work who, being assisted by the Ministers of Edinburgh, did after long travel and much persuasion induce the King to set his hand to the Articles following.

The City in arms.

1. That Remission should be granted to Bothwell, his friends and partakers, for all attempts against his Majesties Person and Authority in any time past, and promise made never to call or pursue him and his forefathers for any by-past fact; as likewise mediation,

Conditions granted to Bothwell by the Ambassadors wife mediation,

An. 1593.

wife to repofsefs them in their houfes and lands, notwithstanding whatsoever Procefs laid againft them.

2. That a Parliament fhould be called in November next, and fuch an Act paff in his and their favors as was made at *Linlithgow Anno 1585*, for their greater fecurity.

3. That during that time the King fhould not receive in his Company the Chancellor, the Lord *Home*, the Mafter of *Glamis*, and Sir *George Home* Knight.

4. That from henceforth the Earl *Bothwel*, his friends and followers, fhould be efteemed as good and lawful fubjects, and ufed with much favor as if they had never offended.

Articles fubfcribed by the Witneffes.

Thefe Articles the King did in the word of a Prince promife to perform; and for *Bothwells* greater fatisfaction, after he had figned the fame with his own hand, caufed fo many of the Council as were prefent together with the Magiftrates and Miniſters of *Edinburgh* fubfcribe as Witneffes. The Subfcribers were, the Duke of *Lennox*, the Earl of *Athol*, the Lords *Forbes*, *Ochiltry*, *Spiny*, and *Urauhart*, the Maſter of *Gray*, Mr. *James Elphinfon*, *Murdocarny*, the Clerk of *Regifter*, *Nicoll Edward*, *John Morifon*, *George Fodrick*, and *David Williamfon*, Bailiffs of *Edinburgh*, Mr. *David Lindesay*, Mr. *Robert Bruce*, Mr. *Robert Rollock*, Mr. *Walter Balcanquel* and Mr. *Patrick Galloway*, Miniſters. For *Bothwel* it was promifed that he fhould leave the Court, and not come towards the King till he was called by his Majeſty.

The King goeth to Falkland.

Thefe things were done at *Halirudhoufe* the 14 of *Auguſt 1593*, fome twenty days after the Surprife. The next day the King went to *Falkland*, attended by the Duke of *Lennox*, the Lord *Ochiltry*, and *Creichton* of *Clany* a follower of *Athol*, who did promife to wait upon the King unto November, and debar thofe others that by the Articles were not to be admitted. The reſt of the month the King ſtayed at *Falkland*, and in that time *Bothwel* did obtain himſelf purged by an Aſſiſe of praftiſing and confulting with Witches, which had been the original of his miſchief.

A Convention at Striveling 7. Sept.

In the beginning of September the King went to *Striveling*, where he had appointed a Convention to meet for taking order with the broken men of the High-lands and Borders. Thither came the Lord *Hamilton*, the Earls of *Mar*, *Morton*, *Glen-carne* and *Montrofs*, with the Lords *Lindesay* and *Levingſton*; of the Church Eſtate, the Biſhops of *Dunkeld* and *Aberdene*, the Prior of *Blantyre*, and Abbot of *Londors*; and divers Commiſſioners of Burghs. After ſome ſpeeches concerning the Borders and High-lands, and the means to quiet them, which was the errand pretended, the King declared, 'that he had called them to that Meeting for buſineſs that touched him more nigh: and then relating the many indignities he had endured at *Bothwells* hands, which they all knew, he deſired to have their advice touching the Conditions granted to him of late, and whether they did think him tied to the performance thereof, the ſame being extorted by the importunity of thofe that took on them to mediate betwixt him and *Bothwel*, and yielded unto by him upon juſt fear. The Answer of the Convention was, That they judged the fact of *Bothwel* Treafonable, and the Conditions granted in ſuch a manner to carry no neceſſity of performance. That for the Remiſſion promiſed to him and his followers, the ſame depended upon his Majeſties own pleaſure, and that he ſhould do therein what ſeemed to him good: but to be tied not to receive in his company his Servants and Officers, they held it not to ſtand with the honor and dignity of a King. For the Remiſſion, ſaid the King, I could be content, for the quiet of the Realm, to grant the ſame upon his humble ſuit and ſupplication, when I am now at liberty; but to be forced thereto, and by way of Capitulation to grant the ſame, I do not think it agreeeth with mine Honor. That which I require of you, ſince I judge the Conditions unlawful, and that neither in Law nor Conſcience I am bound to obſerve them, is, that by publick Act the ſame be declared; and that, as a free Prince, I may preſently, and in all time coming, admit and receive into my company ſuch of the Nobility, Council, Officers and other good ſubjects, as I ſhall think good to uſe in the adminiſtration of my affairs. All eſteeming this to be moſt reaſonable, an Act was made declaring, 'That his Majeſty, with the advice of the Eſtates, had recalled the

Grant

'Grant made to *Bothwel* in *Auguſt* laſt; and that, being a free Prince, he might uſe the ſervice of any of his ſubjects, and call them to him at his pleaſure.

This Declaration made, the Prior of *Blantyre* and Sir *Robert Melvil* were directed to *Bothwel*, to ſhew him that albeit the King did not think himſelf bound in Law or Honor to perform the Conditions made at *Halirudhoufe*, yet if he ſhould now make humble ſuit for Pardon to himſelf, and his followers, the ſame ſhould be granted, with a double Proviſo: firſt, that he ſhould ſupplicate his Pardon and paſs the ſame formally before the 20 of November; ſecondly, that the Remiſſion being exped, he ſhould depart forth of the Realm, and abide in ſuch parts beyond Sea as the King ſhould appoint, and not return into the Country without his Majeſties licence.

The Prior of Blantyre and Sir Robert Melvil directed to Bothwel.

Bothwel at firſt did take the offer well, and ſeemed therewith content; but when he was returned to *Edinburgh*, (for the intimation was made to him at *Linlithgow*) and heard that the Lord *Home* and thofe others againſt whom he took exception were received in Court, he was greatly commoved, and, falling to his wonted forms, threatened to make the King obſerve the Conditions, and keep what he had promiſed. To this purpoſe he advertiſed the Earl of *Athol*, deſiring he ſhould meet him at *Striveling* the firſt of October with his forces. *Athol* kept the Diet, accompanied with the Earl of *Montrofs* and a great number of men: but the King was parted from *Striveling*, and remained then at *Linlithgow*, attended by the Lord *Hamilton* and divers other Noblemen, which made *Bothwel* change his purpoſe and diſappoint the enterpriſe.

Bothwel falleth to his wonted forms.

The King underſtanding that *Athol* with his forces was come to *Striveling*, ſent a meſſenger to charge him to return home and diſſolve his companies: which he obeyed, pretending that his buſineſs was only to hold a Court at *Down* Caſtle, (a Houſe pertaining to the Earl of *Murray*, whereof he had the Ward) and that the meſſenger might witneſs the truth thereof, he took him along with him the next morning to *Down*. The ſtay of the meſſenger put the King in ſuſpicion that the Charge was not obeyed, and that *Athol* did wait upon *Bothwells* coming. Whereupon he went back to *Striveling*, and underſtanding that *Athol* was gone to *Down*, he followed thither. The Lord *Home*, who was appointed to ride before and view the fields, encountering the Earl of *Montrofs*, made him priſoner, and uſed him and his men ſomewhat roughly. But he profeſſing to be ſent by *Athol* to the King for making his excuſe, and declaring the true cauſe of his coming in thofe parts, was dimitted the next day, upon his promiſe to appear before the Council whenſoever he ſhould be charged. After this the King going to *Edinburgh* *Bothwel* was cited before the Council; and not appearing, was of new denounced Rebel.

Athol coming to Striveling is charged to return home in the beginning of October.

Montrofs taken by the Lord Home.

Bothwel denounced Rebel.

Leaving theſe affairs for a while, we will now return to the Popiſh Lords. They had been cited to the Parliament which was kept in *July* preceeding, but upon ſome informalities and defects in the Libel the Proceſs was remitted by the Eſtates to the King and Council. This being ill interpreted, and taken to be done in their favor, the Miniſters of the Synod of *Fife*, meeting at *S. Andrews* in the beginning of *Octob.* did ſummarily excommunicate the Earls of *Angus*, *Huntley* & *Arrol*, the Lord *Home*, and Sir *James Chisholme*. They ſent Letters alſo to all the Presbyteries, deſiring their Excommunication to be publiſhed in all the Churches; and particularly required the Miniſters of *Edinburgh* to call a meeting of ſome principal Miniſters & well-affected Barons, to adviſe what courſe was fitteſt to be taken for the defence of Religion, and repreſſing the practices of enemies. The King, upon advertiſement of theſe proceedings, called Mr. *Robert Bruce* (who was then in great favor) and willed him to ſtay the publication of Sentence, as being unjuſt and altogether informal, for that neither were theſe perſons ſubject to the Synod of *Fife*, nor were they cited to answer. And if this be your order, ſaid he, that the Miniſters of one Synod may excommunicate, and at their deſire all the reſt ſhall make intimation, who can be ſure, or how ſhall it be eſchewed, but numbers ſhall this way be brought in troubles? Mr. *Robert* answering that it was not in his power to ſtay the publication, the brethren having already concluded the ſame, and that the Miniſters of *Fife* had their own Reaſons, and were answerable to the General Aſſembly; Well, ſaid the

The Popiſh Lords excommunicated by the Synod of Fife.

The King dealt with Mr. Robert Bruce, to ſtay the publication of the Sentence.

M m

King,

An. 1593.

The Popish
Lords meeting
the King at
Fallow desire
a Trial.

They are com-
manded to
enter them-
selves in Perth.

Petitions of
the Church
sent to the
King at Jed-
burgh.

The Confe-
rence betwixt
his Majesty
and the Com-
missioners of
the Church.

King, *I could have no rest till ye got that which ye call the Discipline of the Church established; now seeing I have found it abused, and that none amongst you hath power to stay such disorderly proceedings, I will think of a mean to help it.*

The intimation in the mean time went on, and according to the motion made for convening some principal Ministers and Barons, there assembled a good number at *Edinburgh* the 17 of October. The King was gone then to *Jedburgh*, for pacifying some Tumults in the Borders, and in his going thither was met at *Fallow* by the Earls of *Angus*, *Huntley* and *Arrol*, who humbly intreated a Trial, and that they should not be condemned unheard, offering to enter themselves what time and in what place his Majesty should appoint. There were divers of the Council with the King at the time, by whose advice they were enjoined to enter their persons in the Town of *Perth* the 24 of that month, and abide there till order was taken for their Trial. And left casting of themselves in the Kings way, should be thought to have proceeded upon an intelligence that the King did keep with them; the Master of *Glamis* and Abbot of *Lundors* were directed to inform the English Ambassador and Ministers of *Edinburgh* of that which had happened, and the answer that the Lords received.

How soon this was known, Commissioners were sent from the Assembly to the King with certain Petitions conceived in this form.

The Commissioners of the Church, Barons, Burgesses, convened from divers parts of the Realm, foreseeing the present danger wherein the Church of God, the Person of the King, and whole Country do stand, have thought it their duty to petition his Majesty, and propone their advice as followeth.

1. Seeing the Commissioners are informed that the Excommunicate Lords, namely the Earls of *Angus*, *Huntley* and *Arrol*, with their Complices, are to be put to the trial of an Assise, they humbly crave that the Trial be not precipitated, and that the Diet assigned may be prorogated, till such time as the Professors of Religion (who are minded to be their Accusers, and to pursue them for the Treasons they have contrived) may be thoroughly advised with the business, and resolve what is convenient to be done.

2. That, according to the Laws and Customs observed in such Crimes, those Excommunicate and Treasonable Apostates may be committed to sure Custody in the Town of *Edinburgh*, *Dundy*, and *Striveling*, or other places that shall be thought expedient, till order be taken with Papists, of which Faction they are known to be the Heads, and till the Estates advise upon the form of their Trial.

3. That when the Estates after mature deliberation shall put the foresaid Traitors to Trial, the Jury be not nominated at the option of the parties accused, but by the party accuser, who are the whole Professors of the Gospel.

4. That seeing the foresaid Traitors are Excommunicated, and by the just Sentence of the Church cut off from the Society of Christs Body, that they be not admitted to stand in judgment, or have any benefit of Law till they be reconciled to the Church, according to the Laws of the Country, and his Majesties own promise; as likewise in respect they have made themselves guilty, partly through their escape forth of Ward, and partly by playing the Fugitives, and not appearing neither at *S. Andrews*, to which they were first cited, nor at the time of the last Parliament.

5. Or if his Majesty will not alter the day appointed at *Perth*, as we do not doubt but after good consideration he will, then we desire that such as profess Religion may be a guard to his Majesty at the time, to defend his Person from violence, and to accuse and pursue them to the uttermost; which we are minded to do, although it should be with the loss of all our lives in one day, being fully resolved, if they continue enemies to God and his Truth, that the Country shall not brook them and us together.

The Commissioners coming to *Jedburgh* had presence given them, and having presented the Petitions, the King at the reading of the Inscription grew incensed, saying, *That he would not acknowledge any such Convention, nor them for Commissioners, seeing they had assembled themselves without his consent and knowledge.* They answered,

answered, that the Meeting was warranted by his Majesties Proclamations. A long reasoning was kept upon that Point: in end the King condescended to hear them as subjects, and satisfie them with Reason in every particular, but to accept of their Commission or return any answer to that Meeting he would not. This passed, he said, *That he was not foreseen of the coming of these Earls unto him at Fallow, nor had he any intelligence with them; but when they came, and did humbly offer themselves to Trial, he could not of his Princely duty refuse it though they had been the meanest and simplest persons of the Land: That he had dismissed them without any promise or the smallest assurance of favor, whereof he had many witnesses; and for the time and place assigned to their Trial, the same was done by advice of such of the Council as were present; but that he had since considered the time to be too short, and the town of Perth not so convenient, and therefore had appointed a Meeting of the Estates at Linlithgow the last of that month, by whose advice he would proceed and do that which was fitting.* It hath been, said he, the suit of the Ministers to have those Earls brought to their Trial, and now when they offer themselves unto it, it is strange there should be such business made for a delay. As for himself, he had resolved, what time and place soever were appointed for the Trial, to have all thing right-ly done, and that neither the Judges nor Jurors, if the matter came to that point, should be other than men indifferent and well-affected to Religion.

The Commissioners putting his Majesty in mind of that he had said at the first view of the Blanks, and the hearing of Mr. George Ker his Confession, that the Crime was above the reach of his power to pardon, and beseeching him to regard his Honor and surety, seeing it was dangerous to permit the Earls to come accompanied with such numbers as they intended to bring; he said that he could provide for any dangers that way. And when they did offer, as in the Articles, to come and attend his Majesty as a Guard at the time of Trial; he answered, *That he would make choice of his own Guard; that those whom he called to that Diet should be welcome, and such as came undesired should not be so.*

Then they threw what offence was taken at the Lord Hume his entertainment in Court, who was both Excommunicated, and known to be a professed enemy to Religion. The King replied, *That a day was given him to satisfie the Church by the Ministers themselves, which was not as yet expired; and if he did not satisfie, that he should remain no longer at Court.* But, said they, he doth not keep promise, and is thought to have been a chief instrument in bringing these Excommunicates to your Majesties presence. For that, said the King, *I know it not; and if you will accuse him, he can speak for himself.* After these speeches, they humbly besought his Majesty to vouchsafe the Assembly some answer in writing; but he absolutely refused, and so they took their leave.

These Answers reported did no ways content the Meeting, whereupon it was resolved that upon advertisement they should all convene in arms at the place which should be assigned for the Trial of the Lords, and be their pursuers; to which purpose some was left at *Edinburgh* to make timely warning to the rest. The King being informed of this Conclusion at his return to *Edinburgh*, called the special Ministers that were in Town, and shewed that it was an undutiful part in them to convocate the subjects, and cause them take Arms without his Warrant; prohibiting any such advertisement to be given as was appointed. They, excusing themselves, said, *That it was the Cause of God, and in defence thereof they could not be deficient.*

Hereupon a Proclamation was made, declaring the course that his Majesty had taken to try the Conspiracy of the Popish Lords, and how, after some pains taken in that business, he had indicted a Parliament in *July* last for that cause, at which time nothing being done, (albeit not in his default) and he impeached a long time after by the practices of *Bothwell* and other Troubles in the Country, was no sooner received forth of his hands than he fell again upon the same thoughts; and that now he had appointed a Convention of Estates at *Linlithgow*, for taking their advice touching the Surety of his own Person, the relief of the subjects oppression, and the ordering of all that business, especially since

An. 1593.

The Assembly
resolved to
keep the Diet
appointed for
the Lords
Trial.

A Proclama-
tion inhibiting
all Convoca-
tions.

An. 1593.

the said Lords had by their Letters any otherwise most humbly desired a Trial, which he doubted not the Estates would consider, and so proceed therein as might best serve to the preserving of Religion and the quietness of the Country; his own intention being no other but to have them satisfy the Church, or, if they refused, to cause them to be expelled and banished the Country. And for that end he had commanded them to remain at Perth, and attend the resolution of the Estates, dissolving their forces, if any they had assembled: Whereof his Majesty did think meet to give all his subjects notice, that they might know his care for the maintenance of true Religion against all the enemies thereof. And therefore inhibited the subjects to make any Convocations; or if any were already made by the sinister informations of ill-disposed people, they were commanded to dissolve and turn to their Houses, till they should be advertised either by missive Letters or Proclamations, and not otherwise, under the pains appointed for Seditious persons and disturbers of the public Peace.

A Convocation of the Estates.

Notwithstanding of this discharge there came great companies to Edinburgh, and in all parts of the Country were people stirring; so that the Convention which was called to meet at the same time, being not very frequent, kept a short while together. The Offers and Petitions of the Popish Lords being only read, the consideration thereof was remitted to certain chosen by the Estates. These were the Lord Thirlstan Chancellor, the Earls Marjhal, Marre, Montrosse, and Rothes, the Lord Livingston, Scot of Balwery, John Murray of Tullibarden, Alexander Bruce of Airth, Mr. George Lowder of Basse, William Scot of Abbotshall, Mr. David Carnagie of Colluthie, Sir Alexander Hume of North-Barmwick Provost of Edinburgh, Clement Currie Bailly, with the Commissioners of the Towns of Dundie, Conper, Striveling and Linlithgow. To these, or any four of every Estate, together with his Majesties Officers, power was given to consider the Petitions and Offers of the said Lords, to try their Accusations, Purgations, and the truth thereof, and to conclude therein, as they should think most expedient for the surety of Religion, and redressing of disorders within the Realm, ordaining their determination to be as valid and effectual as if the same had been concluded in Parliament or Convention. It was likewise ordained that Mr. Robert Lindsey, Mr. Robert Bruce, Mr. Robert Rollock, Mr. Patrick Galloway, and Mr. James Curmichel, and John Duncanson should be admitted to the said Conference, if they should desire; and that in the absence of any of the Estates nominated, such as were present should appoint others at their pleasure. The Commissioners nominated having convened at Edinburgh the 12 of November, after many days reasoning grew to this conclusion.

Conclusion taken touching the Popish Lords.

That the King, for the publick peace of the Realm, and to remove all Troubles and the occasion thereof, after mature deliberation and conference kept with the Ministers, had by the advice of the Commissioners elected by the Estates declared, and by irrevocable Edict ordained, That the true Religion established in the first year of his Majesties Reigu should be only professed and exercised in all time coming within the Realm, and that none should supply or resset any Jesuites, Priests and other adversaries of Religion, under the pains contained in the Acts of Parliament.

That such as have not embraced Religion, or made defection from the same, should conform themselves before the first of February next, satisfy the Church, and obey such things as shall be prescribed to them by the King and the Church; or if any of them did think it difficile so to do for any scruple of Conscience, they should depart forth of the Realm to such parts beyond Sea as his Majesty should appoint, betwixt this and the said day, and not return till they were resolved to imbrace the Truth and satisfy the Church; they always and their heirs enjoying their lands and livings, and their procurators being licensed to appear before the ordinary Judges for debating their actions, notwithstanding of any process laid against them.

That the Earls of Angus, Huntley and Arrol, the Laird of Achindowne and Sir James Chisholme, should be unaccusable of the Crimes contained in the Summons executed against them by occasion of Blanks and Letters intercepted, and concerning their

their trafficking with strangers to the prejudice of Religion, and the said Process extinct for ever, discharging the Justice, Advocate and other Officers present and to come of all calling and proceeding against them and their heirs therefore in time coming. But in case they have sent, or after this time shall send, any Pledges forth of the Realm for fulfilling of Conditions tending to the overthrow of Religion, in that case the said abolition should be null, neither should it be farther extended than to the Crimes contained in the Summons, and no way comprehend any Murthers, Fire-raising, or other Crimes committed by them.

That such of the said Earls and others as should resolve to obey his Highness Laws in professing the true Religion, before the 1 of February, should remain in the places and bounds to be appointed for them, and forbear all practising or intelligence with the Jesuites, Priests and other Papists, debarring them from and forth of their company.

That they should neither dispute nor permit disputing at their Tables against the Truth, or in favor of Popery, and entertain in their houses a Minister, and be ready to bear conference, and resolve themselves of Doubts, that they may be the better prepared to subscribe the Confession of Faith at the day appointed, unless it please the Church to prorogate their Subscription for some longer space.

That the Earls of Huntley and Arrol should before the 1 of February remove out of their company Mr. James Gordon and Mr. William Ogilvie Jesuites, and find surety, under the pain of forty thousand pounds, each of them to abide by their Subscriptions, and not to make defection from the Religion: Achindowne and Sir James Chisholme finding the like surety, under the pain of ten thousand pounds.

That such of them as make choice to leave the Country, and will not imbrace the true Religion, should give assurance to forbear all practising with Jesuites and others against Religion and the State when they are abroad, and till their departing keep no intelligence with any of that Sect.

That they should declare their choice of the two conditions before the 1 of January to the King and Church; otherwise, in case they do not accept the same in manner and within the time above specified, they should enjoy no benefit by virtue thereof, but should be liable to trial and punishment of Law, as if the same had never been proposed nor offered unto them.

That the Church should in the mean time call all suspected persons before them, requiring them to satisfy, and if they be obstinate, delate their names to his Majesty and Council, that they may be punished; and that Masters and Landlords be holden to answer for persons so suspected, as for other crimes.

These were the conclusions taken in this meeting by the Deputies of the Estates, and signed by the King and them, which likewise were to be subscribed by the three Earls and their complices in token of their acceptation. What effect the same took, we shall afterwards hear.

In the end of this year there fell our great Troubles in the West Marches. Some of the surname of Johnston having in the July preceding made a great depredation upon the lands of sanwhare and Drumlanrig, and killed eighteen persons that followed for rescue of their goods, a Commission was given to the Lord Maxwell, then Warden, for pursuing the doers with all hostility. Not long before a great friendship had been contracted betwixt him and the Laird of Johnston, and bounds interchanged for assisting one another; which the Lord Sanwhare, Drumlanrig, and others interested by the Johnstons feared should make him remiss in executing the Commission: yet considering his disposition, and that he loved above all things to be followed, they took advice to offer their services, so as he would joyn with them for suppressing the power of the Johnstons. Maxwell, thinking this to be a good occasion for bringing all Niddisdale to depend upon him, embraced the offer; whereupon a Bond was formed, and subscribed by them and these others, with divers of their friendship. This Bond being negligently kept fell into the hands of one Johnston of Commerties who served the Lord Maxwell, and was by him carried to the Laird Johnston; who resolving to dissemble his knowledge of the Bond, sent a Gentleman to learn of the Lord Maxwell himself, if any such friendship was made up amongst them as was noised in the Country. Maxwell at first denied that there

Troubles betwixt the Maxwells and the Johnstons.

An. 1593.

Johnston prevented the Lord Maxwell, and killed Captain Oliphant.

Maxwell invaded Anandale.

The Lord Maxwell killed, 6. Decem.

The Lord Heriot and Barons of the Country appointed to remain at Dumfries.

A Convention of the Estates.

The Popish Lords declared to have lost the benefit of Abolition.

The Queen delivered of a Son at Striveling. The Lord Zouche Ambassador from England.

was any such thing; but having missed the Bond, and suspecting the same to have fallen into *Johnstons* hands, he excused the matter by the Commission that was sent to him, laying, He must obey the King, and do as he was directed.

Johnston, seeing whereto matters would turn, did associate to himself the *Scots* of *Teviotdale*, the *Eliots* and *Grahams* of *Eske*, and hearing that *Maxwell* had levied some companies of horse and foot, and placed the foot-company with their Captain called *Oliphant* in *Lochmaben*, to attend his coming to *Anandale*, resolved to prevent him and cut them off; and so falling upon them unexpected, killed the Captain and divers of the souldiers. Some fled to the Church, thinking to save themselves; but the same being set on fire, they came forth and rendred. *Maxwell*, to repair his dishonor, gathered in haist as good as 2000 men, and entred into *Anandale* with displayed Banner, as the Kings Lieutenant, intending to raise the houses of *Lochwood* and *Lockerby*. *Johnston*, not equalling his forces, kept aloof, and after the Border fashion, sent forth some prickers to ride and make provocation. Against them a number went out of *Maxwells* Army, who encountering with a great company were beaten and chased back to the stall or main host, which by their breaking in was wholly disordered. *Johnston*, that stood in a piece of high ground, beholding the issue of the skirmish, took the advantage of their confusion, and breaking upon them, without any resistance made, put them all to flight.

The Lord *Maxwell*, a tall man and heavy in armor, was in the chase overtaken and stricken from his horse. The report went that he called to *Johnston*, and desired to be taken, as he had sometime taken his Father; but was unmercifully used, and the hand that he reached forth cut off. But of this I can affirm nothing. There always the Lord *Maxwell* fell, having received many wounds. He was a Nobleman of great spirit, humane, courteous, and more learned than Noblemen commonly are; but aspiring, and ambitious of Rule. His fall was pitied of many, for that he was not known to have done much wrong in his time; and was rather hurtful to himself than others.

The King took these news very hardly, that his Warden, a Nobleman bearing his Authority, should be cut off in such a manner, and he kept in such a business, what with *Bothwell* on the one hand, and the Popish Lords on the other, as he could not take journey to those parts; it grieved him exceedingly, always for quieting the Country, order was taken that the Lord *Hereis*, *Drumlanrig*, *Lagg*, and some other Barons should abide at *Dumfries* with their friends, and be ready upon all occasions to repress whatsoever Stirs might arise.

The 18 of *January*, in a Convention of Estates called at *Halirudhouse*, the Earls of *Angus*, *Huntley* and *Arrol* were declared to have admitted the benefit of the Act of Abolition, because of their misregard of his Majesties favor, and not accepting of the benefit offered before the day prefixed. The King had used divers means to gain them, and would gladly upon assurance of their good behavior have winked at Crimes past; but all was in vain, the Jesuites prevailing with their counsels, and feeding them still with hopes of foreign aid: whereupon charge were directed for entering their persons in Ward, till trial was taken of the Accusations laid against them. *Angus* was charged to enter in *Blackness*, *Huntley* in *Dumbarton*, and *Arrol* in the Castle of *Edinburgh*, and *Achindowne* in *Tantallon*; but none of them gave obedience.

Now the time of the Queens lying in drawing near, the King went to *Striveling* where she then abode, and remained with her until she was delivered upon the 19 of *February* of a Son; about which time came the Lord *Zouche* Ambassador from the Queen of *England*, to complain of the King his lenity in proceeding against the Popish Lords: for she had seen the Conditions granted them in *November*, and was highly displeased therewith. But when the Ambassador understood that they had lost the benefit of that Grant in their own default, and that the King had proceeded so far as to make publick Declaration thereof, he was satisfied, and insisted to have the sentence of Forfeiture pronounced against them. This not proceeding with such haste as he desired, he fell to treat secretly with *Bothwell*, who was making

king new Stirs, and had drawn numbers of all sorts to follow him; yea with some specials of the Ministry he found such credit, as both in their publick Sermons, and otherwise by their private dealings, they did encourage people to joyn with them; and, which did most offence the King, sent one Mr. *Andrew Hunter*, a Minister, to be his Preacher, and attend him as a Chaplain. Nor did their folly, or madness rather, subsist here, but even the monys which had been collected in the Churches for the supply of *Geneva*, which was then in Trouble, and deposed in the hands of Mr. *James Melvil* Minister of *Anstruther*, were given to *Robert Melvil* and *George Strong*, two Captains, for levying Soldiers to assist him. *Bothwell* was then gathering new forces, and had appointed with the Earls of *Argile* and *Athol* to meet at *Leith* for the banishing of the Popish Lords, and revenge of the Earl of *Murray* his slaughter, (that was the pretext) and with them did the *English* Ambassador keep intelligence.

This being discovered to the King, one of his servants, who had been spied in *Bothwells* company, was committed in the Castle of *Edinburgh*. Being examined, he confessed that by direction of his Master he had spoken with *Bothwell* and Mr. *John Colvil*, and that he believed they had some enterprise in hand, but what it was he knew not. The King, perceiving by his Confession that the Ambassador had a secret dealing with *Bothwell*, was greatly offended; yet because he would not seem to infringe the privileges of Ambassadors, after he had check'd him with some sharp words, he dimitted his servant, and the Ambassador departed, the King not vouchsafing him a farewell.

Bothwell in the mean time with the forces that he had gathered in the Borders, being about 400 horsemen or thereby, advanced and came to *Leith* the 2 of *April* at 3 of the clock in the Morning. The King remained at the time in *Edinburgh* not well accompanied; yet hearing that *Bothwell* was come so nigh, he commanded the Citizens and those that were with him to arm. He himself going to Church, made a Speech at the end of the Sermon to the people, for the removing the suspicions conceived of his favoring the Popish Lords: and recounting *Bothwells* treacherous attempts, desired them to remember that he was their King, to whom they owed all fidelity, and to consider in what case they themselves should be if *Bothwell* with his Borderers, men given to theft and robbery, should get the upper hand. The hearers moved with his speeches shewed great forwardness, and went incontinent to arms. The Lord *Hume* was commanded to take the fields, and lead the horsemen that were in Town. The King stayed with the foot, and before them marched the Cannon, which was brought forth of the Castle, making directly towards *Leith*.

How soon *Bothwell* understood that the Kings forces were marching, considering he could not equal them in number, he removed from *Leith*, and dividing his men in three troupes, took the way by *Restalrig* toward *Dalkeith*. The Lord *Hume* with the horsemen followed to observe what course he held, and the King with the foot removing to the other side of the Town made his stand in the field called the *Borrow-Moor*. *Hume* with his company being advanced so far as *Niddry edge*, *Bothwell* turned upon him, and being far superior in horsemen, gave him the chase; which they that stood by the King perceiving, advised him to return into the Town; but he refusing to stir, answered, *That he would never quit the fields to a Traitor*: yet the danger was great, and, in the opinion of many, if *Bothwell* had taken his course directly to the King, and not pursued the chase so hotly, he might have carried the day; but in following, it happened his horse to stumble and fall to the ground, and he bruised with the fall was forced to retire. That night he went to *Dalkeith*, and on the morrow dissolved all his troupes; which when *Athol* heard, he also went back into his Country. The *Fife* Captains with their soldiers arriving at *Leith* about midnight, when they understood how things had passed turned fail, and went sundry ways.

This purpose so defeated, the King sent the Lord *Colvil* and Mr. *Edward Bruce* to the Queen of *England*, to complain of the misdemeanor of her Ambassador, and the reflect that *Bothwell* found in her Kingdom. In his Letter to the Queen, using a round

An. 1594.

Mr. Andrew Hunter Minister waiteth upon Bothwell as his Chaplain.

Bothwell prepared of new to invade the King.

The Ambassadors dealing with Bothwell discovered.

An. 1594. The Road of Leith. The King commanded the people to arm.

Bothwell removed from Leith.

The Conflict betwixt Bothwell and Hume.

The Lord Colvil and Mr. Edward Bruce directed to round England.

An. 1594.

The Kings
Letter to the
Queen of
England.

round plainness, he said, *That although it had pleased her to commend the Ambassador she had employed for a wise, religious and honest man; yet he had in his opinion been fitter to carry the message of an Herald, than a friendly Commission betwixt two neighbor-Princes. That he had seen nothing in him but pride and wilfulness, and that therefore denying to give him any answer, he chused to send the same by his own Messengers; whom he desired her to credit as himself in all that they had in charge to deliver.* For Bothwell, he said, *That he wondered how, notwithstanding of the many solemn promises made as well by her Ambassadors as by Letters of her own hand, that he should have no harbor within her Country, yet was he not only resset by her people, but suffered to reside in some of her proper Houses, and had received a good sum of English money, wherewith he waged both Scots and English in this late Treacherous attempt. To think this was by her direction or privy he would not, so far it was against all Princely Honor: on the other part, that she being so wise and prudent a Prince, and having so long and so happily governed her Kingdoms, should be so sighted and contemned by a number of her subjects, as that such things should be done without her knowledge, it could hardly be believed. Wherefore leaving it to her self to solve these doubts, he would only remember her of the promise made at the delivery of Ororick an Irish Rebel, and desire her not to put him in balance with such a traiterous counterpoise, lest he should be constrained to say with the Poet, Flectere si nequeo superos, &c.*

The Commission
given to the
Ambassadors.

This was the substance of the Letter. The Credit committed to them was to assure the Queen, 'That seeing the Popish Lords had not embraced the Conditions offered, he should prosecute the Laws against them, proscribe their persons and confiscate their lands; and to crave of her, as one whom that cause equally touched, a supply of monys, till either they were expelled the Realm, or their persons apprehended and presented to Justice.'

The Queen of
Englands Answer.
The Queen
dischargeeth
Bothwell his
reset in Eng-
land.

The Queen excusing the oversight given to Bothwell by the slow pursuit of the Popish Lords, and the favor shewed to them, promised that from thenceforth he should find no more resset in her Country; and for pursuing the Popish Earls the King should lack no supply that was in her power to give. With this answer did Mr. Edward Bruce return; for the Lord Colvill went from that into France, to congratulate the victorious and happy success of the French King against those of the League, and invite him to assist the Baptism of the Prince, which was to be in July next.

An Assembly
of the Church.

The Queen of England immediately upon the Ambassadors return, by a Proclamation in all the Borders, did inhibit the resset and harboring of Bothwell, and the aiding of him in any sort; which the King did so kindly accept, as rendering her many thanks for the same, he did therewith intreat her to assist the Baptism of the Prince his Son. The like employment Peter Young his Majesties Elemosynar received for Denmark, the Dukes of Brunswick and Mecklenburgh; and to the General Estates Sir William Keith and Captain William Murray the Provost of S. Andrews were directed.

The Parliament being in the mean time indicted to the 27 of May, the Assembly of the Church convened at Edinburgh the seventh of the same month, where the Excommunication of the Popish Lords was ratified, and ordained to be published in all the Churches of the Kingdom. The King did reside then at Striveling; and thither were Mr. Patrick Galloway, Mr. Robert Rollock, Mr. Patrick Simpson, Mr. James Melvil, and Mr. James Nicholson directed by the Assembly, to represent the dangers wherein his Majesties Person, Crown and Liberty of the Country stood, and to propound such remedies as in their judgment were fittest for preventing the same.

Both the one and the other were conceived in this form.

Petitions di-
rected from
the Church to
the King.

The perils which oft before were threatened by the pernicious practices of Jesuites, and the malicious, unnatural and treasonable Conspiracies of the Earl of Huntley, Arrol and Angus and their complices, in betraying their native Country to the cruel and merciless Spaniard, are no less urgent, and now more to be feared, than when the danger seemed to be greatest, as may appear by the Reasons following.

1. It

An. 1594.

A Remon-
strance of the
perils threat-
ened to Reli-
gion.

1. It is certain that the Spaniard, who with so great preparations in the year 1588. enterprised the Conquest of the whole Isle, retaineth the same intention, wanting an occasion only to accomplish his promise; as is manifest by the intelligence he hath kept with the Popish Lords, ever since the disputation of that Navy.

2. The open Rebellion of the said Lords at the bridge of Falkland, &c. with their continuance in the like Treasonable attempts, notwithstanding his Majesties clemency in pardoning the same, doth evidence their obstinacy in prosecuting the same Conspiracies.

3. Whereas the Church hath not ceased at all occasions to lay open these dangers, and humbly intreated that some remedy should be provided, nothing hath been obtained; to the emboldening of the enemies in their practices and attempts.

4. Notwithstanding that it was enacted in Council, that none should presume to request for the said Popish Lords, under the pain of losing their places and Offices; yet none are in such credit as their favorers, who contrary to their promises labour still to procure them oversight and immunity.

5. The Masses openly celebrated in the House of Balgawny pertaining to Mr. Walter Lindsay, the House of Birnes appertaining to the young Laird of Bonyton, the Houses of Douglas, Strathbogy, Logyamount and Slains pertaining to the said Earls, do shew that either they think themselves assured of favor in the Court, or of such assistance in the Country as may maintain their cause, or then that they are persuaded to be supplied by Strangers.

6. The Act of Oblivion offered to them, with the great discontent of all good subjects, would not have been rejected, except they had looked for greater favor and better conditions.

7. The disobedience they have shewed in entering to their Wards when they were charged, doth prove that they think themselves assured of the aid and concurrence of others.

8. The arriving of the Spanish Bark lately at Montrosse declareth that they have some practice to be put in execution presently, if the same shall not be timely prevented.

9. The open Conventions they keep since the arriving of the said bark do shew that they esteem their Plots so substantially laid, as they regard not what can be done for resisting the same.

10. The diligence they use in preparing, and putting their friends and followers in arms, specially in the North parts, is an argument of some enterprize they go about.

11. And last, whereas his Majesty and Estates did upon the first discovery of their Plots and practices apprehend a great danger to Religion, the Kings estate, and Liberty of the Country; notwithstanding that the cause is not removed, there is no care taken to withstand their courses, which declareth that there is either a purpose to cover, extenuate and bear forth their wickedness, or that the Lord hath in his judgment blinded and hardened the hearts of all Estates, that while the danger is greatest, they can neither see nor apprehend the same.

The Remedies of the foresaid Dangers were proponed, as followeth.

1. That the Parliament indicted to the 27 of the same month should not be prorogated, but the time thereof precisely kept, and the Popish Lords forfeited, and to that effect the Advocate sufficiently instructed for maintaining the Relevancy of the Summons and Probation in due time provided.

The Remedies
of the dangers.

2. That none suspected in Religion be chosen upon the Articles.

3. That after the Forfeiture, they be pursued with all extremity, their Lands and Rents annexed to the Crown, and no part thereof disposed in favors of the persons forfeited.

4. That

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4. That the Guard be employed for apprehending Mr. *Walter Lindeſay* the Abbot of *New-Abbey*, *James Wood* of *Bonyton* younger, Mr. *George Ker*, (who had made an eſcape out of the Caſtle the year before) Mr. *Alexander Leſley*, *Thomas Tyrie*, and other Traffiquers and Jeſuits.

5. That the houſes of the Rebels be poſſeſſed, and their livings intronnetted with, to his Maſteſties uſe.

6. That all perſons be inhibited to reſſet, ſupply or entertain any intelligence with the ſaid Lords, eſpecially their vaſſals and dependers, and that none under whatſoever pretext contravene the ſame.

7. That the ſubjects be charged to put themſelves in arms by all good means, and be in readineſs to purſue and defend, as they ſhall be warned by his Maſteſty, or otherwiſe upon urgent occaſions.

8. That the Bark arrived at *Montroſſe* be apprehended, and the perſons that were within her, with ſuch others as have had any dealing with them, and that they be examined diligently for the diſcovery of the practice they have preſently in hand.

The Lord *Hume* reconciled to the Church.

Inſtructions ſent from the King to the Church and Aſſembly.

A Parliament wherein the Lords are ſeſſed.

Somewhat was adjected concerning the Lord *Hume*; but he compeiring in the ſame Aſſembly, gave ſatisfaction to the Church, and was abſolved from the Sentence of Excommunication. All the remedies the King allowed, promiſing how ſoon the Forfeiture was paſt to follow forth the ſame: only at the 7 he took exception, where it was deſired that *the ſubjects ſhould put themſelves in arms upon urgent occaſions*; for he had not as yet forgotten the Stirs of the year preceding, and would have none to arm but upon his own Warrant.

Withal he ſent Sir *Robert Melvil* and *Alexander Hume* of North *Berwick* with certain inſtructions to the Aſſembly; whereof one was, *That they ſhould inhibit the Miniſters to utter any irreverent ſpeeches in Pulpit againſt his Maſteſties Perſon, Council or Eſtate, under pain of Deprivation*: and becauſe one of their number, called *John Roſs*, had in a Sermon preached before the Synod of *Perth* uttered divers treaſonable and irreverent ſpeeches of his Maſteſty, it was craved that they ſhould cenſure him as his fault had deſerved. Another was, *That they ſhould excommunicate Mr. Andrew Hunter, for the ſcandal he had brought upon their Profeſſion, he being the firſt open Traitor of their Function againſt a Chriſtian King of their own Religion, and their natural Sovereign*. A third inſtruction was, *That by Act of Aſſembly Miniſters ſhould be ordained to diſſuade both by publick and private exhortation their Flocks from concurring with Bothwell in his treaſonable attempts, or any other that ſhould make inſurrexion againſt the Authority eſtabliſhed by God in his Maſteſties perſon*. The laſt was aſſented unto, and an Act made thereof: but the cenſure of the Miniſter *Roffe* was carried more ſlightly, and he only admoniſhed to ſpeak in time coming ſo reverently and diſcreetly of his Maſteſty, as there might be no juſt cauſe of complaint againſt him. *Hunter* was depoled from the Miniſtery, as a deſertor of his Flock, and one ſuſpected to have joyned himſelf with the Kings Rebels; but the Excommunication was not pronounced.

The Parliament did hold at the time appointed; yet becauſe the Noblemen convened ſlowly, 3 or 4 days were ſpent without doing any thing. In end, when by the excuſes that divers made a greater number was not expected, they that were preſent aſſembled in the Parliament-houſe, and keeping the form accuſtomed made choice of a number for the Articles: of Noblemen there were three Earls and fix Lords only preſent. Beginning was made at the ſummons of Forfeiture, the Letters and Blanks intercepted with Mr. *George Ker* preſented, and the hand-writs cognofced by witneſſes. Some queſtion there was about the Blanks, and that which ſhould have been inſert in them; but the preſumptions were ſo clear, as none would doubt what the ſubject ſhould have been. Yet the Noblemen urged a delay of the Trial to a more full Convention; which the King would not admit, knowing what miſinterpretings that would make: and ſo by pluralities of voices, the crimes of Treason were found to be ſufficiently proved and the Sentence of Forfeiture pronounced againſt the three Earls and *Achindown*; their Scutcheons of

of Arms (as the manner is) torn by a Herauld, and they declared to have loſt their honours, lands and eſtates for Treasonable practices againſt the King and their Native Country.

In this Parliament divers Statutes were concluded, ſome in favors of the Church, and others very beneficial to the Country: as the Statute made for puniſhment of Theft, Robbery and Oppreſſion; another againſt Uſury; and a third againſt buying of Places by Judges and other members of the Court of Juſtice.

The next month paſſed in receiving the Ambaſſadors that came to aſſiſt the Baptiſm, which in the latter end of *Auguſt* next was performed with great ſolemnity. From *England* the Earl of *Suffex* was ſent; the King of *Denmark*, the Duke of *Brunſwick*, *Mecklenburgh*, with the Eſtates of the united Provinces, had their Ambaſſadors preſent. But from the *French* King there came not any, though they alſo were expected at the day appointed for the Solemnity. The Prince was brought from his own Chamber to the Queens Chamber of preſence, and laid in a bed dreſſed in a moſt ſtately form. The Ambaſſadors entered into the Chamber, the Counteſs of *Marre* accompanied with a number of Ladies took up the Prince, and delivered him to the Duke of *Lennox*, who preſented him to the Ambaſſadors. *Suffex*, as having the firſt place received him, and carried him in his arms to the Chappel; the reſt marching in their ranks, and followed by the Ladies of Honor, the Miſtriſs Nurſe, and others of inferior note. Before them went the Lord *Hume*, carrying the Ducal Crown, the Lord *Levingſton* carried the Towel or Napkin, the Lord *Seaton* the Baſon, and the Lord *Semple* the Laver. Above the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador there was a Pale or Canopy born by the Laids of *Ceſford*, *Buclerogh*, *Duddope* and *Traquier*. The Princes train was ſuſtained by the Lords *Sinclar* and *Urghart*. In this manner they walked toward the Chappel, a guard of the youths of *Edinburgh* well arrayed ſtanding on each ſide of the way, and the Trumpets ſounding.

Being entred the Chappel, the King aroſe from his Seat, and received the Ambaſſadors at the door of the Quire; and then was the Prince delivered to the Duke of *Lennox*, who gave him to the Nurſe. After which the Ambaſſadors were conveyed to their places, which were ordered in this manner: upon the Kings right hand a Chair was ſet for the *French* Ambaſſador, but this was empty; next to him the Ambaſſador of *Denmark* was placed; on the left the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador and *Lieger* did ſit; and next after them the Ambaſſadors of *Brunſwick*, *Mecklenburgh*, and the States; every Chair had a Taſſel-board covered with fine Velvet, and the Ambaſſador of *England* beſides the others had office-men ſtanding by him to wait.

The Service did then begin, and upon the end thereof the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador aroſe and preſented the Prince to the Biſhop, who was appointed to adminiſter the Sacrament. This was Mr. *David Cunningham* Biſhop of *Aberdene*. The action finiſhed, Mr. *David Lindeſay*, Miniſter at *Leith*, had a learned ſpeech in *French* to the Ambaſſadors. After which they returned to the Chappel in the ſame order that they came. Then was the Prince laid upon a Bed of Honor, and his Titles in this ſort proclaimed by the Lion Herauld; *Henry Frederick, Knight and Baron of Renfrew, Lord of the Iſles, Earl of Carrick, Duke of Rothlay, Prince and Stewart of Scotland*. This done, certain pieces of ſilver and gold were caſt forth at a window among the people, and a number of Knights created at night, (for it was in the afternoon that the Baptiſm was miniſtered.) The Ambaſſadors with their train and the Noblemen preſent were royally feaſted, nothing lacking that was required to ſuch a Triumph. The reſt of the month was ſpent in Plays, running at Tilt, and ſuch other exerciſes as might give delight to the Strangers.

Amidſt theſe joys the King, not forgetting his own ſerious affairs, ſent his Secretary Sir *Richard Cockburn* of *Clerkinton* to *England*, to deſire the Queens aſſiſtence in purſuing the Popiſh Lords, according to the many promiſes made by the Lord *Zouche* and Mr. *Bows*, that how ſoon he ſhould enter into action againſt them

An Ambaſſador ſent to *England*.

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she would have an honorable consideration of him and his burthens: And that now the Sentence of Forfeiture being pronounced, it concerned him both in honor and safety not to permit their longer stay in the Realm. For the support desired and quantity thereof, he was commanded to follow the Instructions given to Sir Robert Melvil in his last Ambassage, and was enjoined to complain of one Mr. Lock his entertainment in the Court, who professed himself an Agent for Bothwell; as likewise of Mr. John Colvill his publick residence in *Tweedmouth*. In the last points he received satisfaction; and shortly after Mr. John Colvill, wearied of Bothwells courses, by mediation of friends obtained his pardon. But for the matter of monys, divers shifts and excuses were made; only some part of the mony was advanced, which was due otherwise to the King.

A new Conspiracy of Bothwell and the Popish Lords.

In the beginning of September the Ambassadors were dimitted with many thanks, nor were they sooner gone than a new Conspiracy was detected. Bothwell having joyned himself with the Popish Lords, and received a part of the foreign Gold sent to them, did undertake to raise such Perturbations in the South parts, as the King should be compelled to relinquish the Expedition he intended to the North; and if he could apprehend his Person, to carry him to *Blackness*, (the Keeper whereof he had corrupted) and there detain him Captive, till they might come and make their own Conditions.

This enterprize was concluded in an Hostlary at the Church of *Menmure* in *Angus*, where *Huntley*, *Arrol*, *Angus*, *Bothwell*, *Achindown*, and divers others convened and subscribed a Bond, which was given in custody to Sir James Scot of *Balwary*. By the apprehension of Mr. Allan Orme, servant to Bothwell, and some Papers that were found with him, the whole purpose was discovered; which the King caused to be published, that people might see what trust was to be given to Bothwells Religion.

Orme and Cockeram executed.

This Gentlemans case at his dying was greatly pitied, and much intreaty made as well for him as for James Cockeram keeper of *Blackness*: but the clemency shewed in former times to the followers of Bothwell was judged so hurtful, as the King against his nature was compelled to use rigor. Thus the two Gentlemen were condemned, and executed in the publick street of *Edinburgh* in the beginning of October.

Argile sent with forces against the Lords.

Immediately after the Parliament, upon intelligence that those in the Bark which had arrived at *Montrose* had brought with them some gold for supply of the Popish Lords, Commission was given to the Earl of Argile and Athol, the Lord Forbes and a number of Barons, to go and expulse them forth of the Country. But Argile being young, and the rest declining the employment till his forces or he himself should take the fields, nothing was done. Whereupon Mr. Robert Bruce taking with him Mr. James Balfour made a journey to Argile, and partly upon promises of recompence from the Queen of England, partly upon hopes given that the lands of the Rebels should be at his bestowing, perswaded the Earl to undertake the Commission. So gathering his Forces he set forward about the end of September, and travelling through the Mountains came to *Badenoch* the 27 of that month, where he laid siege to the Castle of *Ruthven*; but this was by the Clampherson so strongly defended as he was forced to leave the Siege, and turn unto the Low-lands for joyning with the Lord Forbes, the Lairds of *Buqhain*, *Drum* and *Mackenzies*, who were all preparing to meet him.

The number of forces on both sides.

In his own company were the Lairds of *Tullibardin*, *Grant*, *Macklain*, *Mackintosh*, *Clanregory*, and *Mackneil* of *Baray*, with their friends and followers, reckoned in whole to 10000 and above. *Huntley* advertised of his coming did resolve to fight him before his joyning with Forbes and those of the Inland, and was thereunto encouraged by the Earl of Arrol, who brought with him a small number of five or six score at most, but resolute Gentlemen all. They of Huntleys part were thought not to exceed 900. With this small number did he adventure, marching the first day from *Strathbogie* to *Achindown*, where he encamped the second of October. Captain Ker, that had served him many years, a man of good experience, being sent the next morning to try what way Argile took, did quickly return, and shew that

the enemy was at hand. The two Earls hereupon dividing their forces, Arrol took the leading of the Van-guard, wherein were 300; the rest abode with Huntley and made the Battel.

How soon the forces came in fight one of another, Argile was somewhat troubled, for he was made to believe he should see no enemy; yet trusting to his numbers, he commands Macklain, who had the leading of his Van, to advance: he himself keeping the advantage of the ground, made the Army stay on the side of a Hill which was full of Moss and Bogs. Huntley carried with him certain Field-pieces, wherewith he plaid upon them in his approach, and therewith put them in great confusion; for the High-landers casting themselves on the ground, as their custom is, could hardly be raised so long as they heard the noise of the Ordnance. Arrol perceiving this made to give the Charge; but by reason of the steep ascent he was driven to make a little compass, turning his side to the adversaries, who by that time were got on foot, and resuming a new courage did rain upon Arrol and his men in their passing such a shower of Darts and Arrows, that, as they affirmed who were present, for the space of a quarter of an hour the light of day was palpably eclipsed. Achindown was at this time killed, and Arrol dangerously wounded in his arm and leg: many had their horses killed, and were compelled to take them to their feet.

The Battel of Glenlivet.

Macklain, whose numbers were greater, environing Arrol and his company, held them so engaged betwixt himself and Argile, as they had been all cut in pieces, if Huntley had not with speed come to their relief. But he perceived the danger, and charged with such fury, as the Van and main of both Armies being joyned, they entered into a cruel fight, which continued almost two hours. In the end Argiles men were disordered and put to rout. The Earl himself labored all he could to rally them again together, but it would not be; so amazed they were, as without once looking back, down they went to the other side of the Hill with all the speed they could make. Macklain with a few Isles-men stood long unto it after the rest were gone, and retired in good order with a small company he had. Huntley pursued the chace to the foot of the Hill, though the steepness of it be such that a man can scarce walk down it on foot; but the eagerness made all dangers forgotten. There in a little Burn or Brook called *Alwhannachy* he had his horse killed, and before he could be again mounted the enemy was gone to another Hill, whereas horsemen could not follow, and so the chace ceased. In this conflict Argile lost two Cousins, Archibald Campbel of *Lochinzel*, his brother James Campbel, Mackneill of *Baray*, and about 700 common-soldiers: on Huntleys part, besides his Uncle Achindown, 12 only were killed, but many were hurt and wounded.

The Defeat of Argile.

This Fight happened on Thursday the 3 of October 1594, and is called by the country people the Battel of *Glenlivet*, albeit it was fought on a Hill three quarters of a mile distant. The Victory fell happily on Huntleys side for the country people, who should otherwise have been miserably spoiled, if Argile with his Forces had prevailed.

The Lord Forbes with the Lairds of *Balwhyne* and *Drum*, that were advancing to assist Argile, upon advertisement of his defeat, and that he was turned back, made after him, thinking to persuade him return. But by the way a Gentleman of the name of *Irwyn* being killed by the shot of a Pistol in the dark of the night, there entered such a distrust and jealousy amongst them, none knowing who was the doer, as presently they separated and went home.

The King had the news of Argiles Defeat brought him to *Dundee*, which made him hasten his journey to the North. The 16 of October he came to *Aberdene*, where counsel was taken for demolishing the Houses of *Strathbogie*, *Slains* and *Newton*. In this service the Earl of Marshal was employed, having some Companies of horse and foot allowed him till the same was accomplished.

The Kings Expedition to the North.

Huntley and Arrol during that time did lurk in *Sutherland*, thinking how soon the King returned South to come back into their Countrys; but the Duke of Lennox being left Lieutenant in those parts, by the counsel and assistance of those that were appointed to attend him, put them to such extremity, as they made offer to depart forth of the Realm, and laid surety neither to return without his Majesties

The Lords give surety for departing the Realm, &c.

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licence, nor to practise against Religion and the State whilst they stayed abroad. It was debated a while, whether or not such a Capitulation might stand with the Kings Honor; and his Majesty being thereupon consulted, in regard of the many difficulties that pressed him in the time, and that it made for the quietness of the Kingdom to have them put away, the surety offered was accepted: which done, the Duke of Lennox, having stayed in those parts three months, returned about the third of February to Edinburgh.

Bothwell fled into France.

Bothwell now was in miserable plight, being hated of the Queen of England for his combining with the Popish Lords, Excommunicated by the Church, and forsaken of his fellows, especially Mr. John Colvill, who had followed him in all his Troubles, and knew the places of his retreat; for he had made his peace, and (as the rumor went) betrayed Hercules Stewart, Bothwells Brother, who the same time was executed publicly in the street of Edinburgh. These things did so increase his fears as, not knowing whom to trust, he stole away privately to France. The King hearing that he was gone, and had taken land at New-haven in Normandy, sent a Gentleman to the French King, to demand him as one who was declared a Traitor; and if that was denied, to desire that he might be banished France. The answer of the French King was, *That he should give him no Countenance; but since he had taken his refuge thither, he could not but suffer him enjoy the free air of his Country.* Some months he remained there, till either wearied of the bad entertainment he found, or, as it was said, for challenging a Gentleman to combat against the Kings Edict, he was forced to quit those parts and fly into Spain: from thence he went to Naples, where he lived in a poor estate unto his death, which happened some years after the King his going into England.

The Bond betwixt the Popish Lords and Bothwell exhibited.

How soon Bothwell was gone, all his followers did sue for Pardon. Sir James Scot of Balmerly offering to exhibit the Bond made at the Church of Menmure betwixt Bothwell and the Popish Lords, which he had in custody, was brought before the Council, and having produced the same, laid open all their Plots. By his deposition it appeared that Sir James Douglas of Spot was the principal worker of that Agreement. Whereupon the Ministers of Edinburgh were called, and the Bonds shewed unto them, bearing a mutual concurrence in all things, Religion not excepted. Whereupon they were desired to pronounce Spot Excommunicated, as one that had made defection from the Truth, and was otherwise suspected of heinous crimes: But they excusing themselves, the Commissioners of the General Assembly were called to meet at Striveling, where after some debating, the Sentence was pronounced against him. Balmerly, after a few days imprisoned, was set at liberty and remitted, but never prospered after that time, and ruined his House utterly, for an example to all that will be meddling with Factious and Seditious Rebels.

An. 1595. An Assembly of the Church at Montross. Articles sent from the King to the Assembly.

The year following an Assembly of the Church was kept at Montross in the month of June, where the Commissioners for the King did urge these Articles. First, *Whoever did meddle or practise in any Treasonable enterprise against his Majesties Person and Estate, being found and declared culpable by Law, they should likewise incur the sentence of Excommunication, that so there might be an inseparable union betwixt the two Swords.* Secondly, *That no Excommunication should be pronounced at the appetite of particular men, but that a sufficient number of the Church should be first assembled, and the same determined by publick consent.* Thirdly, *That none should be Excommunicated for Civil causes, crimes of light importance, or particular wrongs of Ministers, lest the Censure should fall into contempt, and become like the Popes Cursing.* Fourthly, *That no summary Excommunication should be thenceforth used, but that lawful Citation of parties should go before in all causes whatsoever.*

The Assemblys answer.

To the first the Assembly agreed, with the clause *Legitima cognitione Ecclesiastica præunte*. To the second they likewise condescended. But to the third and fourth they answered, that those being Points of great weight, and craved a mature deliberation, could not on the sudden be determined; and so continued the resolution thereof to the next Assembly, discharging in the mean time any summary Excommunication to be used, with this exception, *Nisi salus Ecclesiæ periclitetur.*

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The exception displeased the King, for he thought it would serve the turbulent sort for a colour to all their proceedings.

But there fell out in the mean time a business which made all these things be forgotten. The Queen, moved by some that envied the Earl of Marre his credit, labored to have the Prince her Son in her own custody, and had drawn the Chancellor and divers of the Council to promise their assistance. Advertisement given of this to the King, who was then at Falkland, he came to the Queen at Halirud-house, and inhibiting any of the Council to come towards him till he should call them, dealt so with the Queen, that he diverted her from that course, and made her go and remain at Striveling. How soon she was gone, calling the Chancellor and such of the Council as were suspected to have suffered her in those conceits, he shewed himself much displeased, and chiding them bitterly followed the Queen to Striveling; where he remained not long, but, returning to Falkland, he left to the Earl of Marre a Warrant written with his own hand, and conceived in this form. *My Lord of Marre, because in the surety of my Son consisteth my surety, and I have credited unto you the charge of his keeping upon the trust I have of your honesty, this I command you out of my own mouth, * being in the company of those I dislike; otherwise for any charge or necessity that can come from me you shall not deliver him. And in case God call me at any time, see that neither for the Queen nor Estates their pleasure you deliver him till he be 18 years of age, and that he command you himself.* Striveling the 24 of July 1595. This Warrant, as it shewed the Kings displeasure at those that had combined in the Plots, so it declared the great trust he put in the Nobleman.

Shortly after the Chancellor, taking to heart the Kings offence, contracted a hearty sickness at his house of Lawder, and sending his Cousin the Secretary to the King, who remained then at Hamilton, did by him excuse the dealing in that matter, and with a solemn protestation of his Fidelity in all his Majesties services, seriously commended his Lady, children and friends, now that he was to end his life, to his Majesties protection. The King was much troubled with the news, and wrote unto him with his own hand the Letter following. *Chancellor, how sorry I am of these news I leave it to your self to judge; I was never a dissembler of my affections. And yet I trust that God will not spoil me of you so untimely. Therefore will pray you, so far as you may, with a valiant heart resist the assaults of your sickness, hoping in the goodness of my fortune that God will reserve you yet to me, as Hezekiah was to his people; for the necessity between Prince and subject is reciproque: nor can any sickness, how heavy soever it be, take away the life, if God cut not the threads thereof. As to your suits, if God calls you, I need no remembrance: for since I made you a pattern of my constant Favour during your life (as your self hath ofttime said) I am much more bound of Princely duty to make your Wife and posterity, that bears your image, a vive representation of my thankful memory. And to comfort you in this, remember what I have done to the Duke, and my Lady Huntley, for their Fathers sake. This may assure you, that in case of the worst (which God forbid) your thoughts shall be prevented herein by my thankful behavior to them: and for your Cousin the Secretary, he shall be the better at my hand in losing you. But I green to bear better news: And if time and distance of place could have permitted me in any way, I should not have spared to have carried my own message myself. God send you your health, and keep you to me and to your Native Country.*

This shewed in what account the King held him: and in truth he deserved nothing less; for he was a man of rare parts, and of a deep wit, learned, full of courage, and most faithful to his King and Master. In that last business which the Queen went about, of taking the Prince from the Earl of Marre, he was consenting; (for the two Noblemen had their private emulations, but it was ever with a reservation of his Majesties pleasure.) No man did ever carry himself in his place more wisely, nor sustain it more courageously against his enemies, than he did. Being visited in his sickness by Mr. Robert Bruce and the Ministers of Edinburgh, he expressed a great contempt of the world and of the vanities of it, lamenting that he had not done the good which he would and might have done in his place,

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being

The Queen seeketh to have the Prince in custody.

The King diverteth her from that course.

The Kings Letter to the Earl of Marre for receiving the Prince.

The Chancellor contracteth sickness and dieth.

The Kings Letter to the Chancellor.

The Chancellor for his qualities.

An. 1595. being impeded, as he said, by the malice of his adversaries, who were ever plotting his death and ruine. Two months he continued under that languishing sickness, and ended his days most happily the 3 of October, 1595. The King did great lament his death, and honored him with this Epitaph.

His Epitaph
written by the
King.

*Thou passenger that spies with gazing eyes
This Trophie sad of Deaths triumphant Dart,
Consider when this outward Tombe thou sees,
How rare a man leaves here his earthly part.
His wisdom and his uprightness of heart,
His piety, his practice of our State,
His quick Engine so versed in every Art,
As equally not all were in debate.
Thus justly hath his death brought forth of late
An heavy grief in Prince and Subjects all
That Vertue love, and Vice do bear at hate,
Though vicious men rejoyces at his fall.
So for himself most happy doth he die,
Though for his Prince it most unhappy be.*

Others for all this spared not to express their malice in Libels and Rhythms after his death; some whereof were cast in the Kings Chamber at *Linlithgow* and other places: but as the Authors were not known, so were the Rhythms despised and contemned by all good men. His Body was some days after conveyed to *Haddington*, and solemnly interred in the Sepulchre of his fathers.

Great Dearth
of Corns, and
great blood-
shed in the
Country.

This year was by the vulgar people reckoned among the ill years, because of the Dearth and scarcity of Corns, which the abundance of winds in the Harvest-time had caused: yet for the Bloodshed and slaughters committed in all quarters of the Country was it more justly to be so accounted. For in the South parts the *Johnstons* and *Maxwells* had a bloody conflict, wherein divers were killed; the greatest loss falling upon the *Maxwells* that went from the West parts besides *Glasgow* to assist their friends in the South.

David Forrester
Citizen of
Striveling
treacherously
betrayed.

In the Isles and High-lands were likewise great Troubles: nor was the In-coun-try more quiet, bloods and slaughters daily falling out in every place. Among which none was more odious than the slaughter of *David Forrester*, Citizen of *Striveling*, killed as he was returning from *Edinburgh* by some that lay in wait for his life. The Laids of *Airth* and *Dunnyspace* were thought to have hounded out the committers, upon a spleen conceived against the Gentleman for the credit he had with his Master the Earl of *Marre*: for no other quarrel could be pretended. The Nobleman, taking this greatly to heart, caused to bring the body of his servant to *Linlithgow* (for he was killed nigh to *Linlithgow*) and with his whole friendship conveyed the same to *Striveling* there to be interred, carrying along the pour-trait of the dead with the wounds he had received in a white sheet, to move the beholders to a great detestation of the fact. The Corps buried, and the Earl following the course of Law, the Lords *Levingston* and *Elphinston* did party the Com-mitters. And though the King by his Proclamation did prohibit the assisting either of the pursuit or defenders, commanding Justice to be done, nothing could take effect in that troublesome time; so powerful was the combination of parties. But that which by the ordinary way of Justice could not as then be required, we have seen since visibly punished in the fall and ruine of those Families, for a lesson to all men to fly and abhor the shedding of innocent blood.

A Commission
to eight of the
Council to
rule the Ex-
chequer.

The year preceding the King had directed, as we shewed, Sir *Richard Cockburn* of *Clerkington* his Secretary to *England*, and amongst other instructions willed him to urge the payment of the monys which the Lord *Zouch* and Mr. *Boms* the Queens Ambassadors had often promised. Wherein finding nothing but delays, and his necessities daily growing, he resolved to look to his own Estate at home, and order his Revenues to the best profit. For this effect he made choice of eight

eight persons to rule the affairs of the Exchequer. These were *Alexander Lord Orghart*, President of the College of Justice, *Walter* Commendator of *Blantire*, Lord Privy-Seal, Mr. *David Carnegie* of *Colluthie*, Mr. *John Lindsey* Parson of *Menmuire*, and *James Elphinston* of *Innernoghty*, Mr. *Thomas Hamilton* of *Dummany*, Mr. *John Sken* Clerk of Register, all Senators of the College of Justice, and Mr. *Peter Young* of *Seaton* his Eleemosynar.

To these eight or any five of them was intrusted 'the full and free administrati-on of the whole Rents and Duties pertaining to the Officers of Controllery and Collectory, resigned and committed by the four Officers in his Majesties hands, with power to deprive and discharge all inferior Chamberlains, Under-colle-gors, Customers, Secretaries, Intrometters whatsoever with any of the said Rents, all inferior Clerks of the said Offices; and to appoint new Clerks, Re- ceivers and Intrometters with the same (excepting only the Office of the Clerk of Register his fees, privileges, and other commodities belonging to him or any of his Predecessors) to hear and exact account of Steward, Sheriffs, Bay-liffs, Provost of Burghs, Customs, Clerks of Cocquet, Searchers, Cham-berlains, Receivers, Factors and Intrometters with the Farms, Males, Pro-fits and Duties, Caves, Customs, Fishings, Cole-pits, Parks, Steadings, Orchards, and other Rents of the property annexed of old and of new, or un-annexed, and belonging any way to the Patrimony of the Crown; as also to hear the unmade accounts of the Treasurer and his Deputies, the General and Warden of the Coin, and Taskmen and laborers of the Mines and Metals, the Collectors of the Taxation, the Master of the Wardrobe, Jewels and movables, the Master of the work, the munition and plentifuling of Castles, the Monks portions, the payment of the Guard and men of War, the Rents of Colleges, Hospitals, Schools and Students, the common good of Burghs, the Dowry of whole monys appertaining to the King, as well within the Realm as coming from other parts, and to allow or refuse allowance thereof as they should find meet: with power likewise to appoint and set Fines and Penalties for offences, to make and set down the prices of Wines, Victuals and Corns yearly, to put an order to his Majesties house and Equiry and Stable, and make provision therefore; to repair the decayed Customs, appoint the order of uplifting the same, and to rowpe and set them to the best profit; to consider the state of the present Coin, and therein direct what they should think requisite; to assist the Treasurer and the Compositors in the expending of Signatures, and that without their advice nothing should pass; to examine the diligence of Sheriffs and other inferior Judges with their Officers, and negligence; to correct and punish the faults of Officers of Arms; to compone, transact or uplift the Escheats of per- sons denounced to the Horn; and generally to do and perform all things proper to the Exchequer: they enjoying such places in Council and Parliament, as the Officers thereof had in former times, with all the power, privileges, honors and immunities that belonged thereto, either by Acts of Parliament or by Consue-tude of the Realm.

The King did further promise *in verbo Principis* 'not to joyn any more to the present Commission at any time hereafter; and in case a place fell void by de- cease of any of the present Commissioners, to receive and admit none but by advice and consent of those that remained alive; as also not to sign any Letter or Signature concerning the disposition of any of the Rents of property, collectory, or new augmentations, confirmatives or ratifications of any former gifts, dispo- sitions, pensions, or investments, or licences for transporting of forbidden goods, unless the same were first heard, allowed and subscribed by the said Lords, or any five of them, sitting in Council by way of Action, Exception or Reply, not- withstanding the Seals were appended thereto. The Keepers whereof were dis- charged to append any Signet or Seal, except the Letters or Signatures were subscribed in manner above rehearsed, under the pain of losing their Offices. Moreover it was declared that the said Lords should have power to direct Letters of Horning, Poynding and Caption upon their own Acts and Decretes; and that

The tenor of
the Commis-
sion.

The King his
promise to the
Commission-
ers.

An. 1596.

The Commis-
sioners make
faith.Exception ta-
ken at the
ampleness of
the Commis-
sion.The Commis-
sioners possess
themselves
with Offices
of Estate.

An. 1596.

William Arm-
strong, called
Will of Kin-
mouth, taken
prisoner.

'no suspension of any charges for ingathering any part of the Patrimony should pass, except in Exchequer or Session, three of the said Lords subscribing the same. The Lords again made faith, 'That the next unto God and good Conscience they should in all things respect his Majesty's weal, honor, and advancement of his Revenue, and neither for tenderness of blood, commodity to themselves, awe or fear of any person, consent to the disposition of any part of the Patrimony whereby his Majesty's profits might be diminished; and that they should not give their contents severally, but being assembled, at least five of them, in Exchequer; under protestation, that the accepting of the said Commission should not be a reason of declining them in Action that concerned his Majesty, seeing they did neither receive fee, nor were intrometers with any part of the Rents, but only directed the Receivers and Collectors of the same.

This Commission approved by the Lords of Council was published at the market-Cross of Edinburgh the 12 of January 1595. divers excepting at the ampleness of it, and saying, *That the King had left nothing to himself but the naked Title of a King, and put all his power and means in the hands of others, so as subjects were to expect no benefit nor reward from him.* The Courtiers, they especially of the Bed-chamber, did grudge exceedingly, that all occasion to do good to themselves or their friends was this way cut off. Nor was it long before these Commissioners became extremely disliked, partly for their strict dealing with the subjects, and partly for drawing all the Offices into their own hands. Beginning was made at Mr. David Macgill Advocate, whom they pressed to dimitt and resign his Office by reason of his age and imbecillity, as they pretended; and when by no persuasion he could be moved unto it, they did associate with him in office Mr. Thomas Hamilton, one of their own number; which bred him such a grief, as shortly after he ended his days. Next they fell upon the Master of Glamis Treasurer, and his Deputy Sir Robert Melvill, and by examining their Accompts found them liable in such sums to the King, as to obtain a *Quietus* est they were glad to resign the Treasurer, which was bestowed on the Prior of Blantire. Then did they labor the Secretary Sir Richard Cockburne to resign his place, and exchange it with the office of Privy-Seal, which Blantire had dimitted in favor of Mr. John Lindesay. This was easily effected, the Gentleman not liking to contend or fall in question with them. The Office of the Collectory, resigned by the Provost of Lincolnden, was given to Mr. James Elphinston. The President they intended to make Chancellor; but to this the King would not condescend, knowing how he stood affected in Religion, and that his preferment to that chief place would open the mouths of the Ministers, and raise a clamor in the Country. These proceedings did work them much hatred, and (as is the lot of those that rule in Estates) whatsoever was amiss they carried the blame, albeit in many things they were innocent.

The next year begun with a Trouble in the Borders, which was like to have destroyed the Peace betwixt the two Realms, and arose upon this occasion. The Lord Scroop being then Warden of the West-Marches of England, and the Laird of Baelenagh having the charge of Liddisdale, they sent their Deputies to keep a day of Truce for redress of some ordinary matters. The place of meeting was at the Dayholme of Kerhop, where a small Brook divideth England from Scotland, and Liddisdale from Baw Castle. There met as Deputy for the Laird of Baelenagh Robert Scot of Hayninge; and for the Lord Scroop, a Gentleman within the West-Wardenry, called Mr. Salkeld. These two, after Truce taken and proclaimed, as the custom was, by found of Trumpet, met friendly, and upon mutual redress of such wrongs as were then complained of, parted in good terms, each of them taking his way homewards. Meanwhile it happened one William Armstrong, commonly called Will of Kinmouth, to be in company with the Scottish Deputy, against whom the English had a quarrel for many wrongs he had committed, as he was indeed a notorious Thief. This man having taken his leave of the Scots Deputy, and riding down the River of Liddell on the Scottish side towards his own house, was pursued by the English that espied him from the other side of the River, and after a chase of three or four miles taken prisoner, and brought back to the English Deputy, who carried him away to the Castle of Carlisle. The

The Laird of Baelenagh complaining of the breach of Truce, (which was always taken from the time of meeting unto the next day at Sun-rising) wrote to Mr. Salkeld, and craved redress. He excused himself by the absence of the Lord Scroop. Whereupon Baelenagh sent to the Lord Scroop, and desired the Prisoner might be set at liberty without any Bond or condition, seeing he was unlawfully taken. Scroop answered, that he could do nothing in the matter, it having so happened, without a direction from the Queen and Council of England, considering the man was such a Malefactor. Baelenagh loth to inform the King of what was done, lest it might have bred some misliking betwixt the Princes, dealt with Mr. Bomes the Resident Ambassador of England for the Prisoner's liberty; who wrote very seriously to the Lord Scroop in that business, advising him to set the man free, and not to bring the matter to a farther hearing. But no answer was returned: the matter thereupon was imparted to the King, and the Queen of England solicited by Letters to give direction for his liberty; yet nothing was obtained. Which Baelenagh perceiving, and apprehending both the King, and himself as the King's Officer, to be touched in honor, he resolved to work the Prisoners relief by the best means he could.

And upon intelligence that the Castle of Carlisle, wherein the Prisoner was kept, was surprisable, he employed some trusty persons to take a view of the Postern-gate, and measure the height of the Wall, which he meant to scale by Ladders; and if those failed, to break through the Wall with some iron instruments, and force the Gates. This done so closely as he could, he drew together some 200 horse, assigning the place of meeting at the Tower of Morton, some ten miles from Carlisle, an hour before sun-set. With this company passing the water of Esk about the falling, two hours before day he crossed Eden beneath Carlisle bridge, (the water through the rain that had fallen being thick) and came to the Sacery, a plain under the Castle: There making a little halt at the side of a small Bourn which they call Cadage, he caused 80 of the company to light from their horses, and take the Ladders and other instruments which he had prepared with them. He himself accompanying them to the foot of the Wall, caused the Ladders to be set to it; which proving too short, he gave order to use the other instruments for opening the Wall nigh the Postern, and finding the business like to succeed, retired to the rest whom he had left on horseback, for assuring those that entred upon the Castle against any eruption from the Town. With some little labor a breach was made for single men to enter, and they who first went in brake open the Postern for the rest. The watchmen and some few the noise awaked made a little restraint, but they were quickly repressed and taken Captive. After which they passed to the Chamber wherein the Prisoner was kept, and having brought him forth, founded a Trumpet, which was a signal to them without that the enterprise was performed. My Lord Scroop and Mr. Salkeld were both within the House, and to them the Prisoner cried a good night. The Captives taken in the first encounter were brought to Baelenagh, who presently returned them to their Master, and would not suffer any spoil or booty, as they term it, to be carried away: he had straightly forbidden to break open any door but that where the Prisoner was kept, though he might have made prey of all the goods within the Castle, and taken the Warden himself Captive; for he would have it seen that he did intend nothing but the reparation of his Majesty's Honor. By this time the Prisoner was brought forth, the Town had taken the Alarm, the Drums were beating, the Bells ringing, and a Beacon put on the top of the Castle, to give warning to the Country. Whereupon Baelenagh commanded those that entred the Castle and the Prisoner to horse, and marching again by the Sacery, made to the River at the Stony bank; on the other side whereof certain were assembled to stop his passage: but he causing sound the Trumpet took the River, day being then broken; and they chusing to give him way, he retired in order through the Grahams of Esk, (men at that time of great power and his unfriends) and came back into Scottish ground two hours after Sun-rising, and so homewards.

This fell out the 13 of April 1596. The Queen of England having notice sent her

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The Laird of
Baelenagh com-
plained of
the breach of
Truce.

No satisfaction
made, Baelenagh
sets the Prison-
er at liberty.

The Castle of
Carlisle surpris-
ed, and the
Prisoner freed.

The Queen of
England
greatly offend-
ed with the
enterprise.

An. 1596.

This matter
debated in
Council.The trouble
quieted by
Baclugh in
England.Col. Stewart
designed
Lieutenant for
the Isles.An Assembly
of the Church
at Edinburgh.A search of
the causes of
the present
fear of Invasi-
on.

her of what was done stormed not a little: One of her chief Castles surprised, a Prisoner taken forth of the hands of the Warden and carried away, so far within England, she esteemed a great affront. The Lier Mr. Bows in a frequent Convention kept at Edinburgh the 22 of May did, as he was charged, in a long Oration aggravate the hainousness of the fact, concluding that Peace could not longer continue betwixt the two Realms, unless Baclugh were delivered in England to be punished at the Queens pleasure. Baclugh compeiring and charged with the fact made answer, *That he went not into England with intention to assault any of the Queens Houses, or to do wrong to any other Subjects, but only to relieve a subject of Scotland unlawfully taken, and more unlawfully detained: That in the time of a general assurance, in a day of Truce, he was taken Prisoner against all order, neither did he attempt his relief till redress was refused: and That he had carried the business in such a moderate manner, as no Hostility was committed, nor the least wrong offered to any within the Castle. Yet was he content, according to the ancient Treaties observed betwixt the two Realms whenas mutual injuries were alledged, to be tried by the Commissioners that it should please their Majesties to appoint, and submit himself to that which they should decern.* The Convention esteeming the Answer reasonable did acquaint the Ambassador therewith, and offered to send Commissioners to the Borders with all diligence to treat with such as the Queen should be pleased to appoint for her part.

But he not satisfied with the answer refused to appoint any Commissioners; whereupon the Council of England did renew the Complaint in July thereafter, and the business being of new agitated, it was resolved of as before, and that the same should be remitted to the trial of Commissioners: the King protesting, *That he might with great reason crave the delivery of the Lord Scroop for the injury committed by his Deputy; it being less favorable to take a Prisoner, than relieve him that is unlawfully taken: yet for the continuing of Peace he would forbear to do it, and omit nothing on his part that could be desired either in equity, or by the laws of friendship.* The Borders in the mean time making daily Incurfions one upon another filled all their parts with Trouble, the English being continually put to the worse; neither were they made quiet till, for satisfying the Queen, the Laird of Baclugh was first committed in S. Andrews, and afterwards entered in England, where he remained not long.

At the same time, for bringing the Isles to obedience, Colonel Stewart was employed to levy 1000 men, every Shire furnishing 20 horsemen and 30 foot, or so much money as would sustain them, allowing the horsemen 24 pounds monthly, and the foot 12 pounds, besides the supply of the free Burghs. These Companies were appointed to meet at Dumbarton the 20 of August, for aiding the King or his Lieutenant for the space of 40 days, according to the customs, and when the days were come were commanded to follow the Colonel, as designed Lieutenant assigned by the King. But upon the bruit of this Expedition the principals of the Isles did all submit themselves, offering obedience to appear before the King at the time his Majesty should appoint: so that Expedition ceased, the Colonel going no farther than Ila, where he remained a few days, and took assurance for their appearance.

In the March preceding the Assembly of the Church convened at Edinburgh, for consulting upon the dangers threatned to Religion by the Invasion of the Spaniard, which was then generally noised. Some brethren directed to lay open the perils to his Majesty, returned with this answer; *That albeit there was no great cause to fear any such Invasion at that time, yet they should do well to give their advice as if the danger were at hand, which would serve when necessity did require.* The Assembly upon this thought meet to enter into consideration both of the Dangers and Remedies; and first to enquire upon the Causes that had provoked God to threaten the Realm with that tyrannous Nation, to the end the same might be removed: then to deliberate how by ordinary lawful means the Enemy should be resisted. The Causes they condescended to be Sins of all Estates, and especially the sins of the Ministry; which they held best should be penned and drawn to certain

An. 1596.

certain Heads, that the Corruptions being laid open, the Remedies might be the better provided. For this work some of the brethren were named and set apart, who after a day or two presented in writing a number of Articles touching the Corruption of Ministers as well in their Offices as in their Lives and Manners; the Offences in the Kings House, in the Court and in the Judgment-seats; the defection and Faults commune to all Estates: and the Remedies which in their opinion were fit to be used.

The Assembly allowing their labors, and acknowledging their own guiltiness in that which concerned themselves, ordained a day of Humiliation to be kept on Tuesday the week following by the Ministers that were there present, for reconciling themselves to God, and making up a new Covenant for the better discharge of their duties.

This is the Covenant that by some is so often objected, and said to be violated by those that gave obedience to the Canons of the Church, albeit in it there is not a word or syllable that sounds either to confirming of the Church-government then in use, or to the rejecting of that which since hath been established. But when other Arguments fail them, somewhat must be said to entertain the conceits of the popular. By this Covenant all did bind themselves to abide in the profession of the Truth, and to walk according to the same, as God should enable them. But for the rules of Policy or Ceremonies serving to good order or decency, let inspection be taken of the Register which is extant, and it shall plainly appear, that at the time there was not so much as any mention thereof made.

But to proceed: The advices they gave for resisting the practices of the Enemy were, *That all who had kithed in action with the Popish Lords should enter their persons in Ward, till assurance was given that they should neither keep intelligence with the Rebels, nor joyn with them in case they did return into the Countrey. That the rents and livings of the Rebels should be uplifted for entertainment of Soldiers, and supporting other necessary affairs. That in every Parish Captains should be chosen for the mustering and training of men in arms, and some Commanders in every Shire appointed for convening the Country at needful occasions. Lastly, that they who were Sureties for the good behaviour of the Rebels without the Realm should be called, and to pay the sums contained in their Bonds.*

This advice presented to the King went much against his mind; for his desire was to have the banished Lords reclaimed and brought to obedience, which he esteemed to be the greatest assurance both of his own peace and the Countries quiet: therefore did he only answer, *That if it could be proved that the Lords since their departing from Scotland had trafficked with Strangers to the prejudice of Religion or State, they should be used with all extremity; but otherwise neither could their Cautioners be convicted, nor would he change the course which he had kept with their Wives and Children.* Not long before this Assembly the King had communicated his mind to Mr. Robert Bruce touching that business, hoping that by the sway he carried in those Meetings some such Propositions as tended to the reclaiming of the banished Lords should have been made by the Assembly; but finding his expectation not answered, he brake to him the matter of new, and shewed how greatly it concerned his Estate to have them reduced and called home: *That the Queen of England was grown old, and if any should after her death withstand his Title, he would have need of his Subjects assistance: And that having so many Nobles exiled, he would be less respected of Strangers, and be a great deal weaker at home. If he could therefore win them to acknowledge their offence, and so embrace the true Religion, (without which they should never get any favor from him) he believed the course would not be disallowed of wise men and those that loved him. Always he desired to know his judgment, for as yet he had not shewed his mind in that matter to any person.*

Mr. Robert Bruce, being as then in great favor and credit with the King, said 'that he did think well of his Majesties Reasons; and that he should not do amiss to bring home Angus and Arrol, so as they would conform themselves in Religion. But that Huntley could not be pardoned, being so hated as he was of

A new Covenant made by the Ministers for abiding to the profession of the Truth, and living according to the same.

Advice for resisting the enemies of Religion.

The King desired to have the Noblemen reclaimed.

He communicated his mind with Mr. Robert Bruce.

Mr. Robert Bruce his answer and advice.

An. 1596.
The King re-
soneth with
him to the
contrary of
his advice.

Mr. Roberts
faucy Reply
to the King.

Shortly after
the Lords ex-
ited return.

The Earl of
Arrol inter-
cepted in the
Low Coun-
tries, etcapeth.

A Convention
at Falkland.

The Kings
judgment of
Huntley's Sup-
plication.

A Convention
at Dunfermling.

The Commis-
sioners for the
Church upon
this report of
the Lords meet
at Edinburgh.

the subjects. The King reasoning to the contrary, 'That if *Huntley* be willing to 'satisfie the Church and fulfil the Conditions which he would require of him, he 'saw no reason why he should not be received as well as the other two; and as he 'could not but know that his care of that man was great; and he having married 'his Cousin, whom he accounted his own Daughter, so was he the man of greatest 'power, and one that could stand him in most stead. Therefore desired Mr. *Robert* 'to think of that matter, and after a day or two give him his advice in it. At the next meeting being enquired what he had thought of the business, he answered as before, saying, That *Huntley's* return would be ill interpreted, and offend all good men. The King repeating the former Reasons, and adding, That if he brought one home he would bring them all; he replied, *I see, Sir, that your resolution is to take Huntley in favor; which if you do, I will oppose, and you shall chuse whether you will lose Huntley or me; for us both you cannot keep.* This faucy reply the King did never forget, and it was this which lost him the favor, which formerly he carried with the King.

The exiled Lords not finding that respect given unto them in foreign parts which they expected, took a resolution to return, and to use all means for reconciling themselves to the King and Church. And that their return might be the more secret, they separated one from another. *Arrol* taking his journey homewards through the United Provinces was intercepted, and delivered into the hands of Mr. *Robert Danielston* Conservator of the *Scottish* privileges, to be kept by him till the King should be advertised. But whether by the Conservators knowledge, or otherwise, he made an escape and came into the country. *Huntley* came some months before, and lurking secretly in the North, sent a supplication to his Majesty and the Convention which met at *Falkland* the 12 of *August*, the effect whereof was, that he might be permitted to return, and remain within any part of the Country his Majesty should appoint, he giving sufficient surety for his quiet and peaceable behavior.

The King having heard the supplication, took occasion to say, 'That one of 'the two courses was needful to be followed with him and the rest that were in his 'condition; that is, either utterly to exterminate them, their race, and posterity, 'or then upon their humble acknowledgement of their offence, and surety made 'for the state of Religion, to receive them in favor; for to continue in the condi- 'tion wherein they presently were, could not stand either with the safety of Reli- 'gion, or with his own Honor and estate. The first course, said he, hath the own 'difficulties, and will not be performed without great trouble: and for my self, 'so long as there is any hope that they may be reduced to the profession of the 'Truth, I desire not their destruction, but like rather to extend my clemency to- 'wards them; which I believe is the mind of all good and peaceable men. As to 'the present offer made by *Huntley*, I do not think it well general, and to no pur- 'pose; therefore by your advice I would have particular Conditions condescend- 'ed upon, such as may serve for security of Religion, mine own Honor, and the 'Tranquillity of the Country: such Conditions being offered, and security found 'for performance, I should then think that licence might be granted him to return, 'he being confined in such a part of the Country as should be thought most con- 'venient. The Convention, approving his Majesties judgement, resolved upon this as the fittest course, remitting the Conditions to be formed by his Highness and the Lords of Council.

September the same Conclusion was ratified at another Convention of the E- 'states at *Dunfermling*, and the Baptism of the Princess, who was born the 19 of *August*, appointed to be at *Halirudhouse* the 28 of *November* next.

How soon this their return into the Country was known, and that such an Act was passed in their favors, the Commissioners of the Church assembled at *Edin- burgh*, where falling to consider the dangers threatened to Religion by their return, it was thought necessary to acquaint all the Presbyteries with the present state of things; particularly That the forfeited Earls were returned into the Country without his Majesties Warrant and approbation; That they remained peaceably

in

in the same, using all means to be restored to their livings, albeit they had neither acknowledged their offence in that treasonable dealing with the King of *Spain*, nor their defection and apostasy from the Truth: and That they had maintained an Act of Council in their favors at the Convention of *Falkland*, which was rati- fied thereafter at *Dunfermling*, whereby they were licensed to remain upon certain Conditions to be prescribed unto them by his Majesty and Council, to the mani- fest hazard both of Church and State, considering their continuance in the same disposition to work mischief as before. Of these things they were desired to in- form their Flocks; and both in publick doctrine and private conference to stir up the Country-people to apprehend the danger, and to be in readiness to resist the same so far as lawfully they might. It was farther thought meet, that publick Hu- miliation should be indicted through the whole Country the first Sunday of *Decem- ber*, and the cause thereof declared to be the return of the Excommunicated Lords, and dangers thereby threatened to Religion, which the Ministers should enlarge according to their discretions; as also that the Presbyteries should call before them their Entertainers, Restetters, and such as kept company with them, and pro- ceed summarily with the Censures of the Church, *una citatione, quia periclitatur salus Ecclesie & Reipublice*. Lastly, they concluded that a number of Commis- sioners selected out of all the Quarters of the Countrey should reside at *Edinburgh*, and convene every day with some of the Presbytery of *Edinburgh*, to receive Advertisements as should be sent from other places, and take counsel upon the most expedient in every case. The Brethren nominated to this purpose were Mr. *Alexander Douglas*, Mr. *Peter Blackburn*, Mr. *George Gladstaves*, and Mr. *James Nicholson* for the North parts; Mr. *James Melvil*, Mr. *Thomas Buchanan*, Mr. *Alex- ander Lindeſay*, and Mr. *William Striveling* for the middle part of the Country; Mr. *John Clapperton*, Mr. *John Knox*, Mr. *George Ramsey*, and Mr. *James Carmichael* for the South; and for the West Mr. *John Howson*, Mr. *Andrew Knox*, *John Poterfield*, and Mr. *Robert Wilkie*. Their attendance was ordained to be monthly, and to begin in *November*. At which time Mr. *James Nicholson*, Mr. *James Mel- vil*, Mr. *Andrew Knox*, Mr. *John Howson*, and Mr. *George Ramsey* were appoint- ed to wait: Mr. *Robert Bruce*, Mr. *Robert Pont*, Mr. *David Lindeſay*, Mr. *James Balfour*, Mr. *Patrick Galloway*, and Mr. *Walter Balcanquel* observing ordinarily all the meeting.

These Conventions were by a new name called *The Council of the Church*, and ap- pointed to be kept once every day at least, for taking advice in every business that occurred. By direction of this Council Lord *Alexander Seaton*, President of the Session, was called before the Synod of *Lothian*, for keeping intelligence with the Earl of *Huntley*, and by them remitted back to that Council; before whom, with many attestations, he purged himself of any dealing with *Huntley*, or any of the Papist Lords, and upon promise not to employ his credit that way was dimitted.

The King suspecting their beginnings should end in some trouble, but not liking to fall in contrary terms with the Church, if by any means the same could be ef- chewed, commanded the President, Secretary, Advocate, and Laird of *Colluthie*, to confer with the most moderate of the Ministry, and use their best means for satisfying them touching the return of the forfeited Lords. Mr. *David Lindeſay*, Mr. *Patrick Galloway*, Mr. *James Nicholson*, and Mr. *James Melvil* being sent for to this Conference, were desired to give their opinions, 'Whether or not, due 'satisfaction being made to the Church by the Lords (for otherwise the King did 'not mean to shew them any favour) they might be pardoned and restored to their 'estates. The Ministers answered, *They came only to hear what was proposed, and in a matter of that importance could say nothing unacquainting their brethren*: The Conference was delayed till afternoon; at which time returning they said, *That the Brethren were glad of the respect carried by his Majesty to the Church, and that his resolution was to give no favor to those Rebels till the Church was first sa- tisfied. But in their judgements, they having by Gods Law deserved death, and being by the most sovereign Court of the Kingdom sentenced to have lost their Estates, they could not be lawfully pardoned nor restored. And if the King and his Council would take*

A publick hu-
miliation in-
dicted.

Persons nomi-
nated to at-
tend at *Edin-
burgh* for the
Church.

The Lord
Seaton Presi-
dent of the
Session cited
to appear be-
fore the Synod
of *Lothian*.

A Conference
between cer-
tain of the
Council and
some mode-
rate men of
the Ministry.

An. 1596. *take on them to do it, they had God and the Country to answer unto; but for them they would give no assent, but protest to the contrary, that they were free thereof before God and man.*

The King offended with the pertinacy of the Ministers.

Commissioners directed to his Majesty.

His Majesties peremptory answer to the Commissioners

The Grievances of the Church proposed.

The King his answer.

A new Trouble by Mr. David Blake, a Minister at S. Andrews.

Mr. Andrew Melvil labored to make it a common cause.

This Answer seeming rather to proceed of passion than any good zeal; it was next urged, 'Whether upon their humble and submissive suit to be reconciled, the Church could deny to receive them, it being commonly held, that the bosome of the Church should ever be patent to repenting sinners. They answered, *That the Church indeed could not refuse their satisfaction, if it were truly offered; nevertheless the King stood obliged to do Justice.* When by no reasoning they could be wrought from these extremities, the Conference brake off, and the effects thereof being reported to the King, he was greatly commoved, inveighing against Ministers at his Table, in Council, and every where. The wiser sort, that foresaw the ill effects this rancor would breed, advised the Ministers to send some of their number, to understand what it was that did offend the King, and offer all satisfaction on their parts; withal to lay open their Grievances, and in humble manner entreat a redress of the things which they esteemed hurtful.

Herein the same Brethren being employed, they found the Kings answers more biting and peremptory than they expected: for being desired to shew what it was that made his Majesty so offended with the Church, and professing to amend it so far as lay in them; he said, *There could be no Agreement so long as the Marches of the two Jurisdictions were not distinguished; that in their Preachings they did censure the affairs of the Estate and Council, convocate General Assemblies without his licence, conclude what they thought good, not once desiring his allowance and approbation, and in their Synods, Presbyteries and particular Sessions, meddle with every thing upon colour of scandal; besides divers other disorders, which at another time he would propound and have reformed; otherwise it was vain to think of any agreement, or that the same being made, could stand and continue any while.*

The Ministers not willing to dip in these matters, after they had in sober manner replied to each of these Points, fell to speak of their own Grievances. As first, the Favor granted to the Popish Lords in the late Conventions at Falkland and Dunfermling, the countenance given to the Lady Huntley, and her invitation to the Baptism of the Princess; the putting her in the hands of the Lady Levingston, an avowed and obstinate Papist; and, which grieved them more than any thing else, the alienation of his Majesties heart from the Ministers, as appeared by all his speeches publick and private. To this last the King did first reply, saying, *That they had given him too just cause by their railing against him and his proceedings in their Sermons.* For the Popish Lords, he had granted nothing to them but what the Estate had found needful for the Peace and quiet of the Realm. As to the Lady Huntley, he esteemed her a good discreet Lady and worthy of his countenance; and that she was a Papist they might blame themselves, who had never taken care to inform her of the Truth. Lastly, for his Daughter the Princess, he had trusted her to the Lord Levingston, a Nobleman known to be of good Religion, and not to his Lady, who should not be suffered to take any care of her, unless she conformed in point of Religion.

Whilst things thus past betwixt the King and the Church, a new occasion of Trouble was presented by Mr. David Blake, one of the Ministers of S. Andrews, who had in one of his Sermons cast forth divers speeches full of spite against the King, the Queen, the Lords of Council and Session, and amongst the rest had called the Queen of England an Atheist, a Woman of no Religion. This being dilated to the English Ambassador he complained to the King, and thereupon was Mr. David Blake cited to appear before the Council the 10 of November. Mr. Andrew Melvil accompanying him to Edinburgh, did labor to make this a common cause, giving out that the same was done only for a preparative against the Ministers, to bring their Doctrine under the censure and controllment of the King and Council; and so far he prevailed with the Commissioners of the Church, as they sent certain of their number to intreat the deserting of the Diet, saying, *It would be ill taken to draw Ministers in question upon trifling delations, when as the enemies of the Truth were spared and overseen.* The King some days before had published the

Conditions

Conditions upon which he was to grant a Protection to Huntley, and asking those Commissioners if they had seen the Conditions, said, *That both he and the rest should either satisfy the Church in every point, or be pursued with all extremity, so as they should have no reason to complain of the oversight of Papists.* For Mr. Blake, he said he did not think much of that matter, only they should cause him appear and take some course for pacifying the English Ambassador. *But take heed,* said the King, *that you do not decline the Judicatory; for if you do, it will be worse than any thing yet fallen out.*

Now the Conditions proposed to Huntley were as followeth.

That he should give sufficient and reasonable caution of Inland-men and land-Ed Barons, to the number of sixteen at least, who should be acted in the Books of Council under the pain of forty thousand pounds (each two of the Cautioners conjunctly and severally for five thousand pounds of the said sum) that he should faithfully observe and fulfil the whole Articles undermentioned, and every one of them. As first, That betwixt that and the first day of April next to come, he should either satisfy the Church for his Apostasie, and return to the bosome thereof in uniformity of Religion, or before the expiring of the said time depart again forth of the Country, and not return again without his Majesties licence.

The Conditions proposed to Huntley.

2. Next, that during the said space, he should not receive in his company any Jesuite, Mass-priests, or excommunicate Papists, nor have any dealing, communication or intelligence with them, especially with his Uncle Mr. James Gordon; nor suffer his Children, in case any be brought forth in the mean time, to be baptized by another than a Minister.

3. That so long as he remained in the Country, as likewise in case of his departing at the time aforesaid, he should not traffick with any stranger or others whomsoever for alteration of the true Religion, or disquieting the state of the Country in any sort.

4. That his former Cautioners should remain obliged, in case after lawful trial, it should be found that since his last departing he had trafficked with strangers for subversion of Religion or the alteration of the State, in the sums for which they were bound.

5. That he should presently enter his person in Ward within such a place as his Majesty should appoint.

6. That within fifteen days next he should enter his eldest Son and apparent Heir as a Hostage to his Majesty for observing the Articles before and after mentioned; and that his said Son should abide in such company, Ward or Castle, as his Majesty should appoint, where most conveniently he might be instructed in the true Religion, and not escape by his Fathers knowledge or assistance.

Lastly, That he should compeer personally before the Council whensoever he should be called, upon fifteen days warning, for trying the contravention of any of the Articles above expressed: providing the cause for which he should be charged were expressed in the Letters, and warrant given him that he should not be challenged for any other fact done before his last passing forth of Scotland.

These Articles the King caused to be imprinted, that all men might see he meant not to bestow any favor either upon him or the rest, unless they joyned themselves to the Religion publicly professed: yet this served not to stop the mouths of people, nor did it remove the jealousy of the Preachers, who were daily complaining, That Papists were favored, the Ministers troubled for the free rebuke of sin, and the Sceptre of Christs Kingdom sought to be overthrown. The Process, they said, intended against Mr. Blake was but a policy, to divert the Ministers from prosecuting their suit against the Popish Earls; and if he should submit his Doctrine to the trial of the Council, the Liberties of the Church and Spiritual Government of the House of God would be quite subverted. In any case therefore they concluded that a Declinator should be used, and Protestation made against these proceedings. This was held a dangerous course, and earnestly dissuaded by some few; but they were cried down by the greater number, that said *it was the Cause*

The Conditions give no content.

A Declinator advised to be proposed.

An. 1596.

Mr. David
Blake his De-
clinator.

Cause of God, whereunto it concerned them to stand at all hazard. So a Declinator was formed and given Mr. Blake to present, bearing this in substance:

‘That howbeit the conscience of his innocency did uphold him sufficiently against the calumnies of whomsoever, and that he was ready to defend the Doctrine uttered by him, whether in opening the words or in application; yet seeing he was brought thither to be judged by his Majesty and Council for his Doctrine, and that his answering to the pretended Accusation might import a prejudice to the Liberties of the Church, and betaken for an acknowledgement of his Majesties Jurisdiction in matters merely Spiritual, he was constrained in all humility to decline that Judicatory for the Reasons following. First, because the Lord Jesus, of whom he had the grace of his Calling, had given him (albeit unworthy of the honor to bear his Name) his Word for a Rule to his Preaching, and that he could not fall in the reverence of any Civil Law, but in so far as he should be tried to have passed his Instructions, which trial belonged only to the Prophets and Pastors, *the spirits of the Prophets being subject to them alone*; for as first it must be declared whether he had kept his Instructions or not.

2. In regard the Liberty of the Church and Discipline presently exercised was confirmed by divers Acts of Parliament, and the Office-bearers thereof peaceably possessed therein, particularly in the Judicatory of the Word preached (as was clear by divers late examples) he ought to be remitted for his Preaching to the Ecclesiastick Senate, as his competent Judge in the first instance. For which and for other weighty considerations, and namely for eschewing the inconveniences that might fall to Religion and his Majesties own estate, by the appearance of distraction and alienation of his Majesties mind from the Ministry and the Cause of God in their hands, he for himself, and in name of the Commissioners of the General Assembly, who had subscribed the same Declinator, did humbly beseech his Majesty not to infringe the Liberty of the Church, but rather maintain his care in maintaining the same.

Mr. Blake's answer to the Diet.

When the Diet came, and the Summons were read, being desired to answer, he said, That albeit he might object against the Citation, the same being directed *super inquirendis* contrary to the form prescribed by Parliament, and no particular specified therein; yet he would take him to the usual remedy of Law, and desire to be remitted to his own Ordinary. Being asked whom he meant; he answered, The Presbytery where the doctrine was taught. The King then replying that the matter laid to his charge was Civil, and that the generality of the Summons was restricted to the particular Letter produced by the English Ambassador; he said, *That the speeches wherewith he was charged being uttered in Pulpit must be judged by the Church, in prima instantia.* Again being inquired whether the King might not judge matters of Treason, as well as the Church did matters of Heresie; he said, *That speeches delivered in Pulpit, albeit alleged to be Treasonable, could not be judged by the King till the Church took first cognition thereof*; but that he was not come thither to solve questions, and so presented the Declinator. The King, notwithstanding that he was greatly offended (because the day appointed for the Baptism of the Princess was approaching) continued all farther proceeding to the last of November.

The Declinator sent to the Presbyteries to be subscribed.

Meanwhile had the Commissioners for the Church sent a Copy of Mr. Blake's Declinator with a Letter to all the Presbyteries, requiring them for the greater corroboration of their doings to subscribe the same, and to commend the cause in their hand in their private and publick prayers to God, using their best credit with their Flocks, and employing all their labours for the maintenance thereof. The King being mightily incensed with this doing, as tending to a direct Mutiny, and the stirring up of the subjects to Rebellion, gave forth a Proclamation, wherein he said,

A Proclamation discharging the meeting of the Commissioners.

That certain persons of the Ministry abiding in the Town of Edinburgh had of long time continued together devising Plots prejudicial to his Majesties Authority, and usurping a power over their brethren, had directed letters for subscribing a Declinator formed and already subscribed by themselves, requiring them with the return of their subscriptions to send some of their number to assist their proceedings, as though they were not subjects, & that the King had no power nor authority over them, intending

intending, as appeared, by Convocations and the like tumultuous forms to break the Peace, and make an Insurrection in the Country; whereas no care in the mean time was taken of their Flocks, but the same left comfortless and destitute of the Preaching of the Word; all which they coloured with a general Commission alleged to be given by the last General Assembly, albeit there was no such Commission, that which he produced containing only a power to consult and report, and not to set down Acts, or exercise any Jurisdiction: and granting that such a Commission had been given, the same could not be lawful, as given without the consent and approbation of his Majesties Commissioners, who were present at the time. Therefore to prevent the disorders and Confusion which therethrough might arise, his Highness, with the advice of the Council, discharged the said Commission as unlawful in it self, and more unlawfully executed by the said Commissioners; commanding the persons under-written, namely, Mr. Andrew Melvil, Mr. James Melvil, Mr. John Davidson, Mr. Nicoll Dalgleish, Mr. James Nicolson, Mr. James Carmichael and John Clapperton, to depart home to their several Flocks within 24 hours after the charge, and to attend upon the lawful discharge of their Callings, and no ways to return for keeping such unlawful Convocations, either within the said Burgh or without, under the pain of Rebellion.

The Commissioners upon information that such a Charge was directed fell to consult what course they should take; and first they resolved, ‘That since they were convened by the warrant of Christ, in a most needful and dangerous time, to see unto the good of the Church, *Et ne quid Ecclesia detrimenti caperet*, they should obey God rather than man; and, notwithstanding of any charge that should be given, continue together so long as conveniently they might, and in the mean time send some of the number to the *Ostivians* (this was the title commonly given to those eight Counsellors that were trusted with all affairs) to advertise them, that seeing the Church at their entry to their places enjoyed a full peace and liberty, and that now it was cast into great troubles, and the enemies of the Truth spared and overlooked, they could not but think that all this proceeded from their counsels; and therefore whatsoever the event should be, the Church would take her self to them, and they only should bear the blame. The President answering in choler said, ‘That these Controversies were begun without their advice, and so they should end; that for their good service they had reaped small thanks, and drawn upon themselves much envy, and therefore would have no meddling in that business betwixt the King and them, but leave it to him and his Nobility.

This answer put them to a second advice, and thinking they were mistaken, and that these Commissioners were not in the fault, but that all proceeded from the King himself, they sent Mr. David Lindesay, Mr. Robert Rollock, Mr. James Nicolson and James Melvil, to declare unto his Majesty the great inconveniences that were like to arise upon this hard dealing with the Church, and humbly intreat a surcease of the Process intended against Mr. David Blake, and that all other controversies might be left off till some order was taken with the Papists, and an Assembly convoked for deciding these questions to his Highness content. The King answered, ‘That it was not his fault, and that he was no less displeased than they were with the controversies arisen; and that yet if they would pass from the Declinator, or declare at least that it was not a general, but only a particular Declinator, used in the cause of Mr. David Blake, as being a cause of slander, and pertaining to the judgment of the Church, he should also pass from the Summons and cease his pursuit.

This yielding offer of the King was by the advice of the wiser sort thought good to be accepted, that there might be an end of contention: For if, said they, we go to try our strength with the King, we shall be found too weak. As yet the Court stands in some awe of the Church, and whilst they are in this conceit, it shall be meet to take the best conditions we can have; for if by our strictness matters go to the worst, our weakness shall soon appear; and thereafter shall the Church be no more feared nor regarded: too great stiffness doth seldom succeed well; and it is often seen, that they who will have all their wills, do lose all in the end. This was the reasoning of the wise and more moderate sort. Others flattering themselves in their preciseness

An. 1596.

The Commissioners of the Church upon this discharge enter into a new consultation.

They sent a Commission to the *Ostivians*.

Commissioners sent to his Majesty for surceasing Mr. Blake's Process.

His Majesties offer to the Commissioners.

The wiser sort of the Ministers advise to accept of the offer, but they are over-ruled.

An. 1596. held, That the only way to prevail was to stand by their grounds; the Cause was Gods, which he would maintain: That worldly powers were not to be feared, and that God had in his hand the hearts of Princes to turn them whither he pleased, whereof in the present business they had seen a proof. The debate held long, and in end by most voices it was concluded that they should stand to the Declinator, unless the King would pass from the Summons, and remitting the pursuit to the Ecclesiastical Judge make an Act of Council, that no Minister should be charged for his Preaching, at least before the meeting of the General Assembly. The King perceiving this offer neglected was in great wrath, and told them who were sent unto him, that he would hearken to no Agreement unless they would pass simply from the Declinator. and cause Mr. Blake compeer, and acknowledge the Judicatory. Which being refused, the Proclamation was published, the Commissioners charged to depart forth of the Town, and Mr. Blake by a new Summons cited to the last of November.

Mr. Blake cited to the last of November.

The Baptism of the Princess Elizabeth.

The next day being Sunday, and the day of the Princess Christening, the same was kept in the Palace of *Halirudhouse* with great joy and feasting. The English Ambassador did name the Princess *Elizabeth* after the Queen his Mistress; the Town of *Edinburgh* by the Magistrates assisting as Witnesses, such honor did the King unto them. But all that day in the town Churches were bitter Invectives made against the two Proclamations; for besides the charge given the Commissioners to leave the town, by another Proclamation the Barons, Gentlemen and all other Subjects were discharged to convene with the Ministry, either in Presbyteries or Synods, or any other Ecclesiastical meetings, under whatsoever colour or pretence, without his Majesty's licence. These things were mightily aggravated by the Preachers, and the people exceedingly stirred: at which the King more and more offending, he resolved to keep the Diet assigned for Mr. Blake's appearing in the Council-house of *Edinburgh*, accompanied with his Nobles that were present at the Baptism.

A Petition presented by the Commissioners to his Majesty and Council.

The Commissioners advertised of this, (for all that time some Gentlemen of the Chamber in hatred of the *Oldavians*, gave intelligence of every thing that was intended) did form a Petition to be presented to his Majesty and the Noblemen, consisting of three heads. First, they entreated the King, that seeing the decision of such thorny and intricate questions as were moved at that time to the trouble of the Church could work no good, and was subtilly urged, only to ingender a dissension between his Majesty and the Ministers, he would be pleased to remit the determination thereof to a lawful Assembly, and not to incroach upon the limits of Christ's Kingdom upon any pretence, bending his actions, according to the present necessity, against the common enemies of Religion and State. Next, they exhorted the Noblemen to give his Majesty a free and faithful counsel in that business; and as to the honor of God and their own just praise they had kept themselves free both in counsel and action from working any prejudice to the liberty of the Gospel, so they would not suffer themselves to be drawn at that time, under the guiltiness of so great a sin, by the craft of those who were subtilly seeking the thraldom of the Gospel, and thought to make their Honors the executors of their malicious devices. And thereby that by their credit they would procure a continuation of all controversies unto a free and lawful Assembly, where the same might be gravely reasoned, and concluded. This Petition was given to Mr. *David Lindesay*, Mr. *Robert Bruce*, and Mr. *Robert Rollock*, to be presented; and if the same was refused, they were enjoined to protest against the proceeding of the Council.

The Petition rejected.

The Points laid to Mr. Blake's charge.

The King receiving this Petition, after he had overviewed it, did reject the same as not worthy of answer, commanding to call Mr. Blake, and read the Summons. Therein he was charged, First, to have affirmed in Pulpit that the *Papish* Lords were returned into the Country with his Majesty's knowledge, and upon his assurance, and said that in so doing he had detected the treachery of his Heart. Secondly, that he had called all Kings the Devil's Barns, adding that the Devil was in the Court and in the guiders of it. Thirdly, in his Prayer for the Queen he had used these words,

We

We must pray for her for the fashion, but we have no cause, she will never do us good. An. 1596. Fourthly, that he had called the Queen of England an Atheist. Fifthly, that he had discussed a Suspension granted by the Lords of Session in Pulpit, and called them *Miscreants* and *Bribers*. Sixthly, that, speaking of the Nobility, he said they were *Degenerated*, *Godless*, *Dissemblers*, and *Enemies to the Church*: likewise speaking of the Council, that he had called them *Holliglasses*, *Cormorants* and *men of no Religion*. Lastly, that he had convoked divers Noblemen, Barons and others within *S. Andrews* in the month of June 1594, caused them take arms and divide themselves in Troups of Horse and Foot, and had thereby usurped the Power of the King and Civil Magistrate.

After reading of the Summons Mr. Robert Pont protested that the Process in hand and whatsoever followed thereof should not prejudice the Liberty of the Church in matters of Doctrine. The King answered, That he was not to meddle with any matter of Doctrine, but to censure the Treasonable speeches of a Minister in sermon, which he and his Council would judge, except by clear Scripture it should be proved, That Ministers were not subject in these cases to his Judicatory. Thereafter Mr. Blake being commanded to answer, said, that all these Accusations were false, untrue Calumnies, producing two testimonials, one of the Provost, Bailies and Council of *S. Andrews*, the other of the Rector, Dean of faculty, Professors and Regents of the University, which he alleged should be preferred to any Report whatsoever. Next he said for the first six points, the Lords of the Council were not competent Judges, the speeches alleged being uttered in Pulpit, but the same ought to be censured by the Presbytery where the Sermon was delivered. And then repeating his former Declinator, presented a new one, in substance the same with the first. For the last point he made offer to submit himself to the trial of the King and Council. Being removed and the Declinator put to voices, it was found, That the crimes and accusations contained in the summons were seditious and treasonable; and that his Majesty, his Council and other Judges substitute by his Authority were competent Judges in all matters either criminal or civil, as well to Ministers as to other subjects. This pronounced the Witnesses were called and admitted, but their Examination was delayed to the next day.

Mr. Robert Pont protested for the liberties of the Church.

Mr. Blake declined the Council of new.

He presented the Council with the Declinator.

After the Council dissolved, the Prior of *Blantire* Treasurer and *Alexander Hume* Provost of *Edinburgh* were sent from the King to the Ministers, that notwithstanding of that his proceeding against Mr. Blake, he did not mean to use him with rigour, but if they should move him to come and resolve his Majesty touching the truth of the points libelled, he would rest upon his own Declaration, and send him back to his Charge: so careful was the King of Peace, and so desirous to be in good terms with the Church. Night was then fallen, and the Commissioners gone to their lodgings; yet finding Mr. Robert Bruce, Mr. Robert Rollock, Mr. James Nicolson and Mr. James Melvill together, they declared what they had in Commission to have declared to the whole number. Mr. Robert Bruce answering in the name of the rest, said, That if the matter did touch Mr. Blake alone, the offer might be accepted, but the liberty of Christ's Kingdom had received such a wound by the Proclamations published the Saturday preceding and that day by the usurpation of the spiritual Judicatory, as if Mr. Blake's life and the lives of twenty others had been taken, it would not have grieved the hearts of good brethren so much as these injurious proceedings had done; and that either these things behaved to be retreated, or they would oppose so long as they had breath.

The Kings care to keep peace with the Church.

This answer reported, the King the next morning called some two or three of the Ministers unto him, did confer with them a long space, shewing that he was so far from impairing the spiritual Jurisdiction or abridging any of the Church Liberties, as he would not only maintain them in what they enjoyed, but would enlarge and amplify the same, when he saw it to be for their good: But this licentious discoursing, said he, of affairs of State in Pulpit cannot be tolerated. My claim is only to judge in matters of Sedition and other Civil and criminal causes, and of speeches that may import such crimes, wherefore they be uttered; for that the Pulpit should be a place privileged, and under colour of Doctrine people stirred to sedition,

The King conferreth with some Ministers touching Mr. Blake's business.

An. 1596. *tion, no good man I think will allow. If Treason and Sedition be crimes punishable when they are committed, much more if they be committed in the Pulpit, where the word of Truth should only be taught and heard.* One of the Ministers answering, that they did not plead for the privilege of the Place, but to the respect that was due to the Message and Commission they carried, which having received from God, the same ought not to be controlled in any civil Judicature. 'Would you keep you to your Message (said the King) there would be no strife; but I trust your Message be not to rule Estates, and when courses dislike you to stir the people to Sedition, and make your King and those that rule under him odious by your railings and outcries. If any do so, said the Minister, and be tried to have passed the bounds, it is reason he be punished with all extremity; but this must be cognosed by the Church. 'And shall not I (said the King) have power to call and punish a Minister that breaketh out in Treasonable speeches, but must come to your Presbytery and be a complainer? I have good proof in the process with Gibson and Rosse, what justice you will do me: and were it in a doubtful and ambiguous case, where by any colour the speeches might be justified, it were some way favourable to say that the Minister should be called and convict by his brethren; but as in the present action with Mr. Blake, who hath said, *The treachery of the Kings heart is discovered; all Kings are the Devils Barns, &c.* who sees not the man hath passed his bounds, and not kept him to his Message? I am not ignorant what agitations France of late and England in former times hath suffered by the violence of such spirits, and I have been in my time reasonably exercised with them, and ye must not think that I will tolerate such licentiousness. As for any lawful power or liberty ye or your Assemblies have granted either by the Word of God or by the Laws of the Kingdom, I mean not to diminish the same; and if ye think meet, I will publish so much by a Declaration for satisfying you and all other my subjects.

The Ministers desire a Declaration to be made in favor of Church-Assemblies.

With this the Ministers were dimitted, who having related the Conference they had with his Majesty to the rest of their brethren, it was agreed, in regard of the many inconveniencies which might ensue upon these distractions betwixt his Majesty and the Church, that if they could obtain a Declaration in Council that by the Acts and Proclamations published his Majesty did not intend to discharge any Church-Assembly, nor to annul any Conclusion thereof, but that the same should stand in force as they had been in use by the warrant of the Word and approbation of his Highness Laws; and that the discharge of Barons and Gentlemen to convene with the Ministers was not extended to any Ecclesiastical Conventions, but only meant of their convening in Arms; matters should be passed over for the present; the Interlocutor in Mr. Blakes business not being used against him nor any other Minister, until a lawful General Assembly, wherein the question concerning the limits of the Civil and the Spiritual Jurisdiction might be reasoned and defined.

His Majesty consenteth to the Declaration.

This being propounded the King assented to the Declaration craved, offering farther to delete the Acts whereupon the Proclamations were founded. And for Mr. Blake, he was content that he should be brought to his presence, and declaring upon his conscience the truth of the Points libelled, in the hearing of Mr. David Lindsey, Mr. James Nicolson, and Mr. Thomas Buchanan, they three should have power to determine what they thought meet. The business was now thought to be at an end, but in the afternoon, by the suggestion, as it was supposed, of the President, the King would have Mr. Blake to come before the Council, and acknowledge his offence to the Queen; which done he should be pardoned of all. This Mr. Blake refused, saying, he would neither condemn himself, nor approve the proceedings of the Council, who having taken upon them to judge of his Sermons, had admitted a sort of ignorant and partially-affected people to be Witnesses against him, rejecting the testimonies of the Town and University. When by no persuasion he could be moved unto it, the King went to Council, and the same day, it being the the second of December, caused read the Deposition of the Witnesses, who did clearly testify that all the speeches libelled were uttered by Mr. Blake

Mr. Blake refused to acknowledge his offence to the Queen.

The witnesses examined, and Mr. Blake found guilty.

Mr. Blake in Pulpit. Thereupon Sentence was given, that he had falsely slandered and treasonably calumniated the Kings Majesty, his Bed-fellow the Queen, his neighbor Princess the Queen of England, the Lords of his Highness Council and Session, and therefore (his punishment being remitted to the King) it was ordained, that till his Majesties pleasure should be declared, he should be confined beyond the North water, and enter to his Ward within six days.

Notwithstanding of this Sentence the day following a new Treaty began, which continued some ten days, and was like to have produced an Agreement; for the King was content, as before, to delete the Acts of Council at which the Ministers took offence, by writing on the margin of the Book according to the custom of deleting, *This matter is agreed, and the Act delete.* He was likewise pleased to mend the Narrative of the Proclamation, turning that upon the Papists and enemies of Religion that was said of Ministers; and for Mr. Blakes business, was content that the Interlocutor pronounced should not be made a preparative against any other Minister, and that none should be called upon their Preaching before the Council, till it was found in a lawful Assembly that the King might judge of those that passed their bounds in Doctrine. Provided he might in the mean time be assured of the good behavior of the Ministers, and that they should not speak unreverently of him or of his Council, which assurance he would have in writing. Some punishment also he would have afflicted on Mr. Blake, as either to transport him from S. Andrews to another Congregation, or suspend him for a time from his charge; punishments not very rigorous, nor answerable to the quality of the offence.

A new Treaty for making an Accord.

Conditions craved by his Majesty.

The Commissioners being herewith advised liked well of all, the last excepted. *A punishment, they said, could not be afflicted where no cognition had proceeded: for as to the Trial taken, neither was it done by the proper Judge, nor was that equity observed which ought to have been; Witnesses that were under the Censures of the Church, and ill affected to Mr. Blake, being admitted to depone against him.* This reported to the King, he made offer to name twenty persons against whom no exception could be alleged, and to give Mr. Blake his choice of seven or eight of that number, who should be new examined touching the verity of the speeches whereof he was accused: if they upon their consciences did absolve him, he should rest satisfied; if otherwise, he would crave him to be deposed. But this came to no effect, nor could any overture, albeit divers were proponed, serve to work an Accord, so as the communing broke off, and greater displeasures arose on both hands than afore. For the Commissioners having directed two of the Brethren to shew the King, *That since they could obtain no redress for the wrongs done unto Christs Kingdom, and saw nothing but the enemies of the Truth were favoured, and the faithful Pastors of the Church reviled and pursued, they could not abstain from opposing the proceedings with the spiritual armor given them by God; and did therefore indict a Fast to be kept the Sunday following, being the 12 day of December with solemn Prayers for averting the Judgments which the present courses did threaten.*

The Commissioners refuse to agree to any Censure of Mr. Blake.

The Ministers indict a Fast, and complain of wrong done to the Kingdom of Christ.

The King on the other side made his displeasure and the scorn he took at these proceedings known by a declaration published on the 15 day, wherein he shewed, *That out of a desire he had to keep peace with the Ministers he did condescend to abstain from troubling them in any case by gone, until by a Convention of Estates and a General Assembly of the Ministry the difference between the Civil and Ecclesiastical Judgments might be removed; providing they should promise not to disgrace him and his proceedings in their Sermons, which he was in hope to obtain by sundry Conferences and meetings that he had kept with some of them, till at last publicly they had opposed themselves in Pulpit by approving the doings of Mr. David Blake, accusing himself of Persecution, and falsely suggesting to the people that all Church-Assemblies were discharged; whereas his resolution was and is to maintain Religion and the Church-discipline established by Law, and to suffer nothing to be done in prejudice thereof by whomsoever. Which his Highness thought good to make known to all his subjects, ordaining all Ministers to subscribe their obedience to Majesty his and set their hands to the Bonds which should be presented to them for that effect, under the pain of sequestering their Rents and Stipends ay and while they gave their obedience*

His Majesties Declaration published.

A Bond of obedience to be subscribed by the Ministers.

An. 1596.

Master Blake charged to go to his Ward, and the Commissioners to leave the Town. A new motion of Agreement overthrown by the practice of some of his Majesty's Chamber

The Ministers eluded by a counterfeit Letter.

Mr. Walter Balcanel in his Sermon inveigheth against the Counsellors.

He exhorted the Noblemen and Barons to a Meeting.

A Petition directed to the King from the Meeting.

Mr. R. Bruce his Speech to those that convened.

The King offended with the Meeting.

dience required. The same day was Mr. Blake charged to go unto his Ward, and the Commissioners of new commanded to remove themselves forth of the Town.

How soon they were gone, the Secretary Mr. John Lindeſay thinking the Ministers of Edinburgh would be more tractable being left to themselves, did move the King to fend for them, and make a fresh Proposition for ſetling theſe Diviſions.

But they reſuſing to enter in any communing, except the Commissioners were recalled by as publick a Proclamation as that whereby they were diſcharged, hope was given that the next day the ſame ſhould be done, and all queſtions laid over unto their return: which ſome of the Kings Chamber having underſtood, and ſeeking if matters were once accorded the *Oſtavians* (againſt whom they were chiefly ſet) ſhould continue in their employment, among other reports they informed the King that a mighty Watch was kept in Edinburgh about the Miniſters houſed unto, and direction given to ſome 24 of the Burgeſſes that were beſt affected to the Miniſters to depart the Town within the ſpace of ſix hours. This they knew would be ill taken by the Miniſters; and, to put them in a greater fear, they did advertiſe them by a counterfeit Letter to look unto themſelves, becauſe Huntley had been with the King late that night, and cauſed that charge to be given. This Letter ſent to Mr. Robert Bruce was by him communicate to Mr. Walter Balcanel, whole courſe it was to preach that morning; and they both, apprehending the information to be true, did think it the ſafeſt way for themſelves to make the people advertiſed of the danger: ſo when the hour of Sermon came, the Preacher reading his Text out of the Book of *Canticles*, which was his ordinary at that time, and taking occaſion of the preſent Troubles of the Church; he made a particular relation of the proceedings and treacherous forms (ſo he called them) wherewith they were uſed by the Court, laying the whole blame upon the Preſident, Controller and Advocate, whom he particularly named, and uſed with moſt reproachful terms. Then turning to the Noblemen and Barons, he put them in mind of the zeal which their predeceſſors had ſhewed in planting Religion, and exhorted them with the like courage and conſtancy to maintain the ſame. Having cloſed the Sermon with a Prayer, as uſe is, he requeſted the Noblemen and Barons to meet in the little Church for aſſiſting the Miniſtery with their beſt advice.

There aſſembled in the place many people beſides thoſe that were deſired, and ſo great was the throng as the Miniſters could hardly find entrance. Mr. Robert Bruce at laſt having made way unto himſelf, went to the Table where the Noblemen and Barons were placed, and after a ſhort Prayer declared in what danger the Church was brought by the return of the Popiſh Lords; how they had regreated the caſe to the King, and when they expected that order ſhould have been taken therewith, a new buſineſs was moved, and one of their Brethren called in queſtion for his Preaching, about which they had been in long conference, but could come to no end; and that now at laſt the beſt affected of their people were charged to leave the Town, whereby they were brought to ſuſpect ſome worſe practices. They did therefore requeſt them humbly to intercede and intreat his Maſteſty, that they might be permitted to ſerve God in their callings without moleſtation. The deſire ſeemed reaſonable: the Lords Lindeſay and Forbes, with the Laids of Bargenny and Buquhain, Mr. Robert Bruce and Mr. William Watſon were choſen to prefer the Petition.

By ſome occaſion the King was that day come to the Seſſion, and being in the Upper Houſe, the Lords with theſe others were admitted; where Mr. Robert Bruce taking the Speech ſaid, 'That they were ſent by the Noblemen and Barons convening in the little Church, to bemoan the dangers threatned to Religion by the dealing that was againſt the Miniſters and true Profeſſors. What dangers ſee you?' ſaid the King: 'Under communing, ſaid he, our beſt affected people, that tender Religion, are diſcharged of the Town; the Lady Huntley a profeſſed Papiſt entered at Court, and it is ſuſpected that her Husband is not far off. The King

leaving

leaving that purpoſe, aſk'd who they were that durſt convene againſt his Proclamation. The Lord Lindeſay in paſſion replied, that they durſt do more than ſo, and that they would not ſuffer Religion to be overthrowen. Numbers of People were at this time thronging unmannerly into the room: whereupon the King not making any answer aroſe, and went down to the Lower Houſe where the Judges do ſit, commanding the doors to be ſhut. They that were ſent returning to the Church ſhew that they were not heard, nor was there any hope, ſo long as the Counſellors remained about the King, that they ſhould receive any favorable answer, and were therefore to think of ſome other courſe.

No courſe, ſaid the Lord Lindeſay, but one; let us ſtay together that are here, and promiſe to take one part, and advertiſe our friends and the favorers of Religion to come unto us; for it ſhall be either theirs or ours. Upon theſe ſpeeches followed ſuch a clamor and lifting up of hands, as none could hear what another ſpoke. The Sedition increaſing ſome cried to Arm, others to bring out Haman (for whileſt the Lords were with the King, Mr. Michael Craſſove Miniſter of Cramond had been reading to the people that ſtory) others cried, *The ſword of the Lord and of Gideon*: and ſo great was the fury of the people, as if one of the Deacons of Crafts, called John Wat, had not kept them back with a guard of Crafts-men that followed him, they had undoubtedly forced the doors, and wrought ſome miſchief. Sir Alexander Hume Provoſt of the Town was then lying ſick; yet being told what a Tumult was raiſed, he came to the ſtreet, and, as he was wiſe and ſkilful in handling the people, with his fair ſpeeches brought them after a little time to lay down their weapons and retire to their lodgings.

The Commotion thus raiſed, the King directed the Earl of Marre, the Lord Pittenweem and Laird of Traquair to confer with the Miniſters, and aſk the cauſe of the tumult. They were then walking at the back of the Church (for the tumult had ſcattered the Meeting) and profeſſing a great diſlike of that which had happened, beſought the Noblemen to ſhew the King that they were not in fault, and had done their beſt to appeaſe the multitude. The cauſe, they ſaid, to their conjecture was that his Maſteſty reſuſed to hear their Petition, which they knew came not from himſelf, but of others. The Earl of Marre replied, that any reaſonable Petition would be heard and answered, being preferred in a dutiful manner; wherefore they ſhould do wiſely to go together and ſupplicate his Maſteſty for remedy of theſe things wherein they were grieved. Whereupon they returned to the little Church, and after a ſhort deliberation ſent the Lord Forbes, the Laird of Bargenny and Mr. Robert Rollock with theſe Petitions. 'Firſt, that all which have been done in prejudice of the Church the laſt four or five weeks might be reſcinded. Next, that in the things that concerned the Church, the Preſident, Controller and Advocate ſhould have no voice, as being ſuſpected in Religion, and oppoſite enemies to the Church. Thirdly, that the Citizens of Edinburgh who were charged to leave the Town might be permitted to ſtay at home, upon ſurety to appear whenſoever they were called. The King answered very calmly, That his doings had been greatly miſtaken by the Miniſters; and that as theſe controverſies were moved againſt his will, ſo he wiſhed nothing more than to have them quietly ſetled. But that it could not ſtand with his Honor to reſcind ſo haſtily the concluſions taken in Council, nor to remove Counſellors from their places upon naked ſuſpicions, except ſomewhat could be verified that might diſable them. At afternoon he ſhould call the Council, and ſatiſſie them in every thing which with reaſon they could deſire. For the Citizens, he ſaid, that the ſupplications made in their behalf would come better from the Provoſt and Bailiffs of the Town, and the ſame upon their Petition ſhould be granted. With theſe Answers the Lord Forbes and the reſt returned; and with them the Lord Ochiltry and Laird of Ceſford were ſent by the King to deſire them to put their Petitions in reaſonable terms, and await on the Council at two of the clock. Matters thus quieted, the King with the Lords went down the ſtreet peaceably to his Palace.

At afternoon the Noblemen and Barons aſſembling with the Miniſtery, after long reaſoning, did condeſcend upon the Supplication and Articles following.

'In

An. 1596.

The Lord Lindeſay his inſolent words to the King.

A Tumult raiſed in the Church and City.

A Deacon of the Crafts appeaſeth the fury of the people.

Noblemen directed from the King to inquire the cauſe of the tumult.

The Miniſters purge themſelves.

A new Petition moved to the King.

The Kings Answer to the Petitions propoſed.

An. 1596.

Articles con-
descended up-
on to be pro-
posed to his
Majesty.

'In most humble manner, we the Noble men, Barons, Gentlemen, Burgeses and Ministers, this day by the mercy of God convened, do beseech your Majesty to apprehend the great danger wherein the state of Religion, Commonwealth and your Majesties own Honour and Person are brought by the means of crafty and deceitful Counsellors, who respecting only their own preferment and standing labour to file your Majesties eyes, that you should not perceive their courses: for albeit it hath pleased God to endue your Majesty with knowledge, wisdom and graces, beyond all Princes that have ruled this Kingdom at any time; yet it is no strange thing to behold good Kings brought upon ill courses by the devices of such as pretend love, but in very deed hate them maliciously. That such courses are now in hand, please your Majesty to consider what a Division is made and entertained between your Majesty and the Church, who were ever to this time inseparably joyned; and how under colorable pretexes the liberty of Preaching and faithful applying of the Word is sought to be restrained, and taken away, which cannot but bring many evils and inconveniencies with it, as this day's tumult may partly teach. And now seeing, blessed be God, the same is settled without the harm of any person, for preventing the like, or worse, we humbly desire the Articles following to be weighed and considered by your Majesty.

1. That Professed Papists, proccessed by the Church, be not suffered to reside at Court; and that the Lady *Huntley* and Lord *Sanwhar* be removed and sent home.
 2. That *Alexander Seaton* President, Mr. *Thomas Hamilton* Advocate, and Mr. *James Elphinstoun*, be not admitted to sit in Council, at least when the cause of Religion, and matters of the Church are treated; seeing they are enemies to the quietness thereof, and have by their devices raised the troubles that presently do vex the same.
 3. That the Acts of Council, Proclamations, Decreits and Interloquutors passed in prejudice of the Church and Ministers these last five weeks, be rescinded and annulled.
 4. That the Commissioners of the Church be recalled by Proclamation, and the Burgeses of the Town permitted to remain and attend their Callings.
 5. That the Bond advised by the foresaid enemies to be subscribed by all the Ministers under the pain of losing their Benefices and stipends be discharged, seeing the same is prejudicial to the Gospel, and that Commission, as use is, to modify stipends, for the present year.
- Lastly, that an Act of Council be made allowing the proceedings of the Church, and the concurrency given them by the Noblemen, Barons and other in the present action.

The Commis-
sioners chused
to present the
Articles.Bargenny de-
clining the bu-
siness ceased.

It was late and the night fallen before these Articles were put in form, the day being then at the shortest; the persons chosen to present them were, the Lairds of *Bargenny*, *Pittarrow*, *Faudonside*, Mr. *David Lindesay*, and Mr. *Robert Rollock*. Before their coming the Council had concluded not to receive the Petitions, as was promised, and to commit those that did present them; yet doubtful what might be the event thereof, it was thought fitter to terrifie them from presenting the same. For this effect the Lord *Ochiltry* was appointed to meet them at the utter Gate, who drawing *Bargenny* aside advised him to go back, because of the anger which the King had conceived, and to meddle no more in that business; for the King, he said, knew he was brought upon it unwillingly, and would excuse his part, if he went no farther. *Bargenny* for thinking his employment, and not knowing how to colour it to his associates, the Lord *Ochiltry* drew them aside, and said that he had brought the Laird of *Bargenny* to the Town for affairs that did nearly touch him, and that he did not think to meet with such business at his coming, therefore desired them to have his friend excused for that time; and seeing they were a number sufficient to do the errand, they might go to it, or if they pleased to delay the same to the next morrow, he should be with them. They answered, that they were also little foreseen at their coming of those matters as he was, and seeing they were all joyn-

ed in one Commission, if he was the principal did decline it, they could do nothing by themselves: and so the business was left for that night.

In the morning early the King and Council departed to *Linlithgow*, leaving a Proclamation, which was presently published at the Market-Cross of *Edinburgh*, of this Tenor. 'That the King considering the late treasonable uproar moved by certain Factious persons of the Ministry of *Edinburgh*, (who after they had uttered most seditious speeches in Pulpit, did convene a number of Noblemen, Barons and others in the little Church, and sent some of their number to his Majesty being then in the upper house of Session, using him in a most irreverent manner and with speeches ill-beseeming any subject; and that a multitude of the Towns-men by perswasion of the said Ministry had treasonably put themselves in Arms, intending to bereave his Majesty and his Council of their lives) did think the said Town an unfit place for the ministration of Justice, and had therefore ordained the Lords of Session, the Sheriffs, Commissioners and Justice, with their several members and Deputies, to remove themselves forth of the Town of *Edinburgh*, and be in readiness to repair unto such places as should be appointed; commanding in like sort all Noblemen and Barons to dispatch unto their Houses, and not to presume to convene either in that or any other place without his Majesty's Licence, under the pain of his Highness's displeasure.

The King
with the
Council de-
parteth to
Linlithgow.A Proclama-
tion discharg-
ing all Judica-
tories to sit in
Edinburgh.

This Proclamation with the King's sudden departing wrought a great alteration in the minds of the people. They began then to see their error, and look'd heavy one upon another. The better sort being in a great perplexity what they should do, called their Council together, but could not resolve what course to take. To follow the King and plead for the town, they could not think any of them would be accepted; (and it being the last day of the week, hardly would any others undertake the employment) so as they saw no way but to be quiet till they heard what the King and Council concluded to do. But the Ministers persisting in their first resolution labored to have the Noblemen and Barons remain together, and to send for others well-affected in Religion, who, as they thought, would joyn in the cause. A Bond to this effect was drawn up, and subscribed by some few. The Council of the town excused themselves, saying, Their good will was known, and that they were not to leave their dwellings; which made divers keep back their hands. Always it was thought meet that the Ministers should write to the Lord *Hamilton* and the Laird of *Baclenagh*, of whose assistance they held themselves assured, intreating them to repair to the town and countenance the Cause; as likewise that the rest of the Ministers in the Country should be convened as unto a General Assembly, and desired to bring with them the best-affected Gentlemen within their Parishes.

A great altera-
tion in the
minds of
people.A Bond for
mutual con-
currence.

They were at the same time in a long deliberation, whether or not they should Excommunicate the Lord President and Advocate; which divers urged. The Controller was in some better opinion with them, by reason of a Message sent quietly to Mr. *Robert Bruce*. But in end they resolved to continue that business to the meeting of the Assembly, when the Sentence might be pronounced with greater authority. Meanwhile, to keep the people in a good disposition, a Fast was proclaimed through the City, and Sermons of Preparation ordained to be made that afternoon in all the Churches.

The Excom-
munication of
the President
deferred.A Fast in the
City.

A Minister named Mr. *John Welch* making offer to supply the place in the high Church, was allowed to Preach, who taking for his theme the Epistle sent to the Angel of the Church of *Ephesus*, did rail pitifully against the King, saying, *He was possessed with a Devil; and one Devil being put out seven worse were entred in place. And that the subjects might lawfully rise, & take the sword out of his hand: which he confirmed by the example of a Father that falling in a phrensie might be taken by the Children & servants of the family, & tied hand & foot from doing violence.* A most execrable Doctrine and directly repugnant to holy Scriptures, which yet was taken by many of the hearers as a sound and free application: so ready are men to flatter themselves in wickedness, and even to justifie Impiety it self. A rumor was then also

Mr. *Welch* and
his Sermon.A rumor dis-
persed that
Arrol had
some forces
assembled.

dispersed

An. 1596.

The Copy of
the Letter sent
to the Lord
Hamilton
shewed to the
King.

This Letter
did offend
many of the
better sort.

A charge for
apprehending
the Ministers.

The King re-
fuleth the Pur-
gation offered
by the Town.
The Tumult
declared trea-
son by Act of
Council.

The Town
employed o-
thers towards
the King.

The Proposit-
ion made by
those that
were sent by
the Town.

disperfed about the town, that in the day of tumult the Earl of Arrol did come to the *Queen's Ferry* with 500 horse, and was gone back upon report of the stir. This upon the Sunday took up a great part of the Ministers sermons, and was brought to juftifie the multitudes proceedings, as though they had been directed by a fecret providence to difappoint the wicked practices that were in hand. A manifef forgery it was, yet believed at the fame time by foolish and credulous people.

The Messenger sent to the Lord Hamilton was at his coming well received. At first the Nobleman made a shew that he would go for *Edinburgh*; but upon better advice he turned to *Linlithgow*, and taking the copy of the Letter that was sent unto him (for he rendred the principal to the bearer) he shewed the King what an invitation he had from those at *Edinburgh*. The King at sight of the letter grew exceeding angry, for therein, after a short narrative of the injuries the Church had received by the malice of some Counsellors, it was said, That the people animated by the Word and motion of Gods Spirit had gone to Arms, and that the godly Barons and other Gentlemen that were in Town had convened themselves, and taken on them the patrocinny of the Church and her cause; only they lacked a Head and special Noblemen to countenance the matter, and since with one consent they had made choice of his Lordship, their desire was that he should come to *Edinburgh* with all convenient diligence, and utter his affection to the Good Cause, accepting the honor which was offered unto him.

This Letter ended by Mr. Robert Bruce, and subscribed by him and Mr. Walter Balcanquell, was of all that yet had happened the worst, nor could it receive any good construction; for albeit in an Apology afterwards set forth it was said to be penned only to please the Nobleman, who was of an ambitious humor; yet put the case he had accepted, and taken before him to be their Head, as he was desired, who can tell what mischief might have ensued, and if it might not have turned to the wrack and ruine of many innocents? But faults follow one upon another, and when men have once passed bounds, they run easily into error.

On Monday early a Charge was directed to the Provost and Bailiffs for imprisoning the Ministers; but they upon some advertisement fled, and went to *New-castle in England*. The town the same day sent John Arnot, Hugh Brown, George Heriot, and John Wat, to purge themselves of the tumult, and offer their obedience in every thing his Majesty and Council should be pleased to enjoyn for repairance in the indignity and dishonor done to his Highness; providing they should not be thought guilty of the crime, which from their hearts they detested. But the King would receive no Purgation, saying, That fair and humble words could not excuse such a fault, and that he should come ere it were long, and let them know he was their King. The next day in Council the tumult was declared to be treason, and the Devisers, Executors and Partakers to be traitors, as likewise all that should thereafter partake and assist the committers thereof.

This put the town in a great fear, neither did they expect any other than an utter ruine. All the Judicatories were removed to *Leith*, the Session ordained to sit at *Perth* after the first of February, their Ministers were fled, the Magistrates not regarded, and those of greatest power about the King their enemies; what they should do they were doubtful. After divers opinions given, they are resolved that some should be sent who would be more acceptable, to supplicate the King, and excuse the towns part, for that perhaps would be taken better at other mens hands than any of their own. To this errand none was held so fit as Mr. David Lindsay, Mr. John Preston, and Mr. John Sharp, men in favor with the King, and free of all Faction.

These coming to the King at *Linlithgow*, after they had shewed the miserable estate of the Town, and how grieved all honest men were for the displeasure he had conceived against them, did beseech him not to use the extremity of rigour, but to put a difference between the innocent and guilty. In great towns, such as that was (they said) there would ever be some bad spirits; and if the Inclencies of a rascal Multitude should be imputed to the town, it would be

thought hard, specially since the Magistrates had done their duties and repressed the tumult. If on their part there had been any connivance, or the smallest appearance that they did favor the Sedition, they protested that they would not have opened their mouths in their favor; but since it was known that none were more offended with the tumult than they, and that they were careful to find out the authors and present them to punishment, they could not but humbly entreat his Majesty to relent his wrath, and to be mitigated towards the town.

The King after a little pause answered, That he could not think the Town to be free; for if some of the Principals had not approved the Multitude in their doings, the Tumult could not have been so great; but howsoever the Magistrates negligence could not be excused, in so far as they did not prevent the Disorder: always his resolution was to proceed by form of Law, and not to use any violent course; but he had appointed the Estates to meet in the same place where the Dishonor was done unto him, and would follow their advice both in the Trial and Punishment. With this answer they were dimitted.

The last of December, which was the day preceding the Convention, the King came to *Leith*, and stayed there all night, giving order for his entry into the Town the next morning, which was in this manner: The Keys of the Town being delivered to one of the Kings Officers, a Guard of armed men was placed in the streets, and the Citizens commanded to stay within their houses, and forbidden to carry any weapon. The Earl of Marre with the Lord Seaton and Ochiltree had the charge of the Town given them, without the admission of the Magistrates; and they having disposed all things in the best fashion, the King accompanied with a great train of Nobles entered the Town, and riding up the street lighted at the *Tolbuith*, where the Estates were appointed to meet. After some general discourses of the Tumult, the King was advised to call the Magistrates, and hear what they could say in behalf of the Town.

Sir Alexander Hume of North-Berwick Provost, Roger Mackmath, George Todrick, Patrick Cochran, and Alexander Hunter Bailiffs, with a number of the Town-Council, compeiring and falling on their knees, after some few words delivered by the Provost, did present in writing the Offers following.

That for pacifying his Majesties wrath, and satisfying the Lords of Council, they should upon their great Oath purge themselves of all foreknowledge and partaking in that seditious Tumult. And as already they had made a diligent search to find out the Authors, so they should not cease till they had brought the Trial unto the uttermost point: or if his Majesty and Council do think any others more fit to take the Examination, they should willingly resign their places to such as his Highness would appoint, and assist them at their power. And because his Majesty had taken that Tumult to proceed from certain Sermons preached by the Ministers, who were now denounced Rebels, they should promise never to readmit any of those Ministers, unless his Majesty did command otherwise. As also, that the like should not fall out thereafter, the Town should be obliged never to receive any Minister in time coming but by his Majesties advice and approbation: and in the election of their Magistrates they should yearly present their lites to his Majesty and the Lords of Session, to be allowed or disallowed at their pleasure, and propound such others as his Majesty should think more apt and sufficient for the Charge, and to that effect should alter the time of their Election, and make the same on some day of November, when the Lords of Session were convened and might give their advice thereto. They did lastly offer to fulfil whatsoever his Majesty and Council should think fit to be done in the premises, under Protestation that they did not take upon them the crime, and that it should not be thought to have been committed of their foreknowledge.

Thus it proved true which Tacitus saith, that all Conspiracies of the Subjects, if they succeed not, advance the Sovereignty: for by this Tumult was the Kings Authority in matters Ecclesiastical so far advanced, as he received little or no opposition thereafter.

P P

The effects of the Mutiny contrary to that which was intended.

An. 1596.

His Majesties Answer.

The King cometh to Leith and the next day to Edinburgh.

Offers made by the Town for pacifying his Majesties anger.

An. 1596.
Advice given
to raze the
Town.

The Offers of the Town, howbeit made in great Submission, were not accepted, and counsel given by some Noblemen to raze the Town, and erect a Pillar in place thereof, for a monument of the Insolency committed, and the just punishment taken thereof. Others were more mild in their opinions; but for that time nothing was concluded.

The Queen of England upon notice sent to her of these Broils did write to the King a Letter, which (for the loving advice it contained) I thought meet here to insert.

My dear Brother,

The Queen of
Englands Let-
ter to the King.

If a rare accident and ill-welcomed news had not broken my long silence, I had not used now Pen-speech, as being careful of your quiet, and mindful of your safety. To omit the expressing of both, by letting you know how untimely I take this new-begun Phrensie, that may urge you to take such a course, as may bring into opinion the verifying of such a Scandal as ye avowed to me to be far from your thought. In this sort I mean it; some members of the Church with their companies have over-audaciously emboldened themselves to redress some injurious Acts that they feared might overthrow their Profession: which though I grant no King for the manner ought to bear with, yet at the instant when the new banished Lords returned, and they seen to be winked at without restraint, and the Spring-time going on, when promised succour is attended, together with many Letters from Rome and elsewhere sent abroad, to tell the names of men authorized by you, as they say (though I hope falsely) to assure your Conformity, as time may serve you, to establish the dangerous party, and sail your own: I wail in unfeigned sort, that any just cause should be given you to call in doubt so disguised acts, and hope that you will so try this cause as that it harm not you, though it ruine them.

Of this you may be sure, that if you make your strength of so sandy a foundation, as to call to your aid such as be not of your Flock, whereas the one side be foolish, rash, headstrong and brainsick, yet such as may defend you, having no sure anchorage for themselves, if you fail them; and the others, who have other props to sustain them, though they lack you, yea such as though your private love to their persons may inveigle your eyes, not to pierce in the depth of their Treason, yet it is well known that their many Petitions for foreign aid might have tended to your peril, and your Countreys wreck; for seldom comes a Stranger to a weaker soil that thralleth not the possessor, or endangereth him at least. I trust you think no less; or else they must justify themselves to condemn you, for without your displeasure, not feared for such a fact, no answer can shield them from blame. Now to utter my folly in seeming busie in anothers affairs, I suppose you will not mislike, since the source of all is care of your good, to desire that nought be done that may embolden the enemy, decrease your love, and endanger your surety. This is in sum the line whereto I tend, and God I beseech to direct your heart in such sort, as ye please not your worst subjects, but make all know in a measure what is fit for them, and make difference between Error and Malice. So God bless you with a true thought of her that means you best,

Your affectionate Sister

ELIZABETH R.

The Letter
pleased the
King well.
The Tumult
declared Treason in the
Convention of
Estates.
The Town of
Edinburgh
charged to ap-
pear at Perth.
The Octavians
quit their
Commission of
the Exchequer.

This Letter was to the Kings mind: for albeit he judged the Offence great, yet it was not his purpose to use Rigor, but to assure the Obedience of the subjects in time coming, and make his own advantage of their Disorders. Therefore in the next Meeting which was kept at *Halirudhous*, the Tumult being of new declared to be Treason by the Estates, no farther was done, but a conclusion taken to pursue the Town criminally before the Justice; and to charge the Provost, Baylies, Council and Deacons of Crafts, as representing the whole Body of the Town, to enter their persons within the Town of *Perth* before the first of February, and there to keep Ward till they should be cleared, or found guilty of the Up-roar:

In this Convention the *Octavians* not according well amongst themselves (for the

the Prior of *Blantyre* did keep a course with the Gentlemen of the Chamber, and underhand informed the Ministry of the ill affection that the President and Advocate carried unto them) gave over their Commission of Exchequer in his Majesties hands. They pretended the many burthens which they sustained otherwise, their services in Council and Session, with the charge of the Queens Rent and living; but the true cause was, the malice and envy carried unto them for the credit and place they had with the King, which their service had well deserved; for never were the Rents of the Crown so thriftily and so rightly used as in that short time of their employment. But the King loved to have Peace though with his own loss, neither did they like to be the instruments of his Trouble.

A little before these Stirrs with the Church, Capt. *James Stewart* (who had been sometimes Chancellor, and carried the Title of the *Earl of Arran*) was killed by *James Douglas of Tortherald*. This man after he was put from Court had lived obscure in the North-parts, and was entertained by the Lady *Salton* his own Sister. Being in some hope to come again by the Office of Chancellery, which was yet void by the death of the Lord *Thirlestean*, he came South, and had a long conference with the King, which did greatly encourage him; but till matters might be better prepared, he took purpose to visit his friends in *Kyle*. Taking his journey by *Symington* nigh unto *Douglas*, he was advised by his friends in those parts to look to himself, and not ride so openly because of *Tortherald* that lived not far off, whose Uncle he had followed (as they spake) to the death. His reply (as he was a man proud and disdainful) That he would not leave his way for him, nor for all the name of *Douglas*, being overheard by a fellow, and reported to *Tortherald*, did so inflame him, the old ulcer remaining uncured, as he avouched to have his life at all hazards. So getting intelligence that he had taken horse, he made after him with three of his servants, and overtaking him in a valley called *Cat Slack*, after he had stricken him from his horse, did kill him without any resistance. It is said that when Captain *James* saw the horsemen following, he asked how they called the piece of ground on which they were, and when he heard the name of it, he commanded the company to ride more quickly, as having gotten a response to beware of such a part. He was a man full of violence, and when he was in place of Rule executed it with much cruelty, which was now payed home in the end.

The King, who longed to see a decent Order established in the Church, such as agreed with the Word of God, the allowable custom of the Primitive times, and with the Laws of the Country, did think this a fit time to effectuate his purpose, and thereupon to hold a National Assembly to meet at *Perth* the last of February, and thereupon to hold a National Assembly to meet at *Perth* the last of February, fortreating and determining the bounds and exercise of the Spiritual Jurisdiction; and to the end that all might come the better prepared, and be duly advised with the matters then to be entreated, he caused some Articles to be drawn up and imprinted with a Preface, wherein he took God the searcher of all hearts to record, that his intention was not to trouble the peace of the Church by thorny questions, nor yet to claim to himself any tyrannical or unlawful Government over the same, but only to have these Doubts solved, which might either in his time or in the time of his Successors engender debate; and to have the Policy of the Church so cleared, as all Corruptions being removed, a pleasant Harmony might be settled betwixt him and the Ministry, to the glory of Almighty God; the content of all good men, and terror of the wicked.

The Articles were 55 in number, and drawn up in form of Questions, as followeth.

1. May not the matters of external Gubernation of the Church be disputed, *salva Fide & Religione*?
2. Is it the King severally, or the Pastors severally, or both conjunctly, that should establish the Acts concerning the Gubernation of the Church? or what is the form of their conjunction in the making of Laws?
3. Is not the content of the most part of the Flock, and also of the Patron, necessary in the Election of Pastors?

P p 2

4. Is

An. 1596.

Captain James
Stewart killed.

A National
Assembly in-
dicted at
Perth.

Articles pub-
lished in print
for the better
preparation to
the Assembly.

An. 1596.

4. Is it lawful for the Pastor to leave his Flock against their wills, albeit he have the consent of the Presbytery? and for what cause should the Presbytery consent thereto?
5. Is it lawful for a Minister to use such application than that which may edifie his own Flock? or is the whole world the Flock of every particular Pastor?
6. Is he a lawful Minister who wants *Impositionem manuum*?
7. Is it lawful to Pastors to expresse in particular the names of Councillors, Magistrates, or others whatsoever in Pulpit, or so lively to describe them that the people may understand, by whom they mean, without notorious declared Vices and private Admonitions preceding?
8. For what Vices should Admonitions and reproving of Magistrates pass publicly from Pulpits, in their absence or presence, respectively?
9. Is the Application of Doctrine in Pulpits lawful which is founded upon informations, bruits and rumors, suspicions and conditions, if this be or that be, probabilities, likeliness or unlikeliness of things to come in Civil matters, which all may be false, and consequently the Doctrine following thereupon? or should all Applications be grounded upon the verity of known and notorious Vices?
10. Is the Text which is read in Pulpit the ground whereupon all the Doctrine should be built? or may all things be spoken upon all Texts, so that the reading thereof is but a Ceremony?
11. May a simple Pastor exercise any Jurisdiction, without consent of the most part of his particular Session?
12. Is his Session Judge to his Doctrine?
13. Should not the Moderator of the Session be chosen yearly, or any who hath voice therein?
14. May the Session be elected lawfully by Ministers only, without the consent of the whole Congregation?
15. Why should not Elders and Deacons of particular Sessions be elected *ad vitam*?
16. How many Presbyteries are meet to be in the whole Countrey, in what places, and how many Pastors of Churches in every Presbytery?
17. Should not the Elders and Deacons of every particular Session have voice in Presbyteries, or the Pastors only?
18. What are the matters belonging to the Jurisdiction of the Presbytery, which may not be entreated in particular Sessions?
19. What form of Process in Libelling and Citation, what Terms and Diets, and what Probations should be used before the said particular Sessions and Presbyteries respectively?
20. What matters should the Synodal Assemblies treat upon, which may not be decided in Presbyteries?
21. Should not all who have voice in Presbyteries and in the particular Sessions, have voice in the Synodal Assemblies?
22. Should each University or College, or every Master or Regent within Colleges, have voice in Presbyteries and Synods, in the Towns and Countreys where they are? as likewise what form of voice should they have in General Assemblies?
23. Is it lawful to convocate the General Assembly without his Majesty's licence, he being *pius & Christianus Magistratus*?
24. Is it necessary that the General Assembly should be ordinarily convened for weighty causes concerning the whole Church?
25. Have not all men of good Religion and Learning voice in the General Assembly?
26. Is every particular Pastor obliged to repair to the General Assembly? or is it sufficient that only Commissioners come from every particular Session, Presbytery, or Synodal?
27. Who should chuse the Commissioners to come from every shire to give voice in the General Assembly?
28. What

An. 1596.

28. What is the number of those that give voices, which is necessary to the lawfulness of a General Assembly? and how many of the number should be Pastors, and how many other men?
29. May any thing be enacted in the Assembly to which his Majesty consents not?
30. Is it necessary that the two part of them who have *jus suffragii* should consent to any things decerned in Ecclesiastick judgments, that matters pass not by one voice more or less?
31. Hath not every Judgment inferior to the General Assembly a Territory limited, without the which they have no power of Citation or Jurisdiction?
32. What is the ordinary Ecclesiastick judgment for his Majesties Household and Council, removeable with his Majesty to any part of the Realm?
33. Should there be libelled Precepts containing the cause of the Citation and certification of the Censures before all Ecclesiastick judgments? or should they answer *super inquirendis*?
34. Have the Inferior Judgments power to summon any to compeer before the superior? or should men be summoned only by the authority of that Judgment before which they ought to compeer?
35. Is it not necessary that private Admonitions, with reasonable intervals of time, pass before all manner of Citations?
36. What interval of time is necessary between every private Admonition and between the first Citation, and the day of compearance, and betwixt the Citation and the last Admonition, in every one of the said Judgments?
37. How many Citations should infer Contumacy?
38. Is simple Contumacy without Probation of a crime, or is any crime without Contumacy, a sufficient cause of Excommunication?
39. Are there not divers kinds of Censures, such as *Prohibitio privati convivii*, *Interdictio à cena*, not published to the people; and last of all, *Publica traditio Satanae*?
40. Should the Presbyteries be Judges of all things that import slander? and if so be, whereof are they not Judges?
41. Can Excommunication be used against Thieves, Murderers, Usurers, and not payers of their Debts? and if so it may be, why are not the High-land and Border-thieves cursed, as also all the forswearing Merchants and Usurers amongst the Borroughs?
42. Is there any Appellation from the Inferior to the Superior Judgment? and is not the sentence suspended during the Appellation?
43. Should not all Processes and Acts be extracted to parties having interests?
44. Is summary Excommunication lawful in any case without Admonition and Citation preceding?
45. Have any others but Pastors voice in Excommunication?
46. Hath every Ecclesiastical judgment a like power to Excommunicate?
47. Is it lawful to excommunicate such Papists as never professed our Religion?
48. A Woman being excommunicated, having a faithful Husband, should he thereafter abstain from her company?
49. Is it not reasonable that before any Letters of horning be granted by the Session upon the Process of Excommunication, that the party should be cited to hear them granted?
50. Hath not a Christian King power to annul a notorious unjust sentence of Excommunication?
51. May any Council or University be excommunicated? for what cause, by whom, and the manner thereof?
52. When the Pastors do not their duties, or when one Jurisdiction usurpeth upon another, or any other Schism falleth out, should not a Christian King amend such disorders?
53. May

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53. May Fafts for general caufes be proclaimed without a Christian Kings command ?
54. May any Ecclefiastical Judgment compel a man to swear *in fuam turpitudinem* ?
55. Should there any thing be entreated in the Ecclefiastical Judgment prejudicial to the Civil Jurifdiction or private mens rights ? and may not the Civil Magiftrates ftay all fuch proceedings ?

The Ministers
greatly per-
plexed with
these Questi-
ons.

Sir Patrick Murray directed to the North to deal with the Ministers.

How soon these Questions were divulged, and that it was seen they all touched upon the abuses crept into the discipline, the Ministers that stood affected to the present Order were much perplexed; neither did any thing more offend them, than that the Government should be brought in dispute which they had given out always to be a part of the Gospel. This at any hand they thought was to be prevented; and many private Conferences were kept to this purpose. Neither did the King neglect to provide himself of a party against that Meeting; and thinking he should gain most easily the Ministers in the North parts, he employed Sir *Patrick Murray*, Gentleman of his Chamber, to deal with them, giving him direction first to shew what a slander the Ministers of *Edinburgh* had brought upon Religion by stirring up of the late Uproar, and the inciting of the Lord *Hamilton* and others of the Nobility to open Rebellion against him; how for the same they were become Fugitives, and denounced his Majesties Rebels; and thereupon to desire them by some publick Act or Declaration to utter their dislike of the Seditious and Treasonable courses.

He was next desired to urge their subscription to the Bond, which was appointed to be subscribed by the Ministers for acknowledging his Majesties Royal power above them in all causes of Sedition, Treason, and other Civil and Criminal matters, and in all speeches uttered by them in Pulpits, Schools, or otherwise, which might import the said crimes, or any of them.

Thirdly, To require them to accept the Earl of Huntley his Offers for satisfying the Church, and to absolve him from his Excommunication, they finding his Offers reasonable; seeing *the bosome of the Church ought always to be open to Penitents*, and that they should be more ready to receive than cast out: wherefore as the Presbytery of *S. Andrews*, to the which he was not subject, had pronounced him Excommunicate, they, under whose Jurisdiction he lived, might and ought with better reason declare him absolved. Neither should the pretext of the General Assemblies Ratification of the sentence be a stay unto them, considering it was done many months after the pronouncing of the sentence, and that the Absolution they should give might in the like manner be ratified at the next Assembly; much less ought the prohibition of the Presbytery of *Edinburgh* (whereof his Majesty was informed) be any hindrance to them, seeing they were neither subject nor subordinate to them, but as free in all respects as themselves.

And if any doubt should arise upon the form of the Earls satisfaction, he was to remember them that the same is expressly defined in the Act of Parliament, *An. 1572*, made against Apostates and other adversaries of the true Religion, where it is said, *That they which have made defection from the Truth should not be received to our Sovereign Lords mercy and favour, till they have given of new the Confession of their Faith, and promised to continue in the Profession thereof all time coming, and to fortifie the Preachers of the same against what soever enemies.*

Last of all, he was appointed to deliver them a Copy of the imprinted Questions, and to desire the most discreet of their number to be sent Commissioners to the Assembly appointed at *Perth*, with promise of special favor to them in all their business, his good will towards the Ministry being no way altered by the wrong he had received from those insolent Ministers of *Edinburgh*. This was the substance of his Instructions.

The Ministers with the reverence that was due made answer, That for *the Tumult of Edinburgh* they were ignorant of the Ministers behavior therein, as likewise of their flight; and having no Jurisdiction over them, they could give forth

The Ministers
Answer.

no Judgment or Censure: only in the general they would say, that whosoever *An. 1596.* with just trial should be found Authors of that Insurrection deferred to be punished as Traitors; and if they were Ministers, to be doubly punished.

For their *Subscription to the Bonds*, they answered, That at their acceptance of the Ministry they had taken Oath for acknowledging his Majesties Power and Authority, and would not decline the same: but where the Bond did mention speeches uttered in Pulpit, because the same concerned application of Doctrine, which his Majesty had proposed as a Question to be decided in the approaching Assembly, they did humbly entreat his Majesty to spare them in that point unto that time, which they promised precisely to keep.

For the Earl of Huntley, they said, His Repentance should be most acceptable to them; that they were content to give him conference, and use all means for his resolution; but they did not find him so willing to conform as they wished, nor very earnest for his absolution.

This was the sum of their Answer; which the King did accept the better, because of the hopes given to his servant of all satisfaction on their parts at the Meeting of *Perth*: which they also performed; for both then and afterwards in all Assemblies and Conventions they did stick fast unto him. But the King being made to understand that *Huntley* did linger and delay to make offers for satisfying the Church, he sent him the Letter following written all with his own hand.

My Lord,
I Am sure ye consider and do remember how often I have incurred skaith and hazard for your cause; therefore, to be short, resolve you either to satisfie the Church betwixt the day that is appointed without any more delay, or else if your Conscience be so kittle as it cannot permit you, make for another Land betwixt and that day, where ye may use freely your own Conscience: your Wife and Barns shall in that case enjoy your living; but for your self never to be a Scottis-man again. Deceive not your self to think that by lingring of time your Wife and your Allies shall ever get you better Conditions. And think not that I will suffer any professing a contrary Religion to dwell in this Land. If you obey me in this, you may once again be settled in a good estate, and made able to do me service, which from my heart I would wish. The rest I remit to the bearer, whose directions ye shall follow if you wish your own well. Farewell.

From Dunfermlin.

JAMES R.

JAMES R.

Such was the Kings care for reclaiming the Nobleman to the profession of the Truth, whilst people suffered themselves to be abused with rumors that he himself was declining. Letters in the mean time were directed to all the Presbyteries, advertising them of the meeting at *Perth*, and desiring they should send their Commissioners thither instructed with power to treat and conclude in all matters proposed. When the day came, the Assembly was frequent enough; but divers Commissioners bearing a power only to convene, hear and report, and not to question any thing concluded in former Assemblies; the King sent Sir *John Cockburne of Ormeston*, Sir *John Preston* and Mr. *Edward Bruce*, to ask those that were convened, *Whether they did account that meeting a lawful General Assembly, having power sufficient to treat and conclude in the Articles that should be proposed, according to his Majesties missive Letters directed to the several Presbyteries.* After long reasoning answer was made, 'That they did esteem the Meeting to be a lawful General Assembly, called extraordinarily by his Majesties Letters, and that they would hear, treat and conclude of things that should be moved unto them, according to the Commissions wherewith they were authorized.'

Letters directed to the Presbyteries for keeping the Assembly.

a- The Assembly
e- declared to be
y a lawful General Assembly.

This answer given, they presented the Articles following. Seeing the quietness of the Church and the freeing of the same from slander, which upon the contrary effects would necessarily follow, is the principal scope and end at which his Majesty aimeth in this present Assembly, foreshewing fashions and long disputes whereupon

Articles presented by his Commissioners to the Assembly.

Articles presented by his Commissioners to the Assembly.

An. 1596. whereupon controversies and debates might arise, his Majesty hath thought good to remit the decision of a great number of the Questions imprinted to better opportunity, and will content himself with the determination of a few that he hath made choice of, which with a greater could not be longer delayed.

As first, That it be not thought unlawful either to the Prince or any of the Pastors at any time hereafter to move doubts, and crave reformation of any points in the external Policy and Discipline of the Church, which are not essential concerning Salvation, nor expressly defined in Scripture; providing it be done *decenter* in right time and place, *animo edificandi, non tentandi*.

2. That seeing the Civil and Politick Government of the Country belongs properly to the Kings Office and his Counsellors, and it is no way pertinent to the spiritual Ministry of the Word; that no Minister should thereafter meddle with matters of Estate in Pulpit, or with any of his Majesties Laws, Statutes or Ordinances; but if any of them seem hurtful to Religion, they should complain to the King and Council.

3. That it should not be lawful to Ministers to name any particular mens names in Pulpit, or so vividly to describe them as may be equivalent to their naming, except upon the notoriety of a Crime, which notoriety must only be defined by the guilty persons being Fugitive for the Crimes, or the Declaration of an Affize, or their excommunication for the same.

4. That every Minister in his particular Application have only respect to the edification of his own Flock and present Auditory, without expatiating in other discourses no way pertinent to their Congregation.

5. That every particular Presbytery be commanded to take a diligent account of the Doctrine of their Ministers, and see that they keep themselves within bounds in the premisses.

6. That summary Excommunication be utterly discharged, and that three lawful Citations at least of eight days interval betwixt every one of them precede the Sentence.

7. That no Session, Presbytery or Synod use Censures upon any but those that are within their bounds; otherwise their Decrees and Sentences to be null.

8. That all Summons contain a special cause and crime, and none be used *super inquirendis, quod est mere tyrannicum*.

9. That no Meeting or Convention be amongst the Ministers without his Majesties knowledge and consent, except the ordinary Sessions, Presbyteries and Synods.

10. That in the principal Burghs no Ministers be placed without the consent of his Majesty and the Flock; and this order to begin presently in *Edinburgh*.

11. That all matters concerning the rest of his Majesties Questions be suspended, and neither condemned nor rebuked, either in Pulpit, or any other Judicatory, till the same be decided in the next General Assembly; especially that no matters be called before the Ecclesiastical Judicatories as importing Slander, wherein his Majesties Authority may be prejudged; but that they meddle only with Causes merely Ecclesiastical.

12. That some wise and discreet Ministers, to the number of seven or eight, be authorized by Commission to reason upon the rest of the Questions, when opportunity of time shall serve.

Lastly, that the present Assembly grant Commission to the Ministers of the North Country to absolve the Earl of *Huntley* from his Excommunication, if he satisfy the Church.

For the better determining of the said Articles, it was thought meet that some Brethren should be desired to confer of them apart, and report their opinions to the Assembly, which they did the next morning. Touching the First Article, they said, That they held it not expedient to make any Law or Act concerning that matter, lest a door should be opened thereby to turbulent spirits; otherwise they did think it lawful to his Majesty by himself or by his Commissioners to propound in a General Assembly whatsoever point his Majesty desired to be resolved in, or to be

The advice of certain Brethren set apart to consider the Articles.

be reformed in *specie externi ordinis*, seeing *substantia externa administrationis Ecclesiastica est plenissime prodita in Sacris Literis*. And as the General Assembly hath accepted well of this manner of doing in all times past, so in their opinion they should do the like in time coming.

For the Second their advice was, That the Acts already made which are hurtful to Religion and prejudicial to the liberty of the Word should be discharged, and no Act thereafter past concerning Religion without the advice and consent of the Church. As for matters of Estate mentioned in the Article, they craved a farther explanation of that point.

The third they esteemed reasonable, that no mans name should be expressed to his rebuke in Pulpit, unless the fault was notorious and publick; but they esteemed *Notoriety* must be defined otherwise than by the three ways set down in the Article: for Contumacy after Citation, the publick commission of a Crime, such as was *Bothwells* treasonable attempt at *Leith*, the burning of *Dunnybrissil*, and the like, make also a Notoriety. As to the *vive description*, said to be equivalent, they thought it hard to set any Law to that, seeing every guilty person will think himself deserved when his fault is rebuked, albeit the Minister doth not think of him.

The Fourth and Fifth Articles they judged lawful: But for the Sixth, which craves a simple charge of *summa Excommunication*, they advised to remit the same to the next Assembly, suspending the practice thereof in the mean time. The Seventh, they thought likewise was to be remitted. To the Eighth they agreed; and for the Ninth that concerned the meeting of Pastors, they said that besides Sessions, Presbyteries and Synods, Pastors are accustomed to meet for Visitation of Churches, Admission of Ministers, taking up of Feuds, resolving of Questions.

The Tenth they esteemed reasonable. The Eleventh Article seeming to import a discharge of many points of Discipline, they said was so large that it could not be presently answered. And the last two they remitted to the full Assembly, judging that they ought to be granted.

These Answers shewed to the King were not liked, and held insufficient; whereupon the Assembly was desired to repair to the place where his Majesty and the Estates were convened, for treating upon the foresaid Articles. At their coming the King had a Speech much to this purpose; 'That they could not be ignorant either of the occasion, or of his purpose in calling the present Assembly: And for the Occasion, that it grieved him to remember it, not for any injury or displeasure done to himself, but for the shame and slander cast upon Religion: for have not the adversaries, said he, too just a ground against us, who say that our profession teacheth the Contempt of Princes, and maintains Insurrections against them? I know it is the fault of men and not of the profession, and none of you that are met here I take to be guilty of the late attempt; but it is in your hands to clear yourselves, if any think otherwise, and so to free your Profession of that Scandal. As for the Purpose for which I have called you together at this time, it is to mend such things as are amiss, and to take away the questions that may move trouble afterward: if you for your parts be willing to have matters righted, things may yet go well. I claim nothing but what is due to every Christian King within his Dominion, that is to be *Custos & vindex Discipline*. Corruptions are crept in, and more daily growing by this liberty that Preachers take in the Application of their Doctrine, and censuring every thing that is not to their mind. This I must have mended; for such discourses serve only to move Sedition and raise Tumults. Let the Truth of God be taught in the Chair of Truth, and wickedness be reprov'd; but in such sort as the offender may be bettered, and Vice made more odious. To rail against men in Pulpit, and express their Names, as we know was done of late, there being no just cause, and make the Word of God, which is ordained to guide men in the way of Salvation, an instrument of Sedition, is a Sin, I am sure, beyond all other that can be committed on earth. Hold you within your limits, and I will never blame you, nor suffer others to work you any vexation. The Civil Government is committed to me, it is not your subject, nor are ye to meddle with

The Assembly required to meet with the Estates.

An. 1596.

Protestation
made by Mr.
Tho. Buchanan
in name of the
Church.

The Answers
of the Articles
reformed.

with it. After such words as these he began to speak of the Articles proposed, desiring to hear what Reasons they had to the contrary.

Mr. Thomas Buchanan, as he was appointed, did first protest in the name of the Assembly, 'That their coming to that place was only to testify their obedience to his Majesty, and to hear what shall be proposed; but not to submit matters Ecclesiastick, either concerning Doctrine or Discipline, to their Judicatory; or yet to make themselves one Assembly with the Estates: and that therefore they should be permitted to return to the place of their Assembly to treat, reason and conclude in the Points moved unto them according to the Word of God and good Consciences. Which Protestation was admitted. Then he did humbly thank his Majesty for his good affection to the Church, and care he had to redress things that were amiss in so peaceable a manner. And for the particulars proposed, he shewed what was the mind of the Assembly, and the Reasons that led them unto it, saying, they were willing to hear and give place to better information. Hereupon ensued a Reasoning, which kept a long time, and ended in a good Agreement: so the Ministers were dimitted, and assembling again in the ordinary place, they corrected their first Answers in this sort.

1. That it is lawful to his Majesty by himself or his Commissioners, or to the Pastors, to propose in a General Assembly whatsoever point his Majesty or they desired to be resolved or reformed in matters of external Government, alterable according to circumstances; providing it be done in right time and place *animo edificandi, non tentandi*.

2. That no Minister should reprove his Majesties Laws, Acts, Statutes and Ordinances, unto such time as first he hath by the advice of his Presbytery, Synodal or General Assemblies, complained and sought remedy of the same from his Majesty, and made report of his Majesties answer, before any farther proceeding.

3. That no mans name should be expressed in Pulpit to his rebuke, except the Fault be notorious and publick; which Notoriety is thus defined, If the person be Fugitive, convict by Assize, Excommunicate, Contumax after Citation or lawful Admonition; nor yet should any man be deserved vively by any other circumstances than publick Vices always damnable.

4. That no Minister should use Application, wherein he hath not a principal respect to the edifying of his own Flock and present Auditory.

5. That every Presbyter take diligent account of the Pastors Doctrine, and that he keep himself within the bounds of his words.

6. That the answers of the sixth Article shall be superseded unto the next General Assembly, suspending in the mean time all summary Excommunication unto the said Assembly.

7. That the seventh Article be remitted to the next Assembly.

8. That all summons contain the special cause and crime, and none to be given out *super inquirendis*.

9. That no Conventions shall be amongst the Pastors without his Majesties knowledge and consent, except their Sessions, Presbyteries and Synods, the meetings of the Visitations of Churches, Admission or Deprivation of Ministers, taking up of deadly Feuds, and the like, which have not been found fault with by his Majesty.

10. That in all principal towns the Ministers shall not be chosen without his Majesties consent and the consent of the Flock.

11. That all matters concerning remnant Questions shall be suspended, and neither damned nor rebuked in Pulpit or other Judicatories, till they be decided in the General Assembly; and that no matters importing slander shall be called before them in the mean time, wherein his Majesties Authority is prejudged, causes Ecclesiastical only excepted.

Lastly, for reasoning the said Questions, according to his Majesties desire, the Assembly did ordain Mr. James Nicolson, Mr. John Coldclewch, Mr. Andrew Clayhill, Mr. Thomas Buchanan, Mr. David Lindesay, Mr. James Melvill, Mr. Robert Wilky, Mr. William Comper, Mr. John Comper, Mr. Robert Rollock, Mr. Patrick

Persons nominated to reason the remaining Questions.

trick Galloway, Mr. Robert Howy, John Duncanson and Mr. James Bryson to convene at such time and place, as his Majesty should be pleased to appoint, and to report their opinion and advice to the next general Assembly. An. 1596.

These Conclusions taken, which for a beginning did satisfy the King, a Commission was also given at his Majesties desire to the Ministers of *Aberdene* and *Murray*, with some others of *Mernis* and *Angus*, for reconciling the Popish Lords. The conditions required of *Huntley* to be fulfilled before his Absolution were.

1. That he should appear before the Commissioners appointed by the Assembly the 22 of *March* at *Aberdene*, and remain in that City during the time of their Conference with him, to the effect he might be instructed in the truth, and brought to confend with knowledge unto the Religion professed, and to the detestation of the contrary. 2. That he should acknowledge the Church of *Scotland* to be a true Church, and adjoyn himself thereto, hear the Word, receive the Sacraments, and be obedient to the discipline thereof. 3. That he should solemnly promise to remove forth of his company, and from the bounds that were under his power, all Jesuites, Priests, and Excommunicate persons. 4. That he swear and subscribe the Confession of the Faith in presence of the whole Commissioners. 5. That he acknowledge the sentence of Excommunication to have been justly pronounced against him for his Apostasie from the Truth, the slaughter of the Earl of *Murray* and burning of *Dunmybrissil*, and that he declare himself penitent therefore, promising assitment to the party whensoever he should be moved to accept the same. 6. That he provide sufficient maintenance to the Churches within his bounds by the advice of his best-advised friends, and have an ordinary Minister to reside with him in his Family. And lastly, that he be content to reconcile with all that he is esteemed to carry any grudge unto, and profess no quarrel to any of those that assisted the King in his pursuit.

The like Conditions were required of *Angus* and *Arrol*, (that which concerned the Earl of *Murray* only excepted.) All matters being thus peaceably accorded, the King caused publish the good Agreement he had made with the Church, taking in his protection the Ministers with their families, goods and possessions, and charging all Papists (those excepted that were in terms of satisfaction) to depart forth of the Countrey before the first of *June*.

The Assembly, finding the King so well pleased, made bold to intercede for the Ministers, the town of *Edinburgh*, and the Gentlemen that were challenged for the tumult. For the town his Majesty answered, *that he was not minded to trouble innocent men, and should shortly settle with them*. Touching the Gentlemen he said, *they should do well to present their supplications by their friends*. But for the Ministers, *he esteemed them most guilty, and knew not what course to take with them*. It being replied, that by the Examinations taken it appeared that they all, especially Mr. Robert Bruce, was a chief instrument in the staying of the tumult, and that they should therefore be rather rewarded than punished: He answered, *that granting they did stay the Tumult, yet they were the cause of it; and if they for that fault were first corrected, he would not be much troubled with their reward*. Notwithstanding, at the Assemblies request, he would be content they should be relaxed, upon Caution to underly the Trial of Law. Thus an end was put to that meeting, and the next Assembly by his Majesties consent appointed to be at *Dundee* the 10 of *May* following.

This year Mr. John Lesley Bishop of *Rosse* departed this life at *Bruxels* in *Flanders*, where for the most part he abode after the Queen of *Scotland*'s Execution. A man (though differing from us in Religion) worthy to be remembered for his fidelity to the Queen his Mistress, and the extraordinary pains he took to procure her liberty, travelling with all the neighbor-Princes to enterpose their credit with the Queen of *England* for her relief: neither was he deficient otherwise in ministering the best Consolations he could furnish for bearing patiently her cross, whereof one Treatise he afterwards published full of piety and learning. How heavily he took her death it cannot well be expressed: yet comforting himself in the best sort he could, he put off to this time, and being much weakned by a languishing sickness.

The like Conditions prescribed to *Angus* and *Arrol*. The King taketh the Ministers in his protection. The Assembly intercedes for the Ministry of *Edinburgh*, and others charged with the Tumult. The Kings answer.

The death of Mr. John Lesley Bishop of *Rosse*.

An. 1597. nels that held him some months he ended quietly his days. The History of his Country from the beginning of the Nation unto these last times, written by him in the *Latine* tongue, doth witness both his Learning and Judgment. It being just to give unto every man (albeit an enemy) his due commendation, I could not pass him unremembered. Mr. David Lindeſay Miniſter at *Leith* was in the year following provided to that See.

The Town of Edinburgh denounced Rebels.

The Diet assigned for the appearing of the town of *Edinburgh* at *Perth* was upon their Petition continued first to the 15 day of *Feb.* and the 15 again put off to the 1 day of *March*, with a Declaration, 'That if two of the Bayliffs, with the Dean of *Guild*, Treasurer, four of the principal Deacons, four of the Council and their Clerk, making 13 in all, did enter themselves the said day, and bring a sufficient Commission from the Provost, Bayliffs, Council and Community of the town for underlying the order that should be taken with them, as representing the whole Body, their compeirance by so many should serve for all the rest.

It was the 5 of *March* before they were called, at which time there appeared a number of persons, and presented a Procuratory under the Seal of the Town, and the Subscription of the Clerks thereof, which his Majesty caused to be read: then asked if all contained in the Commission were present. It was answered that they were all there, *William Manld* excepted, who had his Majesty's Letter of dispensation, which they produced. But the same being granted the 11 of *January* long before the deliverance upon their Petition, which expressly ordained that they should have thirteen persons present for undergoing the Trial, it was declared to be no Warrant; and so for not fulfilling the Ordinance of the Council the Town was denounced, the Burgeses declared Rebels, and their *Common good* (so they call the Rents belonging to the Town) arrested to the Kings use.

An. 1597. The Town received into favor at the Intercession of Noblemen.

It was pitiful to behold the Desolation wherein the Town was then cast. The Magistrates renounced their Offices, and would carry no more Charge; the People were left without direction, wanting both Magistrates and Ministers: and in this state did they continue for the space of fifteen days. At last, by the Intercession of some Noblemen, the King was pleased to receive the Town in favor; and the Provost, Bayliffs, Council and Deacons of Crafts being brought unto his presence at *Halirudhouse* the 21 of *March*, and falling upon their knees, did with tears beg Pardon for their negligence in not timely preventing that Tumult, raised (as they said) by a number of ill-disposed people, beseeching his Majesty to take pity of the Town, which did submit it self simply to his Highness mercy. The King after he had sharply rebuked them, and shewed in many words the greatness of their offence, commanded them to remove, that he might think what was fittest to be done. Then calling for their Officers they had formerly made, he caused eke unto them the Articles following. 'That the lodgings in the Church-yard wherein the Ministers dwelt and kept their consultations should be given to his Majesty, and used at his pleasure. That the Ministers that should thereafter serve in the Town should dwell in their own quarters and live dispersed. That the Town should be obliged for the indemnity of the Lords of Session during their sitting, under the penalty of forty thousand Marks. That the neather Council-house, wherein the Provost and Bailiffs did keep their meetings, should be appointed for the Exchequer; and that for the offence committed the Town should be fined in twenty thousand marks to be paid in four months. These Conditions accepted, the King did pardon the Town, giving order to receive them to his peace, and by Proclamation recalled the Session to sit in their former place. Never did any King, considering the offence, temper his Authority with more grace and clemency than did his Majesty at this time: which the people did all acknowledge, ascribing their life and safety only to his favor.

Articles enjoined to be performed by the Town.

The Ministers of Edinburgh suffered to return, but inhibited to preach.

Shortly after the Ministers were also permitted to return, and had their peace granted, but were not suffered to Preach in their places; the King taking now the occasion of finishing the work which some two years before had been moved, for distributing the people in several Parishes, and planting more Ministers among them. The let he knew was in the Town, that still put off the business because

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of the burthen it would draw upon them; and knowing that the desire they had to have their old Ministers reposed would make them the more forward that way, he refused to re-admit them until the distribution intended was perfected, and other four Ministers adjoined to them, for the better instruction and more orderly government of the people. The Ministers themselves did also profess that they were wearied of that *confused Ministry*, as they called it, and compeiring in the Assembly which held at the time appointed in *Dundee*, they resigned their Offices, denying to serve any longer, unless they had a particular Flock designed. But because that work required a longer time than the Assembly could well abide together, the same was committed to certain Delegates, and the Ministers dwelling near unto *Edinburgh* ordained to furnish the Pulpits for the interim.

An Assembly at Dundee.

In the Assembly Mr. Robert Rollock was elected to preside, though he was not as yet in Orders; in so great esteem he was with all good men for his learning, holiness, and moderation. The first thing done was the taking of an accompt of the Ministers travels with the Earls of *Angus*, *Huntley* and *Arrol*, and of their obedience to the Injunctions given in the former Assembly. This was testified by the Ministers that had the charge to have been in all points so well performed, as no more could be required of them. For verifying thereof their several Subscriptions were produced, together with an humble Supplication to the Assembly for accepting their satisfaction, and receiving them in the bosom of the Church; which accordingly was decreed, and order given that they should be received by the same Commissioners who were appointed to meet at a certain time, and pronounce their Absolution.

Mr. Robert Rollock elected to preside.

Order given for Absolution of the Popish Lords.

The next thing proposed was touching the Questions left unresolved in the last Assembly; and because exception was taken by some Brethren that were absent at the Articles concluded at *Perth*, especially that it should have been acknowledged for a lawful General Assembly, it was of new declared to be a lawful Assembly, and certain explanations added by the rest of the Acts: As in the point of *Notoriety*, the crime should be reputed notorious that was so manifest and known, *ut nulla tergiversatione celari possit*: and for the convening of Pastors with his Majesty's consent, the same was declared to be extended to all Assemblies either general or particular, authorized by his Highness Laws, and having warrant in the Word of God. His Majesty did likewise express his meaning touching the provision of Burghs with Ministers in this sort, that when the Assembly should find it necessary to place a Minister in any Town, he should either yield his consent or give a sufficient reason of his refuse. With these Declarations the whole number was so well pleased, as proceeding in the rest of the questions they determined as followeth.

Proceedings of the Assembly.

The rest of the Questions determined.

- First, Where his Majesty doth crave that before the conclusion of any weighty matter his Highness advice and approbation should be had thereto; the Assembly will be very glad to have his Majesty's Authority interposed to all Acts of any importance made by the Church, so as matters formerly treated and concluded be not drawn in question.
2. That there should be an uniform order kept in the Ordination of Ministers, and none admitted but by Imposition of hands, and to a certain Flock on which they shall be allotted to attend. As also such as have not received Ordination should not be permitted to teach in great rooms, except upon urgent necessity and in the defect of actual Ministers; and that good heed shall be taken that they did not pass their bounds, especially in Application.
3. That no Ministers should exercise any Jurisdiction, either by making of Constitutions or leading of Processes, without advice and concurrence of his Session, Presbytery, Synod, or General Assembly.
4. That all Sessions should be elected with consent of their own Congregations.
5. That Sessions, Presbyteries and Synods should labour to be formal in their

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proceed-

An. 1597.

proceedings, and that the inferior Judicatories should be tried in this point by their superiors.

6. That in the exercise of the Word whereunto Ministers convene, there should no Application be used.
7. That in matters of importance, if the voices be different only by two or three, nothing should be concluded until a better resolution was taken, and he who holdeth the negative give *rationem negandi*.
8. That Presbyteries should not meddle with any thing that is not known without all controversie to belong to the Ecclesiastical Judicatory; and that therein uniformity should be observed throughout the Country.
9. That no Processes and Acts should be extracted at the desire of parties having interests.
10. Summary Excommunication should be suspended as before, and in great crimes after publick intimation the Committer debarred *à sacris & à privatis convictis*.
11. That where any Presbytery should be desired by his Majesty's missive to stay their proceedings, as being prejudicial to the Civil Jurisdiction or private mens rights, they should desist until his Majesty did receive satisfaction.

A general Commission for Church-affairs.

The principal Questions being thus decided, it was thought meet to supersede the treating of the rest, and to give a general Commission to certain of the most wise and discreet Brethren for all affairs that might concern the good of the Church. For this effect choice was made of Mr. David Lindsay, Mr. Thomas Nicolson, Mr. Thomas Buchanan, Mr. Robert Pont, Mr. Robert Rollock, Mr. Alexander Douglas, Mr. George Gladstaves, Mr. Patrick Galloway, John Duncan, Mr. Patrick Sharpe, Mr. James Melville, Mr. William Comper, and John Clapperton, to whom, or to any seven of them, power was given to convene with his Majesty at such times as they should be required, for taking order touching the Provision of Ministers to the Towns of Edinburgh, Dundee and S. Andrews, the Houses of the King and Prince, and to any other Churches within the Realm that should stand in need to be planted; as likewise to present the Petitions and Grievances of the Church to his Majesty, either general or particular, and to give their advice to his Highness in all matters that might serve to the weal and peace of the Church.

Sir Patrick Murray directed to the North.

How soon the Assembly dissolved, Sir Patrick Murray was sent by the King unto the North, to see the Conditions made by the three Earls to the Church performed, and to assist the Commissioners appointed for their Absolution. He had farther in charge to cause them to subscribe the General Bonds for the Peace and quietness of the Country, and to find Caution each of them, under the pain of twenty thousand pounds, not to traffick nor keep intelligence with any foreigners without his Majesty's licence by word or writing; particularly for the Earl of Huntley it is enjoined, that he should follow the counsel of certain Barons and Ministers that the King did nominate unto him, and proceed by their advice in all weighty affairs, especially in matters that concerned his Majesty's service. The Barons nominated to him were, the Laird of Finlathour, the Laird of Innes, the Laird of Phillorth, the Tutor of Cromartie, the Laird of Pittlurgie, and Laird of Cluny, or any three of them; the Ministers were, the Bishop of Aberdeen, Mr. Peter Blackburne, Mr. John Forbes, Mr. Robert Howy, the Parson of Turreffe and Mr. Alexander Douglas, or any three of them.

A Proclamation against Mr. James Gourdon.

Whilst the King was thus busied to reconcile Huntley to the Church, Mr. James Gourdon Jesuite came into the Country of intention to divert him from giving obedience; against whom a strict Proclamation was made, inhibiting the subjects to respect, supply, or entertain any intelligence with him, under pain of treason, and a thousand crowns promised to any that should apprehend and bring him to the King. And at the same time was discovered a practice of fortifying the Isle of Elsay in the West seas, for receiving certain forces that the Spanish King had promised to send thither. The contriver of this Plot was one Hugh Barclay

Barclay of Lady-land, who being committed the year before in the Castle of Glasgow, had made an escape and gone to Spain: this year returning to make good what he had undertaken, with some few assistants, he entered into the Isle (a huge Rock it is, four miles in compass, wherein an old ruinous Tower built on the ascent of the Rock of difficult access) meaning to have victualled the same. Mr. John Knox (the same who took Mr. George Ker with the Blanks some five years before) getting intelligence of the purpose, came upon him unlooked, and landing in the Isle did encounter him in the very shore: for the most of his company being gone to seek their sport, he had stayed to see who those were that he espied coming to the Isle, not thinking that his purpose was known, or that any would pursue him; but when he perceived them to be unfriends, and to be set for his apprehension, he ran into the Sea and drowned himself. The King did esteem this, as it was indeed, a piece of good service; and the news thereof going to the Popish Lords made them more willing to fulfil that which they had promised: so that on the 26 of June the Earls of Huntley and Arrol, upon their solemn repentance, Oaths and Subscriptions to the Articles of Faith, were absolved in the Church of Aberdeen. The Earl of Angus in the same manner was received by the Ministers of Mernis and Angus.

The Laird of Lady-land having surprized the Rock Elsay, is drowned.

This business ended, the King for repressing the barbarous Feuds which abounded at that time in the North parts, sent a Commission to the Bishop of Aberdeen, with concurrence of Sir Patrick Murray and some Ministers, for taking up their quarrels, and with charges to cause the parties give assurance one to another, which should endure to the first of April 1598. The Feuds mentioned in the Instructions sent to Sir Patrick Murray were the Feuds betwixt the Earl of Huntley and Lord Forbes, the Earl of Arrol and the Laird of Ludwherne, the Laird of Drum and young Frendraucht, with a number more: but the most deadly and dangerous betwixt the Families of Huntley and Murray the King reserved to be his own work, and ceased not till the same was removed, and a friendship made up by marriage, which should in all reason be most lasting. Those others were by the diligence of the Bishop and Ministers settled, and so the North parts reduced unto quietness.

The Kings care for removing of deadly feuds.

In the end of June the King called the Commissioners of the Assembly to a meeting at Falkland; where amongst other business a complaint was preferred by Mr. John Lindsay of Balcarres Secretary, against Mr. Robert Wallace Minister at S. Andrews, for certain injurious speeches uttered in his Sermons, having called him a Briber, and said, *That albeit he had made conquest of fifty Chalders of wheat in Fife, and built a House to the skies, yet his posterity should beg their bread, which some of his Auditors should see; and that it was doubtful if ever God should grant him Repentance.* The Secretary had complained of this to the Presbytery, but they refused to admit his Accusation, unless the same was assisted by two Witnesses, who could affirm that the Accuser had just cause to pursue the complaint, which they alledged to be the Apostles Canon in the 1 of Timothy ch. 5. v. 19. and shewed themselves so partially affected, as he was forced to pursue the complaint before his Majesty and Commissioners.

A meeting of the Commissioners of the Assembly at Falkland.

The Secretary complained of Mr. Robert Wallace Minister at S. Andrews.

Mr. Wallace being summoned to that Diet, and desired to answer to the complaint, refused to acknowledge the Judgment, alleging, 'That the General Assembly had given them no Commission in that particular, and that the Accusation once before the Presbytery of S. Andrews ought to have been orderly taken out of their hands, which was not done. This Declinator being proposed, compeired Mr. Nicoll Dalgleish moderator of the Presbytery, and in their name protested against the proceedings of the Commissioners in that cause, as being once intended before them, seeing by that form of doing all the Presbyteries of Scotland should be prejudged, and that the General Assembly, of whom they had their Commission, would not take unto them the trial of any cause, with a neglect of the inferior Judicatories. Then said the King, *I will likewise protest, that seeing one of the principal motives which induced me to crave, and the General Assembly to yield unto this Commission, was to have the like of these offences, when they did arise, removed, and justice done by the Ministers themselves, rather than to be*

Mr. Wallace declined the Commissioners.

Mr. Nicoll Dalgleish protested against the Commissioners proceedings.

An. 1597. brought before the Council, ye either proceed in examining the Complaint, and do that which is right, or hold me excused if I take order with it by another form that will not please you so well.

The Declination and Protestation declared invalid.

The Witnesses examined do verifie the complaint.

Mr. Wallace his obstinacy.

A Visitation of the Church of S. Andrews.

Sentence given for removing Mr. Blake and Mr. Wallace from the Ministry of S. Andrews. Mr. George Gladstones admitted Minister of S. Andrews. Abuses in the University reformed.

The Commissioners having advised the Reasons of the Declinator and Protestation, did find them all invalid and of no force, and that they had warrant sufficient to proceed and minister justice in that action, as well in respect of the general power contained in their Commission, as of the particular commended to their care in the planting of the Church of S. Andrews. So the Complaint was admitted, and the 5 of July appointed at S. Andrews for trying the same.

At the day the Secretary compeiring, accompanied with Master Robert Maule Commisfar of S. Andrews, and John Arnot Clerk to the Commisfar, (whom he produced as assisting Witnesses to take away the Presbytery's exception) did insist in his complaint. Mr. Wallace being ask'd if he had any thing to oppose against the Witnesses, refused to answer in respect of his Declinator: whereupon they were admitted, and upon oath declared that they knew the Accusation to be just, and that the Secretary had not intended the fame of any purpose to caluminate or slander the said Mr. Robert, but only to be repaired to his credit and honor, as one who had been greatly wronged by him. The witnesses for probation being then called, and Mr. Wallace inquired if he had any exception against them, refused, as before, to answer. So they likewise were received, and being sworn, deposed, that they heard the said Mr. Wallace utter the words complained of, in his Sermon. Not the less the Commissioners for their better information did think it meet to call his Auditors of the University, who were of better judgment, and could truly relate what they heard. The Masters of the new College refusing to give any testimony, in respect of the Presbyteries Protestation at Falkland, all the rest affirmed what the Witnesses had deposed. After which Mr. Wallace being again called, and desired to shew what reason or warrant he had for uttering such speeches, refused still to make answer; nor could any persuasion break his obstinacy, though he was earnestly labored by Mr. Robert Rollock and Mr. James Melvil apart, who did offer, upon the confession of the fault, that the Process should cease.

The Commissioners seeing no way to eschew the pronouncing of Sentence, in regard of his obstinacy, did yet take Council to visit the Church, and inquire both of his and Mr. Blake's behavior in that Ministry, before they went farther. A Visitation for this effect being appointed the 11 of July, and Mr. Blake summoned to the same day, the Elders and Deacons of the Church were inquired touching the behaviour of them both, and the verity of the Accusations laid against them; who all upon oath deposed that the Accusations were true, and that Blake had spoken all that whereof he was convicted before the Council; as also that the Secretaries complaint of Mr. Wallace was most just. And being ask'd touching their behaviour otherwise, they declared that both the one and the other were given to Factions, and that they did not carry themselves with that indifferency which became Preachers.

This declaration made clear way to the Commissioners for ending that business, and providing S. Andrews with a more peaceable Ministry; whereupon Sentence was given that both the Ministers should be removed, and Mr. George Gladstones (a man sufficiently qualified, serving then at Arbirlot in Angus) translated and placed in their room, till another helper might be found out to be joyned with him. This done, the Sunday following he was accepted of the people with a great applause, Mr. Thomas Buchanan, Mr. James Nicolson and Mr. James Melvil entering him to the charge.

And because it concerned the peace of the Church no less to have the abuses of the University reformed, he calling the Governors thereof, and inquiring what order they kept; when he understood that, against the customed form, Mr. Andrew Melvil had continued Rector in a number of years together, he commanded a new Election to be made, and honoring the Election with his own presence in the Schools of S. Salvator, Mr. Robert Wilkie Principal of S. Leonard was chosen Rector, and appointed to bear that charge unto the ordinary time of Election: as

also,

also, for preventing the like disorders, a Statute was made, That none should be continued Rector above a year, nor admitted to the said Office but after the space of three years. It was likewise declared, That any Supposit, having received the Degree of a Master of Arts, might be chosen Rector, he residing in the University during his Office, or at least the most part of his time.

In the new Colledge, whereof the said Mr. Andrew had the charge, all things were found out of order; the Rents ill husbanded, the Professions neglected, and in place of Divinity Lectures Politick Questions oftentimes agitated: as, Whether the Election or Succession of Kings were the better form of Government; How far the Royal Power extended; and, If Kings might be censured for abusing the same, and deposed by the Estates of the Kingdom. The King to correct these abuses did prescribe to every Professor his subject of Teaching, appointing the first Master to read the Common places to the Students, with the Law, and History of the Bible; the second to read the New Testament; the third, the Prophets with the Books of Ecclesiastes and Canticles; and the fourth, the Hebrew Grammar, with the Psalms, the Proverbs, and the Book of Job.

For the better husbanding of the Rents as well in that as in the other Colledges, it was ordained, That there should be a Council chosen to the University, which should have power to elect an Oeconomus in every Colledge for uplifting the Rents, and take care to see all things rightly administrated. Of this Council were named the Chancellor of the University, the Conservator of the Privileges, the Laird of Colluthie, Mr. David Lindejay, Mr. Robert Rollock and Mr. Thomas Buchanan; without whose consent and subscriptions it should not be lawful to set any Lease, or make other disposition whatsoever of any part of the Rents.

And, lest they should be distracted by any other employment, it was concluded, That all the Doctors, Professors and Regents, not being Pastors in the Church, should be exempted from the keeping of Sessions, Presbyteries, Synodical or General Assemblies, and from all teaching in Churches and Congregations, Exercises excepted; with a discharge to all and every one of them, to accept any Commission prejudicial to the said Exemption, under the pain of Deprivation and Rebellion, at the Conservators instance, the one execution not prejudging the other. Yet that they should not be thought excluded from the General Assembly, it was appointed, That the Masters and Regents of the University should meet when any such occasion did offer, and condescend upon some three persons, of whom one should be elected by the foresaid Council, to be present at the General Assembly for that year; which persons so chosen should not for the space of three years thereafter be employed in that Commission. These Articles being openly recited in presence of his Majesty, and of the whole members of the University, were accepted by the Masters and Regents, with solemn promise of obedience.

This Summer there was a great business for the trial of Witches; amongst others one Margaret Atkin, being apprehended upon suspicion, and threatened with torture, did confess her self guilty. Being examined touching her associates in that trade, the named a few, and perceiving her delations find credit, made offer to detect all of that sort, and to purge the Country of them, so she might have her life granted. For the reason of her knowledge she said, That they had a secret Mark, all of that sort, in their eyes, whereby she could surely tell, how soon she look't upon any, whether they were Witches or not: and in this she was so readily believed, that for the space of 3 or 4 months she was carried from Town to Town to make discoveries in that kind. Many were brought in question by her delations, especially at Glasgow, where divers innocent women, through the credulity of the Minister Mr. John Cowper, were condemned and put to death. In end she was found to be a mere deceiver (for the same persons that the one day she had declared guilty, the next day being presented in another habit she cleansed) and sent back to Fife, where first she was apprehended. At her Trial she affirmed all to be false that she had confessed, either of her self or others, and persisted in this to her death: which made many forthink their too great forwardness that way, and moved the King to recall the Commissions given out against such persons, discharging all proceedings

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against

An. 1597. In the new College all things found out of order.

A Council appointed for the University.

The Doctors, Professors and Regents exempted from the Church meetings.

A discovery of Witches.

A discharge of proceedings against Witches excepted in case of Voluntary Confession.

An. 1598. against them, except in case of voluntary Confession, till a solid order should be taken by the Estates touching the form that should be kept in their Trial.

Troubles in the Borders.

In the Borders at the same time great Troubles were raised by the broken men of *Tindale* and *Rheaddale*, who made Incursions on the *Scots* side, and wasted all the Country of *Liddisdale*. The Laird of *Baclenagh*, that had the keeping of those parts, to be repaired of that wrong, made a road into *England*, and apprehending 36 of the doers put them all to death, and brought away a great spoil. Sir *William Bows* being sent to complain of this, after much debating it was agreed, that for keeping peace in the Borders Hostages should be delivered of either side, *Englisch*-men into *Scotland*, and as many *Scots* into *England*. But *Baclenagh* failing to deliver his in due time was commanded, for satisfying the Queen, to enter himself into *England*, as he did, remaining there from *October* to *February* next.

A Parliament at *Edinburgh*. Articles presented in the name of the Church.

Voice in Parliament granted to such Ministers as should be provided to the places, as Bishops, Abbots, or other Prelates.

The Office for the Spiritual Government remitted to the Assembly.

An. 1598. A General Assembly at *Dundee*.

Ministers might give voice in Parliament.

The number to be as many as of old in the Papistical Church.

The Election of those that should give voice to be made by the King and Church.

In the month of *December* a Parliament was held at *Edinburgh*, for restoring of the forfeited Lords to their Lands and Honors. Amongst the Articles presented to this Meeting by the Commissioners of the Church, one was, 'That the Ministers, as representing the Church, and Third Estate of the Kingdom, might be admitted to give voice in Parliament, according to the Acts made in favours of the Church, and the Liberty and freedom thereof. The King was earnest to have the Article granted, and at last obtained an Act to be made, whereby it was declared, *That such Pastors and Ministers as his Majesty should please to provide to the place, Title and Dignity of a Bishop, Abbot, or other Prelate, at any time should have voice in Parliament as freely as any other Ecclesiastical Prelate had at any time by-past. And that all Bishopricks then in his Majesty's hands, and undispensed to any person, or which should happen to fall void thereafter, should be only disposed to actual Preachers and Ministers in the Church, or to such other persons as should be found apt and qualified to use and exerce the office of a Preacher or Minister, and who in their provisions to the said Bishopricks should accept in and upon them to be actual Pastors and Ministers, and according therunto should practise and exerce the same.*

As concerning the Office of the said persons in the Spiritual Policy and Government of the Church, the same was remitted to his Majesty to be advised and agreed upon with the General Assembly, at such time as his Highness should think expedient to treat with them thereupon; without prejudice in the mean time of the Jurisdiction and Discipline of the Church, established by Acts of Parliament, and permitted to General and Provincial Assemblies, and other Presbyteries and Sessions of the Church.

This Act gave occasion to the indicting of a General Assembly, which convened at *Dundee* in *March* next; where the King being present did shew, *That he had anticipated the time of the Assembly*, (for the appointment was at *Striveling* the first Tuesday of *May*) *that he might be resolved touching their acceptation of the place in Parliament, with the form, manner, and number of persons that should be admitted to have voice; and thereupon desired them to enter into a particular consideration of the whole points of the Act; and first to reason whether it was lawful and expedient that the Ministers, as representing the whole Church within the Realm, should have voice in Parliament or not.*

This Question being long debated, first in private by some Brethren selected to that purpose, then in the hearing of the whole Assembly, it was concluded, *That Ministers might lawfully give voice in Parliament, and other publick Meetings of the Estate, and that it was expedient to have some always of that number present, to give voice in name of the Church.*

A second Question being moved, touching the number of those that should have voice; it was agreed, *That so many should be appointed to give voice as of old had place in the Papistical Church*, to wit, 51 persons, or thereby.

Thirdly, touching the Election of those that should have voice, it was resolved, *That the same did appertain partly to his Majesty, and partly to the Church.* And because time could not permit the discussing of the rest of the Points, as *De modo eligendi*, What Rent those Ministers should have, Whether they should continue in that Office *ad vitam*, or not, What their Title should be, and the cautions to preserve

serve them from corruption, with other the like circumstances; the Presbyteries were desired to consider the same thoroughly, and thereafter to meet in their Synods all upon one day, to wit, the first Tuesday of *June*; and having reasoned upon these Heads, to direct three of their number to convene with his Majesty, (the advertisement being upon a moneth at least) and with the Doctors of the Universities, namely, Mr. *Andrew Melvill*, Mr. *John Johnston*, Mr. *Robert Wilkie*, Mr. *Robert Rollock*, Mr. *Robert Homy*, Mr. *Patrick Sharp*, Mr. *James Martin*, at such time and place as his Majesty should think most convenient; with power to them being so convened to treat, reason and confer upon the said Heads, and others appertaining thereto; and in case of agreement and uniformity of opinions, to conclude the whole Question touching Voice in Parliament; otherwise in case of discrepance, to remit the conclusion to the next General Assembly.

The Commissioners proceedings in planting the Church of *S. Andrews* were at the same time ratified; but the provision of *Edinburgh*, which they had likewise concluded, made greater business. The King had been induced by the humble intreaty of Mr. *David Lindesay*, Mr. *Robert Rollock* and Mr. *Patrick Galloway*, to suffer the old Ministers Preach again in their places, upon their faithful promises to observe the Conditions following.

An. 1598. Commission for discussing the rest of the Points.

Ministers of *Edinburgh* permitted to preach upon condition.

1. That they should not in Pulpit make any Apology for themselves farther than to say, that they had satisfied his Majesty touching their intentions in the day of the Tumult, and that they condemned the raisers thereof, and all that took Arms, or gave command or allowance thereunto, praising the calm and clement course his Majesty hath taken in censuring the same.

2. That they should at no time thereafter tax, quarrel or reproach, directly or indirectly, privately or publickly, any inhabitant of *Edinburgh* that did shew themselves affectionate to his Majesty; and if any of them should happen to fall in any offence meriting the censure of the Church-Discipline, they should in the trial and censuring thereof use them indifferently, as if they had never kithed contrary to the said Ministers.

3. That they should not in Pulpit speak otherwise than reverently of his Majesty's Council and their proceedings, and in their Sermons labour to imprint in the peoples hearts a reverent conceit of his Majesty and his actions, so far as in them lies; and whenas they should hear any slanderous or offensive reports of his Majesty or of any of his Counsellors, his or their intentions or proceedings, they should address them in all humility to his Majesty, and with due reverence make him acquainted with the reports, receiving his Majesty's own declaration therein, whereunto they should give credit, and generally should conform themselves to the order set down in the late General Assembly thereanent.

4. That they should never hereafter refuse to give account of any of their speeches in Pulpit, or of their proceedings elsewhere; but when his Majesty should require the same, they should plainly declare the truth of that they should be asked, in all humbleness and simplicity, without claiming to the general warrant of Conscience not founded upon Reason.

The Ministers upon these conditions being licenced to Preach, and the Town going on in dividing themselves in Parishes, as they had promised, a lite was presented of twelve persons, out of which number the Commissioners of the Church were to elect four, besides the old Ministers, to bear charge in that Ministry, having his Majesty's approbation. The four on whom the choice fell were, Mr. *Robert Rollock* Principal of the Colledge of *Edinburgh*, Mr. *John Hall* Minister at *Leith*, Mr. *Peter Hemat*, and Mr. *George Robertson*. Against the two last exception was taken because of their youth, and that they were not men of that gravity which was required in Ministers of such a place. Yet the Commissioners, after trial taken of their Qualification, proceeded, and decerned all the four to be admitted.

Hereof the old Ministers complained, with whom the Synod of *Lothian* joyned, who repaired in great numbers to the Assembly, thinking to carry the matter by voices;

Four others named to be joyned with the *Edinburgh* Ministers.

Exception taken at two of the number.

An. 1598.

The providing of the Commissioners in the planting of Edinburgh allowed.

An Act defining the number of Commissioners from Presbyteries to Assemblies.

His Majesty pleaded to remit all offences past of the Ministers. Mr. John Davidson protested against the Conclusions of the Assembly.

Question moved for Mr. Robert Bruce, who refused the Imposition of hands.

A Declaration made for his satisfaction.

A Tumult in the Church at his admission.

voices; but when after a long contestation it came to be judged, the Decree of the Commissioners was approved, and a new Commission given to Mr. David Lindsey, Mr. Robert Pont, Mr. Robert Rollock, Mr. George Gladstones, Mr. Patrick Galloway, Mr. James Nicolson, Mr. Thomas Buchanan, and Mr. John Duncan, to place the Ministers in their several Parishes; or if any should refuse to accept, to depose them from the Function of the Ministry, and plant the Church with such others as they should think meet.

Meanwhile, because of the number that came from Lothian, an Act was made, *That no Presbytery should thereafter send above two or three Ministers at most in Commission to the Assembly, with one Baron of the bounds, and one Commissioner from every Burgh, Edinburgh excepted, who in all publick Meetings were allowed to have two.*

About the end of the Assembly, a motion was made for removing all offences conceived by his Majesty against any of the Ministers, and particularly against the Ministers of Edinburgh; whereupon the King was pleased to declare, 'That for any offences past he did freely remit them, and should never at any time call the same to mind, in hope they would so behave themselves in time coming, as they should still deserve his good opinion. And so did this Meeting close with the great content of all: Mr. John Davidson only, a man given to contention, finding that things went not to his mind, especially in the planting of Edinburgh, to the Ministry whereof he was always aspiring, did protest in his own name and in the name of certain other brethren, 'That none of the Conclusions taken in that Assembly should be of any force, in regard the same was not a free Assembly, but over-awed by the King. The Moderator enquiring if any of the Brethren would adhere to this Protestation, none was found, all condemning it, and the uncivil form he used in making the same. He himself, as his custom was when he made any such trouble, fled away, and lurked a while, till his peace was again made.

It was now thought that the planting of Edinburgh should receive no more delay, yet a new impediment cast in made no less ado than the former. Mr. Robert Bruce had preached ordinarily in the Town some ten years, but had not received Ordination to the Ministry; and being urged therewith, refused, pretending the Approbation of the General Assembly to be equivalent to an Ordination. It was replied, *That the Approbation he had of the Church was a Licence only to preach; but being now to receive an Office, it concerned them to observe the form prescribed by divers Acts.* But this not satisfying, he denied to yield a jot to that which might question his former Calling. And albeit it was offered to be declared at his entry, *That the Ordination they used was not to question his former Calling, but rather to allow and confirm the same;* he would not be content, except the Declaration was given him in writing. This also yielded unto, a new difference arose among them upon the form of the Declaration: the Commissioners offering *To declare the lawfulness of his Calling, and that the Imposition of hands they were to use was not given him as a new entrance to the Ministry, but as one that was taken to be entred to the charge of a particular Flock;* he requiring to have it expressly said, *That they did acknowledge him a lawful Pastor of Edinburgh, as being called by the General Assembly thereto.*

Ten days and more were spent in the setting down this form; and after many alterations at last they came to agree on this, *That the Commissioners did acknowledge his calling to be a Pastor in Edinburgh lawful, and that the Imposition of hands was not used as a Ceremony of his Ordination to the Ministry, but of his Ordination to a particular Flock.* The Declaration thus formed, a day was appointed for his Admission, and Mr. Robert Pont, Mr. Thomas Buchanan and Mr. James Nicolson chosen to perform the same. Mr. Robert Pont having preached, and beginning to shew what was the business they met for; Mr. Robert Bruce arose, and stepping into the Pulpit fell a complaining of the strict forms wherewith the Commissioners had used him: which the people hearing, such a tumult was raised, as to all appearance the Ministry that was to use the Imposition of hands had been in danger, if the Commissioner Mr. John Nicolson, a man well respected,

(being

(being there as one of the Elders, to testify the Church's consent to his Admission) had not by his wise and grave speeches reduced them to quietness. Always the business was put off for that day.

The King advertised of this was greatly offended, and commanded the Commissioners to cite Mr. Robert Bruce, and censure him for the trouble he had made. He compeiring excused himself, laying the blame on the people; and being charged under pain of Deprivation to give obedience, and accept the Charge after the form prescribed, was upon the 9 of May, the day assigned for his acceptance, admitted by Mr. David Lindsey and Mr. Alexander Douglas with Imposition of hands. Thus ended that business, which made more noise than was needful, and was judged to proceed rather of wilfulness on his part than of any good zeal.

The day appointed of the Synod's drawing near, the King sent William Melville Commendator of Tunland and Sir Patrick Murray to attend the Assembly of Fif, where it was supposed some new Stirrs should be made. The Commission given them was, not to suffer any of the Conclusions taken in the last General Assembly to be drawn in question, and to see that in the other Heads left undecided nothing should be concluded definitive. But they found the Synod more peaceable than was expected, and all things carried therein to the King's mind, Mr. Thomas Buchanan, Mr. George Gladstones, and Mr. John Fairfoul being chosen Commissioners for meeting with these that should be sent from the other Synods.

The report of this gave the King hopes of a good issue to the Conference intended; whereupon Letters were sent, desiring the Doctors of the Universities and Commissioners of the Synod to be at Falkland the 29 of July. There, after a long deliberation, it was with an unanime consent agreed,

1. Touching the manner of his Election who should have Voice in Parliament, that the Church should name for each Prelacy that was void six of their number, of whom the King should take one; or if his Majesty did not like any of those six, that as many others should be recommended by the Church, of which number he should accept one, without any more refusal.

2. That the Nomination should be made by the General Assembly, with advice of the Synods and Presbyteries, who should present the General Assembly in writing the names of the persons as well without as within the bounds of their Jurisdiction: providing if there was any person within the bounds meet and qualified, he should be preferred, *ceteris paribus.*

3. Concerning his Rent, that the Churches being sufficiently planted, and no prejudice done to Schools, Colledges and Universities already erected, he should be provided to all the rest of the Prelacy whereunto he is preferred.

4. The Cautions to preserve him should be these.

1. That he should not propound to Council, Convention or Parliament, in name of the Church, any thing without express warrant and direction from the Church; neither should he consent nor keep silence in the said Conventions, if any thing was moved prejudicial to the weal and liberty thereof, under pain of Deposition from his Office.

2. Next, he should be bound to give an account of his proceedings in the discharge of his Commission to every General Assembly, and obtain their Ratification of the same; submitting himself to their judgment, without making any Appeal, under the pain of infamy and Excommunication.

3. He should content himself with that part of his Benefice which should be given him for his living, and not hurt nor prejudice the rest of the Ministers within his Benefice, planted or to be planted, nor any other Minister in the Country whatsoever; and this Clause to be inserted in his Provision.

4. He should not dilapidate his Benefice in any sort, nor make any set or disposition thereof, without the special advice or consent of his Majesty and the General Assembly, and, for the greater warrant, should interdict himself and be content that inhibition be raised against him to that effect.

5. He should be bound to attend the Congregation faithfully at which he should be

Mr. Robert Bruce cited before the Commissioners purgeth himself of the tumult.

He is admitted, and receives Imposition of hands.

Commissioners directed to the Synod of Fif.

A meeting at Falkland for determining the Vote of Parliament.

Caveats for elchewing of corruption.

An. 1598. be appointed Minister, in all the Points of a Pastor, and be subject to the trial and censure of his own Presbytery or Provincial Assembly, as any other of the Ministers that bear no Commission.

6. In the administration of Discipline, Collation of Benefices, Visitation and other points of Ecclesiastical Government, he should neither usurp nor claim to himself any more power or Jurisdiction than any of his Brethren, except he be employed, under pain of Deprivation; and in case he do usurp any part of the Ecclesiastical Government, the Presbytery, Synod or General Assembly opposing and making impediment thereto, whatsoever he should do thereafter should be null *ipso facto*, without any Declarator.

7. In Presbyteries, Provincial and General Assemblies, he should behave himself in all things as one of the Brethren, and be subject to their censure.

8. At his admission to the Office of Commissioner he should swear and subscribe all these and other Points necessary, otherwise he should not be admitted.

9. If it should happen him to be deposed from the Ministry by the Presbytery, Synod or General Assembly, he should lose his place in Parliament, and the Benefice be void *ipso facto*.

10. That he should be called Commissioner of such or such a place, if so the Parliament be induced by his Majesty to accept that title; otherwise the General Assembly should consider and determine the same; as also how long he should continue in Office, whether *ad vitam*, except some offence make him unworthy, or for a shorter space, at pleasure of the Church.

His Majesties purpose in giving way to these Conclusions.

It was neither the Kings intention nor the minds of the wiser sort to have these Cautions stand in force (for to subject the Decrees of Parliament to the Assembly, as in the Second Caution; or to interdict Churchmen, as in the Fourth, and serve Inhibitions upon them, were things absurd) but to have matters peaceably ended, and the reformation of the Policy made without any noise, the King gave way to these conceits, knowing that with time the Utility of the Government which he purposed to have established would appear, and trusting that they whom he should place in these rooms would by their care for the Church, and their wife and good behaviour, purchase to themselves the Authority which appertained.

Ambassadors directed to the Princes of Germany.

He had also matters of greater importance in hand, which made him desire to be settled in some sort with the Church: from June preceeding he had directed an Ambassage to the Princes of Germany, wherein David Bishop of Aberdeen, and Sir Peter Young his Elemofynar, men of good abilities and learning, were employed. Their Commission was, to inform the Princes of his Right and Title to the Crown of England after the death of the Queen Elizabeth, and to request their assistance, if he should stand in need thereof. The Queen was then stricken in years, and divers Libels and Pamphlets divulged against his Title to that Crown, which made him careful to have his friends rightly informed, and to understand what aid he might expect if opposition should be made. 'Not that he minded (this they were 'willed to declare) to wrong or offend the Queen in any sort, whom he loved 'and honoured as his Mother, wishing her many and happy days, but only to 'strengthen himself against unjust Pretenders; and if in the mean time they should 'be pleased by a common Ambassage to entreat the Queen to declare in her own 'time the Right Successor, for preventing the Plots and practices of enemies, he 'would take it for a singular friendship at their hands.

The success of that Ambassage.

It was a painful Ambassage, and by them faithfully discharged; for taking their journey by Denmark, as they were directed, and receiving Letters commendatory from that King to the Princes, they travelled to Udalrick Duke of Mecklenburg, Maurice Lantgrave of Hesse, Frederick Duke of Saxony and Administrator of the Electorate, Henry Duke of Brunswick, John Adolph Duke of Sleswick, and Joachim Marquess of Brandenburg, and having communicated their Message to them all severally, returned not before the end of the year. Of all the Princes they obtained one answer in substance, which was, *That albeit his Majesties Right*

was

An. 1598. was not unknown unto them, they did esteem it an Act of great wisdom in him, to make his friends acquainted with the exceptions taken against his Title, that when occasion required nothing might be wanting that lay in their power. But to move the Queen for declaring her Successor, they held it dangerous, and feared it should not so much promote the business as offend her. Always they should advise, and take counsel with their Confederates and Allies, and follow the course which was most likely for his benefit. This was the sum of the answer they returned.

The 24 of December the Queen was brought to bed of another Daughter, who was christened in the Chappel of Halirudhous the 15 of April, by Mr. David Lindesay Minister of Leith, and named Margaret. The Earl of Montrose (created Chancellor in January preceeding) with the Lord Hamilton and Earl of Huntly assisted as Witnesses. These last two were at the same time preferred to the honor and dignity of Marquesses.

The Queen brought to bed of a Daughter. Hamilton and Huntly created Marquesses.

There died within the compass of this year divers worthy men, amongst whom Mr. John Lindesay of Balcarres, Secretary to the King, shall first be named; a man honorably descended, of exquisite learning, and a sound judgment, held worthy by all men of the place he had in the Senate, both for his wisdom and integrity: hedied of the Stone, wherewith he had been pained many years.

Mr. John Lindesay Secretary died.

Next to him Mr. David Carnegie of Colluthy, a wife, peaceable and sober man, in good credit and estimation with the King, and taken into his Privy Council for his skill and knowledge in civil affairs.

The Lord of Colluthy his death.

And in the Church Mr. Thomas Buchanan, Provost of Kirkcubrecht and Minister of Syres; a man learned, wise, and a strong defender of the Churches Rights: having attained to a good age, he died of a bruise which he received of a fall from his horse.

Mr. Thomas Buchanan his death.

David Ferguson Minister of Dunfermlin, of the age of 65, departed also this life the same year; a good Preacher, wise, and of a jocund and pleasant disposition, which made him well regarded both in Court and Country.

David Ferguson his death.

But the death of Mr. Robert Rollock, taken away in the 43 year of his age, and in the time when the Church had greatest need of his service, was beyond all the rest lamented. This man was born not far from Striveling, and trained up in Letters under Mr. Thomas Buchanan, who did then keep a famous School in that time. He passed his course in Philosophy at S. Andrews, and no sooner received the Degree of a Master in Arts, then he was chosen Regent of the Colledge of S. Salvador, where he had studied. In the year 1583 he was removed to Edinburgh, and made Principal of a Colledge which the Town had there erected; where by his Lectures of Divinity in the Schools, and his Sermons to the people, (in both which he was assiduous) he came to be greatly esteemed. But the 17 daies Tumult and troubles that followed thereupon withdrawing him against his mind to the keeping of Assemblies and other Commissions of the Church, he was thereby much weakened; for he was of an infirm body, and grievously pained with the Stone, whereof at last he died. In his sickness being visited by his brethren of the Ministry, amongst other pious exhortations, he did earnestly beseech them, to carry themselves more dutifully towards the King, lamenting he should be so ill used by some of their number: and gave them a most comfortable farewell. His torments were extreme, yet was he not heard to use an impatient word, but was still calling on God, with these and the like sayings, *Haste, Lord Jesus, and tarry not, put in thy hand and take this Soul away to thy self.* At other times, *Go out silly life, that the better life of God may enter in.* Drawing near his end, he repeated a part of the 6 Psalm, and framing a most pithy Prayer out of the same, as one exulting after victory, he cried aloud, *Christ hath taken my yoke to bear, and now strengthened by his grace I will follow:* with which words he yielded up his spirit. A rare example of Holiness he was both in his life and death; albeit now dead, still Preacheth by his learned works, which it is pity should not be collected in one Volume, and preserved to posterity. He deceased the last of February, and had his corps honorably interred in the Burial-place, an innumerable multitude accompanying the same to the grave.

The death of Mr. Robert Rollock most lamented.

His behaviour in the time of his sickness, and at his dying.

To

An. 1599.
Alteration of
some Officers
of State.

The Earl of
Cassils made
Treasurer.

Lord Elphinston
succeeded
Treasurer.
Sir William
Bomes Amba-
sador from
England.

One Ashfield
conveighed
privately to
Berwick by
two of the
Ambassadors
servants.

A Visitation of
the Univer-
sity of S. An-
drews.

To return to the Estate: The necessities of the King by forein Ambassages, and other extraordinary employments daily encreasing, he was forced to look the more narrowly to the administration of his Rents; for the ill managing whereof the Laird of Wedderburn was put from his place, and the Office of Controllery given to Sir David Murray, who was afterwards preferred to the Lordship of Scone. The Prior of Blantire, who was Treasurer, for that he had offended the King by his partial behaviour in an action betwixt Mr. Robert Bruce and the Ministers of Angus, was committed to the Castle, and forced to resign his Office, which was conferred upon the Earl of Cassils by his Ladies procurement. She was the Widow of the Lord Thirlstan, and said to be wealthy, which induced him to take her to Wife, against the counsel of all his friends, who could not away with the impurity of their age, he being a young Nobleman never matched to any, and she a woman past childbirth. But the desire he had to keep his Estate made him take that course; and she loving to stay at Court and have her Husband a ruler of affairs, made offer to advance some monys, so as he might carry the place, which was readily accepted. Yet was it not long before they did both forthink the bargain, being pressed with a multitude of precepts for the laying forth of mony, and so were glad to quit the Office, with the loss, as was said, of Forty thousand Marks, which he did advance at his entry. In his place was the Lord Elphinston chosen by the recommendation of his brother, then Secretary.

Whilest these things were a-doing in Court, Sir William Bomes came Ambassador from England, upon some rumours that the King was declining to Popery, and had offered his obedience to the Bishop of Rome by a Letter, the Copy whereof was brought by the Master of Gray from Rome, and shewed the Queen, of purpose to divide the two Princes, and dissolve the Amity which was amongst them.

The Queen, though she did take the Letter to be feigned, and that the same was devised to breed a jealousy between her and the King, thought meet to advertise what was rumoured, and to advise him not to build upon the friendship of Rome. The King did take the advertisement well, and made the Ambassador very welcome, assuring him that they were false and feigned Calumnies, neither did the King think any other at that time. Such a Letter indeed was sent to the Pope, and the King's hand surreptitiously gotten thereto, for which the Secretary Mr. Elphinston was some years after, upon his own confession, convicted, as we shall hear.

Whilest this Ambassador remained in the Country, there fell out an accident which had almost wrought great trouble. An English-man called Ashfield, who had brought some hunting-horses to the King, and cunningly abused the English Warden, did make his abode at Court, and was there well entertained. The Ambassador, whether desired by the Queen or the Warden it is uncertain, caused some of his servants keep company with the man; and allure him one day to Leith, where having drunk liberally, he was by Coach, instead of returning to Court, carried to Berwick. This being told the King he was greatly offended, and giving order to watch the Ambassador's lodging, sent to Berwick to bring back the man. The Governor prayed the King to have him excused, for that the man being come within his charge, he could not dimit him without the Queen's knowledge.

The King receiving this answer, did challenge the Ambassador as not having carried himself dutifully, and wronged both him and the Country: but he denying the fact, affirmed the same to have been contrived by two of his servants without his knowledge and direction. This none did believe, neither did the King vouchsafe him any more countenance. Whereupon he parted in a great discontent.

Soon after the King went to S. Andrews for a new Visit of the University, where it was ordained, That there should be yearly upon the 3 of March a Dean of faculty of Theologie elected by the Doctors, the Ministers resident within the City, and the principal Masters of the Colledges; which Dean so chosen should have the like privilege

privilege and jurisdiction upon the Students and Professors of Theologie, that the Deans of Philosophy had by the Foundation over the Professors thereof: with express provision, that he who was elected Dean, should not till after three years space be received again into the Office.

Other Conclusions were taken for distributing the Students of Theologie in Classes, and their yearly examination; but were ill observed.

At this time came forth sundry Discourses touching the succession of the Crown of England, some oppugning, some maintaining the King's title: amongst others Mr. John Colvill taking upon him one of the opposite Treatises, did publish a Recantation, wherein having confuted all the contrary Reasons, he professed, that in malice in time of his Exile he had penned the Treatise, which then out of Conscience he refuted. This was believed of many, and helped greatly to discredit the adversary writings; yet was he not the Author of that which he oppugned; only to merit favour at the Kings hands he did profess the Work that came forth without a name to be his: and indeed a more pithy and persuasive Discourse was not penned all that time in that subject.

The same year did the King publish his Doron Basilicon upon this occasion. Sir James Semple, one of his Majesties servants, (whose hand was used in transcribing that Treatise) upon an old familiarity with Mr. Andrew Melvill, did give it him to read, who offending with some passages that touched the Ministry and present Discipline, took copies thereof, and dispersed the same amongst the Ministers: thereupon a Libel was formed, and cast in before the Synod of S. Andrews, wherein the passages at which they excepted being first set down, it was asked, What Censure should be inflicted upon him that had given such Instructions to the Prince, (for that Treatise was directed to Prince Henry) and if he could be thought well-affected to religion, that had delivered such Precepts of Government. Sir Patrick Murray and Mr. James Nicolson being present in the Synod as Commissioners for the King, and apprehending the Libel to concern his Majesty, made diligent enquiry to find out the prefenters. The whole number pretending ignorance, the Commissioners commanded the doors to be shut, and the Roll of the Ministers names to be called, who being put to their Oath one by one did purge themselves; yet was it tried the very next day to be laid on the table by Mr. John Dikes Minister at Anstruther, who being therefore cited before the Council was fugitive and denounced Rebel. The rumor by this occasion dispersed, that the King had left certain Directions to his Son prejudicial to the Church and Religion, he took purpose to publish the Work; which being come abroad, and carried to England, it cannot be said how well the same was accepted, and what an admiration it raised in all mens hearts of him, and of his Piety and Wisdom. Certain it is that all the Discourses that came forth at that time (and those were not a few) for maintaining his Right to the Crown of England, prevailed nothing so much as did the Treatise against which such Exceptions had been taken.

In the end of the year happened some new jars betwixt the King and the Ministers of Edinburgh, because of a Company of English Comedians whom the King had licensed to play within the Burgh. The Ministers offending with the liberty given them, did exclaim in their Sermons against Stage-players, their unruliness and immodest behaviour; and in their Sessions made an Act prohibiting people to resort unto their Plays under pain of the Church-Censures. The King taking this to be a discharge of his Licence, called the Sessions before the Council, and ordained them to annul their Act, and not to restrain the people from going to these Comedies: which they promised, and accordingly performed; whereof publication was made the day after, and all that pleased permitted to repair unto the same, to the great offence of the Ministers.

The next year, which by publick Ordinance was appointed to have the beginning at the Calends of January, and from thenceforth so to continue (for before that time, the year with us was reckoned from the 25 of March) there was an Assembly kept at Montrosse the 28 of March, where the King himself was present. Therein that great business of the Churches Voice in Parliament was determined;

A General
Assembly of
the Church;

The Book
well received
in England.

Mr. John Dikes
fugitive for the
Libel.

The King pub-
lisheth his
Basilicon Doron
by occasion of
a Libel.

Discourse of
his Majesties
Title to the
Crown of
England.

An. 1599.
A Dean in fa-
culty appoint-
ed in Theologie.

An. 1600.

The voice in
Parliament
determined.Two Caveats
more added.The state of
Bishopricks
at that time.Bishops ap-
pointed for
Kil' and
Cathnes.John Dury Mi-
nister at Mon-
troffe, his death,
with a short
description of
his life.

and first the Conclusions taken at Falkland in July 1598 were ratified. Then touching the continuance of those that should be chosen to give voice for the Church, it was after much debating concluded, That he who was admitted should yearly render an account of his Commission to the General Assembly, and laying the same down at their foot, should be therein continued; or if his Majesty and the Assembly did think fit to employ another, he should give place to him that was appointed. Two points more were adjoyned to the former. One was, That they who had voice in Parliament should not have place in the General Assembly, unless they were authorised by a Commission from the Presbyters, whereof they were Members. The other Caveat was, That crimen ambitus should be a sufficient reason to deprive him both of his place and Office. And now there rested no more but to nominate persons to the Bishopricks that were void. Aberdeen and Argyle had their own incumbents at the time, both actual Preachers; S. Andrews and Glasgow were in the hands of the Duke of Lennox; Murray possessed by the Lord Spinney; Orkney by the Earl of Orkney; Dunkeld, Breichen and Dumblane, had their own Titulars, but these were not ordinary Preachers; Galloway and Isles were so dilapidated, as scarce they were remembered to have been. Only in Rosse and Cathnes some provision was left, whereunto by consent of the Church Mr. David Lindesey and Mr. George Gladstaves were presented; the first to the Bishoprick of Rosse, the other to Cathnes; who notwithstanding continued still serving in their Churches at Leith and S. Andrews, for as yet they could not find any settling in their Dioceses. Besides the conclusion taken in this business, divers other good Acts were concluded at that time, as may be seen in the Book of Records.

Some three weeks before this Convention John Dury Minister at Montrosse departed this life. He was born at Machline a little village in the Country of Kyle, and trained up a while in letters in the Town of Ayr; after which he was sent to George Dury his Cousin, Abbot of Dunfermlin, and placed by him among the Monks of that Abbey, where he lived three years: then falling in some suspicion of that which they called Heresie, and delated thereof to the Abbot, after trial taken he was condemned to be immured, that is, to be shut up between two walls till he died. Yet by the means his friends made with the worthy Nobleman the Earl of Arran, he was delivered, and shortly after the Reformation admitted to the Ministry; in which he served first at Hales near to Edinburgh, then at Leith, and when the Civil Troubles ceased, translated to Edinburgh, where he continued Minister the space of 10 years. A man earnest and zealous in every thing he gave himself unto, but too credulous (a fault incident to the best natures) and easily abused by those he trusted; which bred him great trouble whilst he remained at Edinburgh. In Montrosse, where he was first confined, and whereof soon after he became Minister, he lived well respected and in great quietness, making it appear, that the many contests and strifes he had in former times proceeded not from his own disposition, so much as from the suggestion of others; For all the sixteen years he lived there, no man did carry himself with greater modesty, nor in a more dutiful obedience, and was therefore well beloved and esteemed by the King. He wished earnestly to have lived unto the meeting of the Assembly, that he might have declared his mind touching the matters then in hand; but when he perceived his sickness increasing, and that he should not continue so long, he intreated some Brethren to visit him, to shew the Assembly as from him, That there was a necessity of restoring the ancient Government of the Church, because of the unruliness of young Ministers, that could not be advised by the elder sort nor kept in order; and since both the estate of the Church did require it, and that the King did labor to have the same received, he wished them to make no trouble therefore, and to insist only with the King, that the best Ministers and of greatest experience might be preferred to places. This as he directed was reported to the Assembly, and of the greatest part well received: for he was certainly a sound-hearted man, and far from all dissimulation, ever professing what he thought, and following the course he thought most expedient for the Church. To the poor he was exceedingly helpful, compassionate of those that were in any distress, and merciful even when

when he seemed most severe. He died the last of February, in the 63 year of his age. An. 1600.

It was in August this year that the Conspiracy of Gowry fell forth; a Conspiracy plotted by him alone, and only communicated to Mr. Alexander his Brother; two youths of great hope, at whose hands no man could have expected such an attempt. Their Father had been taken away by form of Justice in the year 1584, whilst the King was yet Minor, and forced he was unto it as unto many other things that agreed not with his mind. But the care he took of the Noblemans Children and kindness wherewith he used them, did shew how much he disliked that proceeding; for he restored the eldest to his Fathers Honor and Living, his Brother Alexander he made one of his Bed-chamber, a Sister of theirs he preferred to be chief Maid about his Queen, and had a purpose to advance the Earl himself to a principal Office of the Kingdom. Such and so great Benefits might have endeared the most barbarous and hard-hearted. But Benefits are no benefits to the malicious, and those that are set for revenge. The device was, to allure the King to the Earls House at Perth, and there to kill him. The King was then remaining in Falkland, and one day early in the morning (it was the fifth of August) as he was going to take his sport in the Park, Alexander meets him and telleth that his Brother had intercepted a man, a Jesuite as he supposed, with a great quantity of Gold, and that he kept the man fast in his House at Perth, and sent him with the news, praying the King to make haste, for that he doubted not he should learn things worthy of his travel. The King moving some questions touching the mans stature and habit, and the place where he was taken, received no other answer, but that his Brother would satisfy all those things at his coming; which put him in a suspicion that the Gentleman was distracted, for he observed in him some perturbation: yet because of the instance he made he yielded to go, willing him to ride back, and shew that he would be with his Brother before Dinner.

After a short chace and a Buck killed the King made towards Perth, accompanied with the Duke of Lennox, the Earl of Marre, and a few Gentlemen more, all in their hunting-coats. By the way the King did ask the Duke of Lennox, if he had known Mr. Alexander (for the Duke had married his Sister) at any time troubled or distempored in his wits. The Duke answering that he had never known any such thing in him; the King insisted no farther. Being come to the Town the Earl did meet him, and was noted by all the company to be in some trouble of mind, the very imagination of the fact he went about perplexing his thoughts. But he coloured all with the want of entertainment, saying, that he did not expect the King, and that his Dinner was not prepared. The King wishing him not to trouble himself with those thoughts, because a little thing would content him, and for the Noblemen a part of his dinner would suffice them; they discoursed of hunting and other common matters till meat was dressed. How soon the King had taken a little refreshment, and the Lords were placed at a Table in another room, Mr. Alexander did sound in the Kings ear, that the time was fit whilst the Lords were at dinner to go and examine the Stranger. At which word the King arose, and went up stairs, Mr. Alexander going before him. The King did call Sir Thomas Areskin (afterwards Earl of Kelly) to follow him; but Mr. Alexander turning at the door, after the King was entered, said that the King willed him to stay below, whereupon Sir Thomas went back. Thus the door was shut, and Mr. Alexander guiding him to an inner room, the King did perceive a man standing alone, whereupon he asked if that was the man. Nay, said Mr. Alexander, there is another business in hand: and with that word covering his head, You remember, said he, how you used my Father, and now must you answer for it. Your Father? answered the King, I was not the cause of his death; it was done in my Minority by form of Justice. But is this your purpose, and have you trained me hither to murder me? Did you learn this lesson of Mr. Robert Rollock your Master? or think you when you have done your will to go unpunished? Mr. Alexander stricken with the speeches, and the man who was placed there to assist him, trembled for fear, desired the King to be quiet, and make no noise, for that he would go speak with his Brother, and pacify him. This said he went down a back way, as it seemed, to the Court below.

The conspira-
cy of the Earl
of Gowry.The Kings
kindness to
his Brethren
and Sister.The plot con-
trived for en-
trapping the
King.The King go-
eth to Perth.Gowry meet-
ing the King
was much
troubled.Mr. Alexander
did move the
King to go
with him.Mr. Alexander
professeth
what he was
about.

An. 1600.

The Kings
voice heard,
and is discern-
ed.Sir Thomas
Areskin chal-
lengeth Gowry.John Ramsey
doth first re-
lieve the King.The Kings ser-
vants prepare
to defend.Gowry enter-
eth, and after
a little space is
killed.The Lords
come to the
King.The danger
by the people
of the Town.The Chara-
cters found at
the Earls gir-
dle.Some servants
of Gowry exe-
cuted.

Whether he did meet with his Brother at that time or not is unknown, but his stay was short, and when he returned, he said to the King, There is no remedy, you must die. Then making as though he would tie the Kings hands, they fell a wrestling, and the King drawing him by force to a window in the corner that looked toward the street, as he espied the Earl of Marre, cried, *Help Earl of Marre, help.* The voice and words were discerned by all the Lords and Gentlemen, who thereupon ran to seek the King by the way that went up: but the doors being shut, there was no entry that way till the same was broke by force, which took up a large time. Upon the first cry Sir Thomas Areskin suspecting Treason did flee upon Gowry, and taking him by the gorge said, *Thou art the Traitor:* but they were quickly sundered by his servants that stood by. The first that came to the King was a Page called John Ramsey, who falling upon a back passage by which the Traitors after the deed committed had purposed to escape, found the King and Mr. Alexander struggling. The King calling to him and bidding him strike the Traitor, he gave Mr. Alexander two or three wounds with his Dagger, and so parted him from the King. The man who was placed there to assist Mr. Alexander did steal away secretly; and he himself perceiving that the Treason was discovered made down the stairs, where being encountered by Sir Thomas Areskin, and ask'd how the King was, because he gave no direct answer, and only said, *that he took God to witness that he was not in the fault,* he thrust him through the body, and killed him outright.

Sir Thomas was followed by Hugh Hereise Doctor of Medicine, and a Foot-boy named Wilson, who seeing the King safe were not a little joyed, and placing him in a little room, and shutting the door, they prepared to defend the entry. Gowry accompanied with three or four servants breaketh presently into the Chamber, and with his two swords, one in each hand, puts them all to their shift, and had undoubtedly overthrown them, but that one of the company crying, *You have killed the King our Master, and will you also take our lives?* he became astonished, and setting the points of his two swords to the earth, as if he minded to cease from any more fight, he was instantly stricken by the Page with a Rapier which pierced the heart, so as he fell down dead. The servants seeing him fall made away; only Mr. Thomas Cranston being sore wounded, and not able to shift for himself, was apprehended. In this fight Sir Thomas Areskin and Doctor Hereise were both hurt, but nothing dangerously.

By this time the doors of the other passage being made open, the Lords and a number with them entered into the room, who hearing what happened went all to their knees, and the King himself, conceiving a Prayer, gave thanks to God for his deliverance, and that the device of those wicked Brothers was turned upon their own heads. The danger that ensued was not much less, for the people of the Town taking up arms did inviron the house, crying *to give them out their Provost, otherwise they should blow them all up with powder.* The rage of the multitude was great (for they loved the Earl, as being their Provost, beyond all measure) and with great difficulty were they kept back from using violence: at last the Bayliffs and certain of the Citizens being admitted to enter and brought to the King, when they were informed of the truth of things, returned and pacified the people. After which the King took horse and returned to Falkland, where he was welcomed (the rumour of the danger having prevented his coming) with great acclamations of joy.

It was observed, not without some wondering, that after Gowry was killed there issued no blood for a good space from his body, till his Girdle being loosed and taken from him the same gushed from him in abundance: this was supposed to be the effect of some characters that he did alway carry in a little bag at his Girdle, which being viewed, were found to be certain spells of Necromancers, and added much to the infamy of his death.

A diligent search was made the days following for the man the King saw standing in the room, and large rewards promised to those that should find him out. In this search one of the Earls servants, called Henry Younger, hiding himself out of an

idle

idle fear among some growing corns, was killed, and for some daies was supposed to have been the man; till Andrew Henderson, Chamberlain to Gowry, discovering himself to the Controller, did offer upon promise of his life to enter and shew all that he knew in that business. Another of Gowries servants surnamed Craigenfels was some 2 days after apprehended, and both heard Mr. Tho. Cranston executed at Perth; though at their dying they declared that they knew nothing of the Earls purpose, and had only followed him as being their Master unto that room, where if they had known the King to have been, they would have stood for him against their Master and all others.

Henderson at his Examination declared, That the night preceding the attempt the Earl had directed him to attend his Brother Mr. Alexander, and do what he commanded. That accordingly he accompanied him the next morning to Falkland; and when they were returned, being commanded by Mr. Alexander to dress himself in armour, and go wait till he came unto him in an upper room, he obeyed. But that he could not imagine any purpose against the King, either in him or in the Earl, nor would have believed it unless he had seen the same with his eyes. Being demanded why he did not take the Kings part when he did see them fall a wrestling, he excused himself by a sudden fear that overtook him in the time; and indeed he looked ever after that time as one half distracted. It was much marvelled that in so high an attempt the Earl should have made choice of such a one: but the man was of a servile spirit, and apt enough to do mischief; and many have conjectured that if the Treason had taken effect, it was in the Earls purpose to have made away both his Brother and him, that he might not be supposed to have had any knowledge thereof. I remember myself that meeting with Mr. William Conper then Minister at Perth the third day after in Falkland, he shewed me that not many days before that accident, visiting by occasion the Earl at his own House, he found him reading a Book entituled, *De conjurationibus adversus Principes:* and having asked him what a Book it was, he answered, 'That it was a Collection of the Conspiracies made against Princes, which he said were foolishly contrived all of them, and faulty either in one point or other; for he that goeth about such a business should not (said he) put any man on his counsel. And he not liking such discourses, desired him to lay away such Books, and read others of a better subject. I verily think he was then studying how to go beyond all Conspirators recorded in any History; but it pleased God who giveth salvation to Kings, as the Psalm speaketh, to infatuate his counsels, and by his ensample to admonish all disloyal and traitorous subjects to beware of attempting against their Sovereigns.

Advertisement sent the next day to the Council, which then remained at Edinburgh, the Ministers of the Town were called and desired to convene their people, and give thanks unto God for his Majesties deliverance. They excusing themselves, *as not being acquainted with the particulars, nor how those things had fallen out;* it was answered, that they were only to signify how the King had escaped a great danger, and to stir up the people to thanksgiving. They replied, *That nothing ought to be delivered in Pulpit but that whereof the truth was known, and that all which is uttered in that place should be spoken in faith.* When by no persuasion they could be moved to perform that duty, it was resolved that the Council should go together to the Market-crofs, and that the Bishop of Ross should after a narration of the Kings danger and deliverance conceive a publick Thanksgiving, which was done, the multitude applauding and expressing a great joy.

The Monday following the King came to Edinburgh, accompanied with divers Noblemen and Barons, and heard a Sermon preached at the Crofs by Mr. Patrick Galloway, who chusing the 124 Psalm for his Theme, did take occasion to discourse of all the particulars of that Conspiracy, and gave the people great satisfaction: for many doubted that there had been any such Conspiracy, *The condition of Princes being, as the Emperor Domitian said, herein miserable, that even when Conspiracies made against their persons are discovered, yet they are not credited, unless they be slain.* The next day the King in a solemn Council kept at Halirudhouse, to testify his thankfulness for his Deliverance, and to perpetuate the memory thereof,

R r 3

did

The Ministers
of Edinburgh
required by
the Council to
give thanks for
his Majesties
deliverance.
Their excuse,
and refusing
to obey.
The Bishop of
Ross giveth
thanks at the
Market-crofs.
The King com-
meth to Edin-
burgh.
Master Patrick
Galloway his
preaching at
the Crofs.

An. 1600.

An. 1600.

1000l. mortified to the poor at *Scone*.

A solemn Thanksgiving appointed for the Kings Deliverance. The Ministers of *Edinburgh* removed from their places. Three of the number acknowledging their fault, are pardoned.

Mr. James Balfour remitted.

Mr. Robert Bruce banished.

A Parliament wherein *Gowry* and his Brother are forfeited.

The fifth of August to be kept yearly in remembrance of his Majesties delivery.

Acts concluded in this Parliament.

The King goeth to *Dunfermlin* to visit the Queen. Prince Charles born at *Dunfermlin*.

The death of Mr. John Craig, with a description of his life.

did mortifie for the entertainment of some poor men the rent of 1000 pounds yearly to be taken of the readiest fruits of the Abbey of *Scone*, and ordained an honourable reward to be given to the three Gentlemen that had been the instruments of his Preservation, and the cause of the reward to be specified in their Patents.

After this order was taken for a publick and solemn Thanksgiving to be made in all the Churches of the Kingdom, and the last *Tuesday* of September with the *Sunday* following appointed for that exercise.

The Ministers of *Edinburgh*, who gave the refuse, were commanded to remove themselves out of the Town within 48 hours, and inhibited to Preach within his Majesties Dominions under pain of death. Mr. *Walter Balcanquell*, Mr. *William Watson*, and Mr. *John Hall*, three of that number, compeiring at *Striveling* the 10 of September, and declaring, That they were thoroughly resolved of the truth of *Gowries Conspiracy*, and willing to amend their former fault, were pardoned upon condition that before their return to *Edinburgh* they should in the Churches appointed to them publickly preach, and declare their persuasion of the truth of that Treason, craving God and his Majesty forgiveness for the question they made thereof, and rebuking all such as continued in that doubtfulness. The Churches designed to them were *Tranent*, *Mussilburgh* and *Dalkeith* for Mr. *Walter Balcanquell*; *Dunbar* and *Duns* for Mr. *William Watson*; and for Mr. *John Hall*, *Dunfermlin*, *S. Andrews* and *Perth*.

Mr. *James Balfour*, the day following, upon the like confession was remitted, and ordained to publish his resolution in the Churches of *Dundee*, *Montrose*, *Aberbrothock* and *Brichen*.

But Mr. *Robert Bruce*, taking a course by himself, and saying, He would reverence his Majesties reports of that accident, but could not say he was persuaded of the truth of it, was banished the Kings Dominions, and went into *France*.

The 15 of November a Parliament was held at *Edinburgh*, wherein Sentence of Forfeiture was pronounced against *Gowry* and Mr. *Alexander* his Brother, their Posterity disinherited, and, in detestation of the Parricide attempted, the whole Surname of *Ruthven* abolished. But this last was afterwards dispensed with, and such of that name as were known to be innocent tolerated by the Kings clemency to enjoy their surnames and titles as in former times. The bodies of the two brothers being brought to the Parliament-house were after Sentence given hanged upon a Gibbet in the publick street, and then dismembred, their heads cut off and affixed upon the top of the Prison-house. This done, the Estates, in acknowledgment of the favors and grace they all had received of God, by the miraculous and extraordinary Preservation of his Majesty from that treasonable attempt, did ordain, That in all times and ages to come the fifth of August should be solemnly kept with Prayers, Preachings and Thanksgiving for that benefit, discharging all work, labor and other occupations upon the said day, which might distract the people in any sort from those Pious exercises.

Divers other good and profitable Acts, as well for the Church as kingdom were concluded in this Parliament: as the Act decerning all Marriages contracted betwixt persons divorced for Adultery to be null, and the children begotten by such unlawful conjunction incapable of succession to their parents inheritance; as also the Act made for removing and extinguishing of deadly Feuds, which the King had ever striven to abolish, was in that time confirmed by the whole Estates.

Upon the clofe of the Parliament the King went to *Dunfermlin* to visit the Queen, who was brought to bed of a Son. The Christening was hastned because of the weakness of the Child, and that his death was much feared. He was named *Charles*, and, contrary to the expectation of most men, grew unto years and strength, and survived Prince *Henry* his elder Brother, reigns happily this day over these Kingdoms; which that he may long do is the desire and wish of all good subjects.

In the end of the year Mr. *John Craig*, that had been Minister to the King, but through age was compelled to quit the Charge, departed this life. This man whilst he lived was held in great esteem, a great Divine and excellent Preacher, of

of a grave behavior, sincere, inclining to no Faction, and, which increased his reputation, living honestly, without ostentation or desire of outward glory. Many tossings and troubles he endured in his time: for being left young and his Father killed at *Flowdon*, after that he had got an entrance in Letters, and passed his course in Philosophy in *S. Andrews*, he went to *England*, and waited as Pedagogue on the Lord *Dacres* his children the space of two years. Wars then arising betwixt the two kingdoms, he returned home, and became one of the *Dominican Order*; but had not lived long among them when, upon suspicion of Heresie, he was put in prison. Being cleared of that imputation, he went back again into *England*, and thinking by the Lord *Dacres* means to have got a place in *Cambridge*, because that failed, he went to *France*, and from thence to *Rome*. There he won such favor with Cardinal *Pole*, as by his recommendation he was received among the *Dominicans* of *Bononia*, and by them first appointed to instruct the Novices of the Cloister: afterwards, when they perceived his diligence and dexterity in business, he was employed in all their affairs throughout *Italy*, and sent in Commission to *Chios*, an Isle situated in the *Ionick Sea*, to redress things that were amiss amongst those of their Order.

Therein he discharged himself so well, that at his return he was made Rector of the School, and thereby had access to the Libraries, especially to that of the Inquisition; where falling on the Institutions of *John Calvin*, he was taken with a great liking thereof; and one day conferring with a reverend old man of the Monastery, was by him confirmed in the opinion he had taken, but withal warned in any case not to utter himself, or make his mind known, because the times were perillous: yet he neglecting the counsel of the aged man, and venting his Opinions too freely was delated of Heresie, and being sent to *Rome*, after examination imprisoned nine months, he lay there in great misery; at the end whereof, being brought before the Judge of the Inquisition, and giving a clear Confession of his Faith, he was condemned to be burnt the next day, which was the 19 of August.

It happened the same night Pope *Paul* the Fourth to depart this life; upon the noise of whose death the people came in a tumult to the place where his Statue in marble had been erected, and pulling it down, did for the space of three days drag the same through the streets, and in the end threw it in the River of *Tiber*. During the tumult all the Prisons were broke open, the Prisoners set free, and among those Mr. *Craig* had his liberty. As he sought to escape (for he held it not safe to stay in the City) two things happened unto him not unworthy of relation. First, in the Suburbs, as he was passing, he did meet a sort of loose men, whom they called *Bandidi*: one of the company, taking him aside, demanded if he had been at any time in *Bononia*. He answered that he had been some time there. Do ye not then remember, said he; that walking on a time in the fields with some young Noblemen, there came unto you a poor maimed Soldier, entreating some relief? Mr. *Craig* replying that he did not well remember. But I do, said he, and I am the man to whom ye shewed kindness at that time: be not afraid of us, ye shall incur no danger. And so conveying him through the Suburbs, and shewing what was his safest course, he gave him so much money as might make his charge to *Bononia*; for he intended to go thither, trusting to find some kindness with those of his acquaintance: yet at his coming he found them look strange, and fearing to be of new trapped, he slipped away secretly, taking his course to *Millain*.

By the way another accident befel him, which I should scarce relate, so incredible it seemeth, if to many of good place he himself had not often repeated it as a singular testimony of Gods care of him; and this it was. When he had travelled some days, declining the high-ways out of fear, he came into a Forest, a wild and desert place, and being sore wearied lay down among some bushes on the side of a little brook to refresh himself: lying there penfive and full of thoughts (for neither knew he in what part he was, nor had he any means to bear him out the way) a Dog cometh fawning with a purse in his teeth, and lays it down before him: He stricken with a fear riseth up, and construing the same to proceed from Gods favorable providence towards him, followed his way till he came to a little Village, where

An. 1600.

Accidents that befel Mr. Craig in his flight.

A strange accident and singular testimony of Gods care over him.

he

An. 1601.

he met with some that were travelling to *Vienna* in *Austria*, and changing his intended course went in their company thither.

He preacheth to *Maximilian* the Emperor, but is forced to leave those parts.

He cometh to *Scotland* and is appointed Minister at *Halirudhouse*.

A Trouble in the Court of *England*.

The Earl of *Marre* sent Ambassador to *England*.

Pope *Clement* sends his *Breves* to *England* for excluding the King.

Being there, and professing himself to be one of the *Dominican* Order, he was brought to preach before *Maximilian* the second, who, liking the man and his manner of Teaching, would have retained him, if by Letters from Pope *Pius* the Third he had not been required to send him back to *Rome*, as one that was condemned for Heresie. The Emperor not liking to deliver him, and on the other part not willing to fall out with the Pope, did quietly dimit him with Letters of safe-conduct. So travelling through *Germany* he came to *England*, and being there informed of the Reformation begun at home, he returned into *Scotland*, and made offer of his service to the Church: but his long disuse of the Country-language (which was not to be marvelled, considering that he had lived abroad the space of 24 years) made him unuseful at first; now and then to the Learned sort he preached in *Latine* in *Magdalens* Chappel at *Edinburgh*, and in the year 1561, after he had recovered the Language, was appointed Minister at *Halirudhouse*. The next year he was taken to *Edinburgh*, and served as Colleague with Mr. *Knox* the space of nine years; then by the ordinance of the Assembly he was translated to *Montross*, where he continued two years, and upon the death of *Adam Heriot* was removed to *Aberdene*, having the inspection of the Churches of *Marre* and *Bughan* committed to his care. In the year 1579 he was called to be the Kings Minister, and served in that charge till born down with the weight of years he was forced to retire himself: After which time forbearing all publick exercises he lived private at home, comforting himself with the remembrance of the mercies of God that he had tasted in his life past; and his year, on the 12 of *December*, without all pain died peaceably at *Edinburgh* in the 88 year of his age.

In the beginning of the next year there happened a great Stir in the Court of *England*, which concerning the King in some sort I must needs touch. The Earl of *Essex*, who had been a long time in special favour with the Queen, and was then upon some displeasure kept from the Court, not enduring to be thrust down (as he complain'd) by his adversaries into a private life, did resolve to make his way unto the Queen by force, to seise upon her Person, and remove from her company those he judged to be his adversaries. But the purpose failing, he was taken himself and committed to the Tower. A little before he had written Letters to the King full of respect, informing that they who had the managing of all affairs under the Queen were inclining to the Infanta of *Spain*, and advising him to send Ambassadors into *England*, and urge the declaration of his Title of Succession. The King, though he could have wished his Title to be declared, did not think that time fitting for such Propositions; yet upon the report of his Apprehension he resolved to employ some in Commission to the Queen. And to this effect made choice of the Earl of *Marre*, joyning with him the Abbot of *Kinlosse*; who coming to the Court some days after the Execution of *Essex*, and having access to the Queen, did congratulate her good success in repressing that audacious attempt. This she took well, and was glad to hear so much from them, because of the rumors which were then dispersed, That *Essex* was made away for favoring the King of *Scots* Title, and that if the Ambassadors had come in time they would have dealt for him. A good Answer was hereupon given to all their Instructions: and whereas, among other points of their Commission, they were willed to seek an assignment of some portion of land in recompence of the lands belonging to the Lady *Lennox*, the King being her lawful Heir; the Queen excusing her self touching the lands, was content to add to the annuity formerly paid the sum of 2000 pounds yearly, as long as he kept fast and held one course with her. Besides this satisfaction obtained of the Queen, they did so work with the principal Noblemen and Counsellors, as they won them to be the Kings friends, and at their return gave his Majesty assurance of a peaceable Reception of that Crown after the decease of the Queen, which was some two years after really performed.

Much about this time had Pope *Clement* the eighth sent his *Breves* (as they call them) into *England*, warning all the Clergy and Layety that professed the Roman Faith,

Faith, not to admit after the Queens death any man, how near soever in blood, to be King, unless he should bind himself by Oath to promote the Catholick Roman Religion at his power. And at the same time came Mr. *John Hamilton* and Mr. *Edmond Hay*, Jesuites, into *Scotland*, two factious and working spirits, and therefore much suspected by the King; the first especially, for that he was known to have been a chief instrument of the Seditions raised in the City of *Paris* in the time of the League. How soon the King understood of their repairing into the Country, a Proclamation was given out inhibiting their resort under the pain of Treason. In this Proclamation, to make them the more odious, they were compared to *Bothwell* and *Gowry*, the King declaring that he would judge no otherwise of their receptors than of those that did treasonably pursue his own life. This notwithstanding, they found lurking-holes amongst the Papists in the North, and kept the Country till, after some years, that Mr. *John Hamilton* was apprehended and carried to the Tower of *London*, where he died.

The Church of *Edinburgh* remained all this while destitute of a number of their Ministers, the Conditions prescribed unto them when they were pardoned not being performed: of the four only Mr. *John Hall*, having given obedience, was licensed to return to his Charge; the other three, upon I know not what pretext, deferred to make their declaration, as was appointed, and were thereupon in the Assembly convened at *Brunt-Island* the 12 of *May* ordained to be transported from the Ministry of *Edinburgh*, and placed in such parts of the Country as the Commissioners of the Country should think meet. This Assembly was called by his Majesties Proclamation, partly for taking order with the Church of *Edinburgh*, Majesties Proclamation, partly for taking order with the Church of *Edinburgh*, partly for repressing the growth of Popery, which was then increasing; and where it should have held at *S. Andrews*, was, in regard of the Kings indisposition, brought to *Brunt-Island*.

Mr. *John Hall* being elected to moderate the meeting, did begin with a regrave of the general defection from the purity and practice of true Religion, which he said was so great, that it must of necessity at last conclude either in Popery or Atheism, except a substantial remedy were in time provided. And because the ill could not be well cured unless the causes and occasions thereof should be ripe up; he exhorteth those that were assembled, to consider seriously both of the Causes of the Defection, and the Remedies that were fittest to be applied.

After long conference, the Causes were condescended to be, The wrath of God kindled against the Land for the unreverent estimation of the Gospel, and the Sins in all Estates, to the dishonor of their profession; Lack of care in the Ministry to discover Apostates; Too hasty admission of men unto the Ministry, Ministers framing themselves to the humors of people; The desolation of the Churches of *Edinburgh*; The advancing of men to places of credit that were ill-affected to Religion; The Education of his Majesties Children in the company of Papists; The training up of Noblemens children under suspect Pedagogues; The decay of Schools; and the not urging of the reconciled Lords to perform their Conditions.

For Remedy of the foresaid evils it was ordained, That a publick Humiliation should be kept throughout the Realm the last two Sundays of June, with Fasting and Prayer, for appeasing the wrath of God kindled against the Land; That the Ministers of every Presbytery should after the dissolving of the Assembly take up the names of the Recusants within their bounds, and send them to the Kings Ministers; That of the Recusants within their bounds, and send them to the Kings Ministers; That in places of greatest need should be furnished with learned and wise Preachers, and in the mean time, till that might take effect by a constant provision of Ministers to those places, that the meetest for that purpose should be appointed to attend for a certain time in the families of the reconciled Lords, for their better confirmation in the Truth. The rest of the remedies resolved all in Petitions to his Majesty, for the planting of Churches, the not permitting of those who were under process for Popery to have access to Court, and a care to be taken of the good education of the children of Noblemen. To all which the King gave favorable answers; and for the removing of the Princess his Daughter from the Lady *Levingston*, which was earnestly entreated by the whole Assembly, his Majesty did promise to bring her to his own House before the Term of *Martimus* next.

An. 1601.

A Proclamation against some Jesuites.

An Assembly at Brunt-Island.

Mr. John Hall elected Moderator.

The Defection in Religion complained of and the Causes searched.

The Remedy of the evils.

An. 1601.

Mr. John Davidson his Letter to the Assembly.

Whilst matters were thus proceeding, there was delivered a Letter sent by Mr. John Davidson to the Assembly, wherein, as if he would awake his Brethren fallen asleep, he began with a strong cry, *How long shall we fear or favor flesh and blood, and follow the counsel and command thereof? Should our meetings be in the name of man? Are we not yet to take up our selves, and to acknowledge our former errors, and feebleness in the Work of the Lord?* And a little after, *Is it time for us now, when so many of our worthy Brethren are thrust out of their Callings without all order of just proceeding, and Jesuites, Atheists and Papists are suffered, countenanced and advanced to great rooms in the Realm, for the bringing in of Idolatry, and Captivity more than Babylonical, with an high hand, and that in our chief City? Is it time for us, I say, of the Ministry to be inveigled and blind-folded with pretence of Preferment of some small number of our Brethren to have voice in Parliament, and have Titles of Prelacy? Shall we with Samson sleep still on Dalilahs knees, till she say, The Philistines be upon thee, Samson?* Then scoffing at the Kings doings, he said, *But Bonyton is executed, an infamous Thief in the highest degree: what is that to the cause of Religion, whereof no question was moved? Is there no Papist, nor savor of Papists in Scotland but Bonyton? But the King is sound in Religion, what can the adversaries do? Being sound, the danger were the less; but there is nothing either in Church or King according to our calling, &c.* In Postscript to the same Letter he wished them to be wary of determining any thing touching the planting of Edinburgh, in respect of any promises against Papists, and to remember that *Melius & optabilius est bellum pace impia, & à Deo distrabente.*

The Letter offended greatly the wiser sort.

A Combustion touching the Ministers of Edinburgh.

A Proposition was made for a new Translation of the Bible, and correcting the Psalms.

The liberty of Application restrained.

The Ministers of Edinburgh received in favour.

This Letter laughed at by some did greatly offend the wiser sort, who would have proceeded to censure the man as he had deserved, but that the King interceded, willing to leave the punishment to him, and go on with their own affairs as they had begun. So the Letter being cast by, the planting of Edinburgh was next handled; and after some reasoning it was concluded, that the three Ministers, Mr. Walter Balcanquell, Mr. James Balfour and Mr. William Watson should be transported, and others placed in their rooms. The care of this among other things was entrusted to certain Commissioners deputed by the Assembly, who had power given them for all matters that concerned the Church unto the next General Meeting.

After this a Proposition was made for a new Translation of the Bible, and the correcting of the Psalms in Metre: his Majesty did urge it earnestly, and with many Reasons did persuade the undertaking of the Work, shewing the necessity and the profit of it, and what a glory the performing thereof should bring to this Church: speaking of the necessity, he did mention sundry escapes in the common Translation, and made it seem that he was no less conversant in the Scriptures than they whose profession it was; and when he came to speak of the Psalms, did recite whole verses of the same, shewing both the faults of the metre and the discrepancy from the Text. It was the joy of all that were present to hear it, and bred not little admiration in the whole Assembly, who approving the motion did recommend the Translation to such of the Brethren as were most skill'd in the Languages, and the revising of the Psalms particularly to Mr. Robert Pont; but nothing was done in the one or the other: yet did not the King let this his intention fall to the ground, but after his happy coming to the Crown of England set the most learned Divines of that Church a work for the Translation of the Bible; which with great pains and the singular profit of the Church they perfected. The revising of the Psalms he made his own labor, and at such hours as he might spare from the publick cares went through a number of them, commending the rest to a faithful and learned servant, who hath therein answered his Majesties expectation.

The Act for restraining the liberty of Application in Exercises was of new ratified, and an Ordinance made against the Preaching of young men not admitted to the Ministry in the chief places of the Country; which done, and the next Assembly being appointed to be held at S. Andrews the last Tuesday of July Anno 1602, the meeting dissolved.

Soon after the King, by the advice of the Commissioners of the Church, received in favor the three Ministers of Edinburgh that were ordained to be translated

to other places, and licensed them to return to their Charges. Mr. John Dikes also, who had lurked all this time, having composed some Eucharistick Sonnets (as he called them) for his Majesties preservation, was pardoned, and permitted to return to his place. But Mr. John Davidson presuming to find the like favour, and appearing in publick without warrant, was taken and committed to the Castle of Edinburgh, where he remained some months, till by the intercession of the Kings Ministers he was also put to liberty.

In the State the Lord Maxwell began to make new Troubles, and notwithstanding he was prohibited to repair within the bounds of Niddisdale and Galloway, he went home without licence, having contrived the death of Sir James Johnston then Warden; but the purpose failing, he made an Incurfion upon Annandale, raising fire, and committing slaughter: whereupon, great Stirs were moved in these parts, which were not pacified till the February after; at which time the King, going in person to Dumfries, made him leave the Country, and put in Sureties for his remaining within the bounds of Cluidisdale.

In July thereafter Lodowick Duke of Lennox was sent in an Ambassage to France, rather for confirming the old Amity and friendship, than for any business else. There went with him Sir Thomas Ereskin and Sir William Levinston of Kilsithe, two of his Majesties privy Council; Mr. John Spotwood, then Parson of Calder, was directed to attend him as his Chaplain or Preacher. The Duke taking his journey by Sea arrived at Diep the 24 of that month, and upon the 10 day after entered into Paris, accompanied by James Archbishop of Glasgow and a great train of Scottishmen, who did meet him at S. Denis: he had presence of the French King at S. Germans some seven leagues from Paris, and was very kindly accepted. A few daies after the King went to Fountain-bleau, where the Queen was to lie of Child-birth. Thither the Duke did follow him, and was entertained with hunting and the like sports unto the Queens delivery, which fell out the 17 of September. Going then unto the Country to salute his Mother Madam D'Anbigney and other his friends, whilst he was about these offices of kindness, the King went by post to Calais upon some intelligence, as it was said, from England, that the Queen was fallen sick: he himself gave out that the affairs of Flanders did occasion his journey, for as then the Archduke was besieging Ostend. But whatsoever the business was, no man doubted but that he had an eye upon the Succession of England; and if he could have found a Faction, would have foisted in another Bastard of Normandy, which oftentimes in a merriment and gallantry he spared not to utter.

The Duke after his return to Paris made no long stay, but taking his leave of the French King, who was then come back from Calais, took journey towards England, and came to London in the beginning of November. A Parliament was then sitting at Westminster (the last that Queen Elizabeth held) which with his coming upon that instant gave many to think that he was come to urge a Declaration of the Kings Right of Succession; and not a few they were, nor of small note, that offered to assist, if he should move any such business: but he told them, that neither had he any such Commission, nor would the King ever agree to any thing that might breed a jealousy in the Queen. And his Commission indeed was no other but to salute the Queen in the Kings name, and let her know the kind and filial affection he carried unto her, whereof he should be willing to give proof at all occasions. And for that he was given to understand that the Irish Rebels had drawn in some Spanish forces into Ireland, to fortifie themselves in their Rebellion, he would, if his aid should be thought necessary, employ the same for their expulsion. The Queen giving the King many thanks, said, That if those Troubles continued, she would take his help, and hire some of his High-landers and Isles-men; but she trusted to hear other news shortly, and not be vexed long with those strangers. As also it came to pass, for the very next month the Lord Montjoy her Deputy did, in a Battel fought near Kinsail, defeat the Irish utterly, and afterwards forced the Spaniards that had taken the Town to render upon condition of their lives saved, and that they might be transported again into their Country.

The Duke after three weeks stay, being feasted by the Queen and entertained

An. 1601.

New troubles by the Lord Maxwell.

The Duke of Lennox directed Ambassador to France.

The Queen of France lying of her first-born.

The Duke returned to Edinburgh.

An. 1602.

with all complements of amity, returned home, and came to *Edinburgh* in the end of *December*; where having related his proceedings in Council, they were all approved. The Lord *Elphinston* had in his absence resigned the Office of Treasury upon an offence, as was thought, he conceived for adjoining some others unto him in the composing of Signators; and now was Sir *George Hume*, one of the Masters of the Quirie, preferred to the Office, which he discharged by his Deputy, Sir *John Arnot*, both to his Majesty and the Countries content.

An. 1602.
Certain Undertakers conquer the Isles.

The next Summer the King having resolved to plant Lowland-men in the Isles, and transport the Inhabitants into the main land, where they might learn civility, made a beginning at the Isle of *Lewis*. The Undertakers were *Patrick* Abbot of *Lundors*, Colonel *William Stewart*, Captain *William Murray*, Mr. *James Lermouth* of *Balcomy*, Mr. *James Spence* of *Wormeston*, Sir *James Anstruther* of that ilke, and *James Forret* of *Fingaskie*. These Gentlemen furnishing themselves with arms and shipping, and having conducted a number of souldiers, took sea, and in the third or fourth day arrived in the Lake of *Sternoway* within the same Isle. *Murdach Macklowd*, base son to old *Macklowd*, who carried himself as Lord of the Isle, made at the first some resistance; but after a little conflict distrusting the people, for he had used them with great tyranny, he fled and forsook the Isle, leaving the Indwellers to the discretion of the Invaders: they, how soon he was gone, did all submit themselves, and accept such Conditions as were offered by the Undertakers.

Being thus peaceably possessed, the Laird of *Balcomy*, either sent by the rest to signify their good success, and to make preparation against the Winter, or for some private business of his own, took purpose to return home, and being lanced a little from the coast, and by reason of the Calm forced to cast anchor, was suddenly invaded by the said *Murdach Macklowd* with a number of Birlings (so they call the little vessels those Isles-men use) the ship boarded, the mariners killed, and himself made prisoner. The Gentleman being detained some days, and hourly threatned with death, was afterwards ransomed by one of his friends, and conveyed to *Orkney*, where contracting a Fever he died. The rest of the Gentlemen, to repair this injury, conducted *Neill Macklowd*, Brother to the said *Murdach*, to betray and deliver him in their hands; which he performed shortly after, having by an Ambush laid for his Brother apprehended him, and some twelve more that were in his company. The twelve he presently beheaded, *Murdach* he delivered to the Gentlemen, as he had promised, who was afterwards transported to *S. Andrews*, and there executed.

The Laird of Balcomy taken prisoner, and died in Orkney. Neill betrayeth his Brother Murdach.

The Lewis lost by the Undertakers security.

The Undertakers thinking themselves now secured, began to build, and made a partition of lands, letting the same to the Country-people, who did all swear fidelity to them: but whilst they expected no trouble, *Norman Macklowd* Son to old *Macklowd* did on the sudden beset them, put fire to their lodgings, and force them to the Conditions following.

First, that they should purchase to them a Remission from the King of all crimes and offences past.

Next, that they should resign to *Norman* all the right that they had acquired of the Isle of *Lewis*.

And thirdly, that Sir *James Spence*, with his Son-in-law *Thomas Monypenny* of *Kinkell*, should remain as Pledges until the Remission was brought unto him, and such a Surety given of the Isle as he could devise.

This condescended unto, Sir *James Anstruther* departed with the whole company that was left (for many were killed before their yielding) and for relief of the Pledges obtained of the King both the Remission and Security of the Isle that was desired, which was sent to *Norman* by *James Lermouth* son to the Laird of *Darcie*. By this mean were the Pledges freed, and for that time the whole enterprise defeated. Some three years after the same was of new attempted, with what success we shall hear in the own place.

Master *Robert Bruce*, who as we shewed before was exiled in *France*, obtained licence to return in the beginning of this Summer by the intercession of the Earl of *Marre*, whom he had intreated to mediate his peace, upon promise at his return to

Mr. Rob. Bruce licensed to return upon promise of satisfaction.

to satisfy the King, and declare his resolution in that matter of *Gowries*. The King, who never shewed himself difficle (especially to Ministers that professed penitency for their errors) gave warrant to recal him; and he appearing before the Commissioners of the Church at *Perth* the 25 of *June*, where his Majesty was present, acknowledged his error, professed his resolution touching the guiltiness of those unhappy Brothers, and promised, if his Majesty should licence him to return to his place, to declare the same publicly in the first Sermon he should have to the people. The King doubting his performance (for he had often in other matters tried his inconstancy) caused the same to be set down in writing upon the back of the Letter he had sent to the Earl of *Marre*, and after he had subscribed the same, made all the Commissioners that were present (eleven in number) to set their hands thereto as Witnesses. This done, he was admitted to kiss his Majesties hand, and licenced to return to his place. But as the King had conjectured, so it fell out; for coming to *Edinburgh*, where it was expected he should have done what he had both promised and subscribed, he left the Town, pretending that his Ministry should thereby be discredited, and he esteemed to Preach by Injunction. The General Assembly of the Church meeting in *November* following, the King, to remove this pretext, after he had shewed all the particulars of his proceeding with Mr. *Robert*, and produced the Letter sent by him to the Earl of *Marre*, together with his Subscription in the meeting of *Perth*, desired the voices of the Assembly, whether or not he ought to utter his resolution in Pulpit as he had promised. They all, not one gain saying, declared, That he was bound both in duty and conscience to fulfil his promise, so much the rather, that by his distrust and disobedience to the Councils charge he had confirmed ill-disposed people in their suspicions. Yet this Ordinance did not content him, and so delaying to give satisfaction, he was by the Commissioners of the Church discharged from the Ministry of *Edinburgh* the year following.

Mr. Rob. Bruce his inconstancy.

A General Assembly in the Chappel of Halibrouse.

In this Assembly Mr. *Patrick Galloway* being chosen to preside, he made a Speech to the King, wherein he shewed, 'That the Church was oppugned by two sorts of enemies, to wit, Papists and Sacrilegious persons; and therefore in the name of the whole Church entreated his Majesty, that as he had with great travel and happy success made the principals of the Popish profession to conform themselves in outward obedience, so he would use his Princely Authority towards the other sort, and compel them, if not to restore all, at least to grant a competent allowance to Ministers forth of the Tithes they possessed. The King accepting the Petition graciously, said, That it should not be well with the Church so long as Ministers were drawn from their Charges to attend the yearly modification of Stipends, and that he held it fittest once to condescend upon a competent provision for every Church, and deal with those that possessed the Tithes to bestow a part thereof to the foresaid uses: and seeing that business would require a longer time than they could well continue together, that they should do well to make some overtures to those that had the Commission for Stipends, promising for himself that he should stand for the Church, and be an advocate for the Ministers.

Petitions to his Majesty in name of the Church.

After a long deliberation these Overtures were proposed. 'First, That the Ministers having Stipends assigned to them forth of the Tithes of the Churches where they served, a perpetual security should be made to the Takefmen, and a certain gressome condescended on for every chaldre of victual, which should be paid for nineteen years lease; at the expiring whereof, another lease upon the like conditions should be renewed for as many years, the principal Takefmen being obliged to grant the like security for his Subtakefmen. 2. That the Prelacies should be disposed to actual Ministers, the Churches annexed thereto being sufficiently provided, and the tenth of the superplus paid to the King; or otherwise, that all the great Benefices should be dissolved, the Prelate enjoying the principal Church and temporal lands, and the Churches annexed disposed to Ministers, both they and the Prelate paying a yearly duty to the King. And 3. that all inferior Benefices should be provided to the Ministers serving the Cure.

Overtures for provision of the Ministers.

The First of these Overtures the King held reasonable and most advantageous to

The Overtures deferred to another time.

An. 1602.

Grievances of
the Synod of
Fife.An Answer to
the Grievances.Acts concluded
in the Assembly.The business
of Jesuites in
England.

to the Church; but the Assembly esteeming it dangerous to make Tithes heritable, deferred to give their consent, to as nothing at that time was concluded, and the Overtures remitted to a more deep consideration.

The Synod of Fife did after this present some Grievances, complaining, 'That the General Assemblies were not kept at the ordinary times, and both places and days altered, without the knowledge of Presbyters and Synods. That Ministers were called before the Council *in prima instantia*, for matters of Doctrine and Discipline. That the Government of the Church continued in the hands of a few Ministers under the name of a *Commission*, to the prejudice of the Liberty of the Church. That Doctors, being an ordinary calling in the Church, were debarred from coming to Assemblies. That no trial was taken concerning the observation of Caveats. That the Ministers of *Edinburgh*, being the principal Watch-tower of the Church, were not permitted to attend their Charge. That the land was polluted with the *French* Ambassadors Masses, and Excommunicates suffered to abide in the Country. And lastly, that the Letters and practices of Papists were kept secret, and not communicated to the Watchmen.

These Complaints, being known to proceed from the private discontents of such as grieved to see the affairs of the Church carried by others than themselves, were not much regarded; yet to shew that they had no just cause to complain, a particular Answer was made to every one of them. And first it was said, 'That the Assemblies both were and should be kept according to the Act of Parliament. That Ministers should not be called before the Council but upon just grounds. That Commissions given by the Assembly and rightly discharged were lawful. That Doctors authorised with a Commission from the University, where they lived, were not denied a voice in Assemblies; and that if the Caveats were not observed, they might instance the point, and have the person after trial censured. To the rest of the Heads his Majesty by himself made this reply: 'That the *French* Ambassadors Masse was private, and could not be refused to him, considering that the Minister directed with his own Ambassadors the year before was permitted to Preach within the City of *Paris*. And for the Ministers of *Edinburgh*, they had received all the favor they desired. As to him that lay back, it was his own fault, and no mans else. But where, saith he, it is craved that the Letters and practices of Papists should be communicate to Ministers; as that were the ready way to procure the escape, and no punishment of the practices, so the propo-ners would remember, that Secrets must be imparted at the Kings pleasure, and not otherwise.

Some other Acts were concluded in the same Assembly: as *That in memory of his Majesties Deliverance there should be Sermons in all the Burghs every Tuesday, and the fifth of August solemnly kept as the Parliament had prescribed in all the Churches of the Kingdom. That Ministers should not refuse the Sacrament of Baptism to Infants, nor delay the same upon whatsoever pretext, the same being required by the parents, or others in their name*—for as then, except at ordinary hours of Preaching, Ministers denied to baptize. And because they had taken a custom not to celebrate Marriage upon the Sunday, pretending that the day was profaned by Feasting, Dancing, and the like; it was ordained, *They should hereafter at the parties desire celebrate the same either on the Sunday or Week-day.* These things concluded, and Commissioners chosen to attend the common affairs of the Church, the Assembly dissolved, having appointed the next meeting at *Aberdene* the last Tuesday of July, Anno 1604.

All this time were the enemies of our Religion, the Jesuites, especially busied to stir up a party against the King and his Title to *England*. They had lost all hope of gaining his affection, or obtaining any promise of Toleration when he should come to that Crown; and had found their Writings and Pamphlets for the *Infanta* of *Spain* her Right to move few or none. Thereupon they fell to treat of a marriage betwixt Lady *Arabella* and Robert Prince of *Savoy*: and that not succeeding, to speak of a match betwixt her and a Grandchild of the Earl of *Hartfords*, judging that their Pretensions being conjoined, many would befriend them, to the excluding of the King of *Scots*. But the Queen, who truly favoured his Right, though

though she would not openly profess so much, dashed all those projects, and caused an eye to be kept upon that Lady and such as resorted unto her.

About the same time the King had intelligence given him, that one *Francis Mowbray* Son to the Laird of *Barnebowgall*, who had lived a while in the *Infants Court* at *Bruxells*, had undertaken to kill him. This brake out first at *London* by an *Italian* a Fencer, whose name was *Daniel*; which coming to the Queens ears, she commanded Sir *Robert Cecil* her Secretary to call the persons (for they were both in the City) and examine them. The *Italian* abode by his speeches; *Mowbray* denied, and offered to prove him a Liar in combat; which the other accepted. Both being sent into *Scotland*, they were tried first severally, then confronted before certain of the Council. The *Italian* produced Witnesses, who verified all that he had deposed: whereupon *Mowbray* was committed to the Castle of *Edinburgh*, where seeking to escape by night at a window of the chamber where he was detained, the sheets proving too short by which he thought to descend, he fell from a great precipice, and was found the next morning dead at the foot of the rock. The Corps was the same day, being the last of *January*, presented to the Justice, and sentence of Forfeiture pronounced against him; his body hanged for a space upon the Gibbet, and afterwards quartered and affixed on the Gates and most open places of the Town. His friends (for he was well born, and a proper young Gentleman) gave out that he had been strangled, and his corps thrown down at the window. But this carried no appearance, and was believed of few.

The Queen of *England* in the Winter being perceived to wax heavy and dull, and the rumor thereof dispersed (as there is nothing that can be worse concealed than the Sickness or Death of a Prince) there was much business every where, and she held for the most part dead. The *French* King had sent the Summer preceeding two Ambassadors, one to reside in *England* and another in *Scotland*, under colour of impeaching the courses of *Spain*, but in effect to observe the strength and affection of both people. He that was sent into *England* brought a Letter from the *French* King to Secretary *Cecil* of infinite kindness; and breaking with him one day upon the Miseries of the Kingdom when it should please God to translate the Queen, fell to speak of the loss he should sustain by the exchange, and the case wherein he would be if the *Scottish* King did succeed; which to his apprehension should be more hard and miserable than any others, being likely to undergo the revenge of faults laid upon his Father about matters concerning the Kings Mother, and other courses that he was esteemed to have run himself since the death of his Father. The Secretary, that was no child, knowing that the Ambassador did but sound him, for making some other project, answered, *That this was the reward of unspotted duty, when Ministers did only regard the service of their Sovereigns, without respect of their own particular; and that for himself he should never grieve to endure trouble for so just a cause, the same being to a man that valued his credit more than his security a kind of Martyrdom: notwithstanding he supposed that things passed would not be called to mind; or if so were, and that he saw his case desperate, he should flee to another City, and take the benefit of the Kings royal offer.*

The Ambassador being so answered, made a fair retreat, saying, *That in case the King of Scots did carry himself towards the King of France with the respect which was due, he was not purposed to impeach his Interest.* The Secretary replying, *That it was a wise resolution his Master had taken.* The Ambassador ceased to tempt him any farther in that business. Hereof the King was advertised by Letters from the Secretary, who therein did assure him of his true and honest service when occasion required; howbeit he would not, as some others had done, needlessly hazard his fortune and reputation before the time.

It shall not be amiss to hear what was the Kings answer to the Secretary. *As I do heartily thank you, said he, for your plain and honest offer; so may you assure your self, that it would do me no pleasure that you should hazard either your fortune or reputation, since the loss of either of these would make you the less available to me. No, I love not to feed upon such fantastical humors, although I cannot let busy-bodies to live*

An. 1602.

The story of
Francis Mow-
bray and an
Italian.The Queen of
England
groweth sick.A Conference
betwixt the
French Ambas-
sador and Sec-
retary Cecil.The King ad-
vertised of this
Conference.His Majesties
Letter to the
Secretary.

An. 1603.

live upon their own imaginations. But for my part I hold it the office of a King, as sitting on the throne of God, to imitate the Primum mobile, and by his steady and ever-constant course to govern all the other changeable and uncertain motions of the inferior Planets. And I protest in Gods presence, that for your constant and honest behavior in your Sovereigns service, I loved your Vertues long before I could be certain that you would deserve at my hand the love of your Person: wherefore go on, and serve Her truly that reigneth, as you have done; for he that is false to the present, will never be true to the future.

A Letter from the King to the Earl of Northumberland.

In another Letter directed to the Earl of Northumberland (that we way know the wisdom and piety of the King) who had sent him advertisement of the Queens weakness, and advised him to make sure his Title by apprehending possession in time, he said, *That man can neither be Religious nor Just, that dealeth worse with his Neighbor than he would be dealt withal; and in a man of quality it can be no wisdom to leap hedge and ditch, and adventure the breaking of his neck for gathering forbidden fruit before it be ripe; whenas by attending the due time, he may be sure to find all the Gates of the Orchard open, and with free scope enter, take and taste at liberty. Sure it were a great weakness and unworthiness in me to come in as an Usurper, with offence and scandal to the Laws and present estate of Government, when I may in the right time claim the Crown as nearest Heir to the Prince deceased, and possess with equity. Should I out of untimely ambition fall to break the long-continued and faithfully preserved Amity, that by the proof of many kind offices hath taken root among us, it were an error inexcusable. And howbeit I do acknowledge your kind affection in the offers you make of assistance, I must tell you freely, that no Prince can presume of any Subjects Loyalty to himself, that hath been unsound and unfaithful to his own Sovereign; nor would I ever look to be secured in a Kingdom so traiterously disposed.* In end, he advised the Earl to forbear such writing, and when he wrote (which he wished him to do rarely, and not but upon great occasions) to beware of any thing that might justly offend the Queen, lest by interception or other misadventure he might be disabled to serve him another day.

The Queen of England her Death.

This was the Kings resolution, which God so blessed as it brought him within a short time after, against the opinions and desires of many, to the quiet and peaceable possession of his Right and Inheritance; for in the Spring the Queens Disease encreasing (which was judged to be a Melancholy incorrigible, and by some conceived to proceed from a sorrow for Essex; others ascribed it to the accepting of the Rebel Tyrone to peace) and all apprehending it to be deadly, the hearts of people did so incline to the King, as a great many in that State did write unto him, *That all England was grown to be Scottish.* The Queen her self continuing constant in her affection, when she was ask'd a little before her death by the Lord Keeper and Secretary (who were directed by the Council to understand her will touching her Successor) answered, *None but my Cousin, the King of Scots.* After which words she spake not much: only being desired by the Archbishop of Canterbury (whom she would not suffer to go from her all that time) to fix her thoughts upon God, she said, *So I do, neither doth my mind wander from him:* and then commending her Soul to God in devout manner, died most patiently and willingly. A Queen incomparable for wisdom and fidelity of Government; she departed this life the 24 of March, in the 70 year of her age, and 44 of her Reign. The same day in the forenoon the King of Scots was proclaimed King first at the Palace of Whitehall, next at the Cross in Cheapside within the City of London, with an infinite applause of all sorts of people.

The End of the Sixth Book.

An. 1603.

THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

The Seventh BOOK.

The Contents.

The Proceedings after his Majesties going into England, unto his Death.

THE news of the Queens Death were brought the third day after by Sir Robert Cary, a Son of the Lord Hunsdon; after whom Sir Charles Piercy, Brother to the Earl of Northumberland, and Thomas Somerset Son to the Earl of Worcester, were directed from the Council of England with the Letter following.

The King advised of the Queens Death.

Right High, Right Excellent and Mighty Prince, and our Dread Sovereign Lord; As we cannot but confess unto Your Majesty, that the Grief we have conceived by the Loss of our late Sovereign Lady, whose Soul in Your Palace of Richmond passed from Her earthly Body to the Joys of Heaven betwixt two and three of the clock this morning, was nothing less than our Loyalty and Love to her whilest she lived, being a Princess adorned with Vertues meet for Government, prosperous in the success of her affairs, and under whose Obedience we have lived in greater Tranquillity these many years than commonly happeneth to Princes; so we must acknowledge that our sorrow is extinguished by the impression we have of those Heroical Vertues of wisdom, Piety and Magnanimity, which we know to be in Your Majesties Person, to whose Right the lineal and lawful Succession of all our late Sovereigns Dominions doth justly and only appertain: wherein we presume to profess this much, as well for the honor which will thereby remain to our posterity, as for Your Majesties Security of a peaceable possession of your Kingdoms, that we have never found, either of those of the Nobility, or of any other of the Estates of this Realm, any divided humor about the receiving and acknowledging Your Majesty to be the only Head that must give life to the present maimed Body of this Kingdom, which is so happy, as with an universal consent to have received one sole, uniform and constant impression of bright Blood, as next of kin to our Sovereign deceased, and consequently by the Laws of this Realm true and next Heir to her Kingdoms and Dominions; whereof we have made outward demonstration by publick Proclamation this very day afore noon, first in the City of Westminster, at Your Majesties Palace-gate at White-Hall, and next at the Cross of Cheap-side, within Your Majesties City of London, with an infinite applause of Your people, and with such Solemnity as the shortness of time would permit. Of all which we have thought it our Duty immediately to advertise Your Majesty by these

A Letter from the Council and Nobility of England to the King.

An. 1603.

these two Gentlemen, Sir Charles Piercy, Brother to the Earl of Northumberland, and Thomas Somerset Esquire, Son to the Earl of Worcester, of whom we have made choice to be the bearers of our Letters; humbly beseeching your Highness to accept the same as the first-fruits and offering of our tender and Loyal affections towards you our Gracious Sovereign, and to rest assured that the same shall be ever hereafter seconded with all Faith, Obedience and humble Service, which shall be in our power to perform, for maintaining that which we have begun with the sacrifice of our Lives, Lands and Goods, which we with all our other means do here humbly present at Your Majesties feet: craving of your Highness, that seeing hereby you may perceive in what estate we remain, as Body without a Head, or rather without that Spirit here amongst us, which from the Head might give vigor to every Member to exercise the duty to it belonging, thereby to keep the whole Body from confusion, you will be pleased to enter into consideration, how soon and in what manner it shall seem best to your Majesties Excellent Wisdom, to inspire a new Life into this languishing Body, the circumstances whereof are wholly to be left to your Majesty, holding it enough for us humbly to acknowledge our selves your true Subjects, ready to obey all your Commandments; assuring you withall, that as we have hereby, as many of us as have underwritten this Letter, declared our Recognition and humble Submission to your Majesties Sovereign Power and Right, so we do know by all good proofs, that the mind of the rest of the Nobility, and all others who are absent, in their several qualities, places and charges, whom the time permitted not without the prejudice of your affairs to assemble so soon as we were desirous this should be performed, are wholly and absolutely with us in all Zeal and Duty for all things that shall be imposed upon them by your Royal Will and pleasure.

Farther we have thought meet and necessary to advertise your Highness, that Sir Robert Cary this morning departed from hence towards Your Majesty, not only without the consent of any of us who were present at Richmond at the time of our late Sovereigns Decease, but also contrary to such commandment as we had power to lay upon him, and to all decency and good manners and respect, which he ought to do many persons of our Degree, whereby it may be that your Majesty hearing by a bare report only of the Death of the late Queen, and not of our care and diligence in establishment of Your Majesties Right here, in such manner as is above specified, may conceive doubts of other nature than (God be thanked) there is cause you should; which we would have clearly prevented, if he had born so much respect to us as to have stayed for a common relation of our proceedings, and not thought it better to anticipate the same: for we would have been loth that any Person of quality should have gone from hence, who should not with the report of her Death have been able to declare the first effects of our assured Loyalties.

And lastly, it may please Your Majesty to receive this Advertisement, that of late there was made ready by the commandment of the Queen our Mistress a good Fleet of eight or ten of her Ships well manned and furnished under the charge of Sir Richard Lawson, Knight, to have been employed upon the coast of Spain; which employment by her Decease is ceased for want of Commission to exercise the same, and now is kept together in the narrow Seas to prevent any sudden attempt against the Low-Countries; and that now there is nothing either of Land or Sea that is not Yours, it may please Your Majesty to signifye Your pleasure concerning that Fleet, and whether you will have it or any part thereof resort to your coast of Scotland, where it may serve you either for the safe convoy of your Person to this Realm, if there shall be cause to use it in this manner, or to transport any of Yours, whilest You come by Land, or any other service. In which point we humbly beseech you to make known under whose charge it shall be Your pleasure the whole Fleet or any part thereof shall come unto you. And this being all that for the present doth occur to be advertised to Your Majesty by us whose minds are occupied about the conservation of this your Realm in Peace, as far forth as, by any power your Majesties service only assumed, the interruption thereof may be prevented, saving that we have sent a Copy of the Proclamation made here to your Majesties Deputy of

of Ireland, to be published in that Kingdom, we will, and with our humble prayers to Almighty God, that we may be so happy as speedily to enjoy the comfortable presence of Your Highness Royal Person amongst us, the only object of that glory and those Felicitities which in the Earth we have proponed to our selves. Written in Your Majesties City of London, the 24 of March 1603, at ten hours of the clock at night.

This Letter was subscribed by

Robert Leigh, Mayor.
John Canterbury.
Thomas Egerton.
Thomas Buckhurst.
Nottingham.
Northumberland.
Gilbert Shrewsbury.
William Darby.
Edward Worcester.
Geo. Cumberland.
R. Suffex.
Henry Lincoln.

Pembroke.
Clanrickard.
G. Humdon.
Tho. Howard.
Richard London.
Robert Hartford.
John Norwich.
Morley.
Henry Cobham.
Thomas Laware.
Gray.
Edward Cromwell.

R. Riche.
Lumley.
Chandois.
W. Compton.
W. Knolles.
Edward Wotton.
John Stanhop.
Raleigh.
John Fortescue.
and John Popham.

The King having imparted this Letter to the Council, it was thought meet that the Contents thereof should be published, for begetting a greater kindness betwixt the people and the two Kingdoms: whereupon a Proclamation was made, shewing, 'That the Queen before her Death, continuing in that loving affection which she professed to his Majesty all the course of her life, had declared him her only true Heir and Successor in the Imperial Crowns of England, France and Ireland, and that the Lords Spiritual and Temporal assisted by the Lord Mayor of London, and others of the Gentry of good quality, had upon the 24 of March last proclaimed him their only liege Lord and undoubted Sovereign; which being the most clear demonstration that a people could give of their Affection, and a sure pledge of their future Obedience, ought to move all true-hearted subjects to account of them no otherwise than as their brethren and friends, and to forget and bury all quarrels and grounds of former dissensions: That therefore none should pretend ignorance, nor carry themselves in any unkind sort towards the inhabitants of England, his Majesty, with the advice of the Lords of Council, had ordained Proclamation to be made of the premises, assuring them that should so apply themselves of his gracious favor when occasion presented, and certifying such as did in the contrary, that they should incur his wrath and extreme displeasure.

This notwithstanding, the word no sooner came of the Queens Death, than the loose and broken men in the Borders assembling in companies made Incurfions upon England, doing what in them lay to divide the two Kingdoms; which the year following was severely punished, the principals that were tried to have been partners in that business being all executed to the death.

The King in the mean time giving order for his Journey, did appoint the Queen to follow him some twenty days after; and for his Children, ordained the Prince to remain at Striveling, the Duke of Albany his Brother to abide with the Lord Fyvie President of the Session, and the Princess Elizabeth their Sister with Alexander Earl of Linlithgow. To the Lords of Council an ample Commission was given for the Administration of all affairs, receiving Resignations, hearing the Accounts of the Exchequer, continuing days of Law, adjoining Assessors to the Justice, granting of Licences to depart forth of the Realm, altering the place of their residence as they should find it convenient, repressing the Troubles of the Borders, and for creating Lieutenants, one or more, upon occasions.

The

The Contents of the Letter published.

The Borders make Incurfions upon the report of the Queens death.

The King giveth order for his Journey.

An. 1603.

The Persons
chused to at-
tend the King
in his Journey.He goeth to
S. Giles to hear
a Sermon.The King
makes a
Speech to the
people which
is followed
with a great
Lamentation
of the hearers.The King com-
eth to Berwick.The Councel-
lors meet him
at York.The death of
Mr. James Bea-
ton Archbishop
of Glasgow.

The Persons he chused to attend him in the Journey were, the Duke of *Lennox*, the Earls of *Marre*, *Murray* and *Argile*, the Lord *Hume*, Sir *George Hume* Treasurer, Mr. *James Elphinston* Secretary, Sir *David Murray* Comptroller, Sir *Robert Ker* of *Cesford*, with the ordinary Gentlemen of the Chamber; and of the Clergy, *David Bishop of Ross*, *Peter Bishop of Dunkeld*, Mr. *Patrick Galloway*, Mr. *Andrew Lamb*, Mr. *John Spotswood*, Mr. *Gawen Hamilton*, and Mr. *Alexander Forbes*, Ministers.

Things thus ordered, the King went the next morning to *S. Giles* to hear a Sermon; Mr. *John Hall* (whose course it was) preaching, took occasion to remember the great mercies of God towards his Majesty, reckoning the peaceable Succession to the Crown of *England* none of the least. This, he said, was Gods own proper work, for who could else have directed the hearts of so numerous a people with such an unanime consent to follow the way of right? Thereupon he did exhort his Majesty to thankfulness, to the maintenance of Gods Truth, and that he would send home some of those commendable orders he would find whither he was going.

The King, accepting his Exhortation in good part, did upon the end of the Sermon make a Speech to the people, which at the time were frequently convened, and promising to have care of them and their good, gave them a most loving and kind farewell. This was followed with such a Mourning and Lamentation of all sorts, as cannot be well expressed. For albeit they joyed not a little at first to hear of that accession of Honor to their King; yet considering they should be deprived of his Presence, and have no more a resident King among them, they were grieved out of all measure. This affection of the people moved also the King greatly: therefore when the Magistrates, Ministers, and others of the better sort came to receive his Commandments, he spake graciously unto them; willing them not to be troubled with his departing, for that they should find the fruits of his Government as well afar off, as when he was near at hand; and as his Power was now encreased and made greater, so his Love towards them should not be a whit diminished.

In this sort did he part, and beginning his Journey on Wednesday the fourth of April, came the day to *Berwick*, there he was welcomed with a most eloquent Sermon by *Toby Matthew Bishop of Durham* (for he went first to the Church;) which finished he was conveyed to the Palace by the Governor and Garrison, the Munition playing from the walls, and the Citizens with shouts and acclamations testifying their gladness. The ninth of that month he went to *Newcastle*, where he abode some few daies; and because multitudes of people from all quarters were daily coming to see the King, and offer their service, order was taken that no Strangers should have access granted, till the Chamberlain or master of the Guard was acquainted with their business. At *Tork* he was met with the Councillors, and from thence, by easie journys, travelled to *London*. How his Majesty was there received, and what other things happened in the time, I remit to the *English History*, my purpose being only to relate the things passed in *Scotland*, or that had some reference to matters of that Church and Kingdom.

Being at *Burleigh-house* near unto *Stamford*, the King was advertised of the death of *James Beaton* Archbishop of *Glasgow*, who deceased at *Paris* in the same month. This man was descended of the house of *Balsoure* in *Fife*, and consecrate Bishop at *Rome* in the year 1552, and at the time of Reformation forsook the Country out of the hatred he bare to those that had hand in that Work, and carried with him all the Writs and Evidents of the Sea of *Glasgow*, with the Vessels and Ornaments of the Cathedral Church, things of exceeding great worth: for besides those of ordinary use, there belonged to that Church the Image of our Saviour in beaten Gold, and the pourtraits of the twelve Apostles in Silver. The Queen returning from *France* did establish him Ambassador in these parts for her affairs: under the Government of the Regents he was forfeited, and deprived of his living, which, as we shewed before, was conferred upon Mr. *James Boyd* of *Trochrig*, and after him went through divers hands, till the King

King at his Majority did restore him to his dignity, honour, and living, employing him likewise for his Ambassador in *France*. A man honorably disposed, faithful to the Queen while she lived, and to the King her Son, a lover of his Country, and liberal according to his means to all his Countrymen. In his last Will he bequeathed all his means to pious uses, leaving as was said ten thousand Crowns for the education of poor Scholars, being *Scotish-men* born. The evidents, Vessels and ornaments of the See of *Glasgow* he consigned in the hands of the *Carthusians* of *Paris*, appointing the same to be re-delivered how soon *Glasgow* should become Catholick; and this year, being the 66 of his age, departed peaceably this life.

The King having destinated Mr. *John Spotswood* for his Successor, sent him back to attend the Queen in her Journey, and serve her for Elemosynar. Soon after his coming her Majesty went to *Striveling*, of mind to bring away the Prince her Son, and carry him along with her self to *England*; but being denied by the friends of the House of *Marre* she became so incensed, as falling into a Fever she made a pitiful Abortion.

Advertisement of this being sent unto the King, he caused the Earl of *Marre* to return; and after him sending the Duke of *Lennox* with a Warrant to receive the Prince, and deliver him to the Queen, he was brought unto her at *Halirudhouse*, about the end of *May*: yet he not satisfied herewith complained bitterly of the dishonour she had received, and by a Letter written to the King, full of passion and anger, which she gave her Elemosynar to carry, required a publick reparation, by the punishment of the Earl of *Marre* and his servants. The King, who knew the Earl himself to be blameless, and desired not to be troubled with such business, especially at that time, returned this Answer, 'That she should do wisely to forget the grudges she carried to the Earl of *Marre*, and thank God of the peaceable possession they had obtained of these Kingdoms, which next unto God his goodness he ascribed to the last negotiation of the Earl of *Marre* in *England*. This reported to the Queen (for the Messenger was commanded to speak so much) she in a great choler replied, 'That she rather would have wished never see *England*, than to be in any sort beholden to him for the same. Yet as she was a most mild Princess, and very careful to please the King in every thing, at her coming to *Windsor*, which was about the end of *June*, she was reconciled to the Earl of *Marre*, and he by Act of Council declared to have done nothing in that accident at *Striveling* that might touch her in Honour.

At the same time was the Princess *Elizabeth*, who was brought alongst with the Queen, taken from the Earl of *Linlithgow*, and given to the custody of the Lady *Harrington*; the Earl his service in her education being by act of Council approved.

All this Summer the Sicknes was reigning at *London*, which made the Coronation to be deferred unto *July*, on the 27 day whereof the King and Queen were solemnly inaugurated in the Church of *Westminster*, *John Whitgift* Archbishop of *Canterbury* performing the Ceremonies. There had been few days before a Conspiracy detected against the King, plotted by two Priests, the one called *William Watson*, the other *William Gray*, and *George Brook* Esquire.

There joyned with them upon some discontents the Lord *Cobham*, the Lord *Gray*, Sir *Griffin Markham*, and Sir *Walter Raleigh*. This last had served the late Queen a long time, as Captain of her Guard; and being put from the place, and the same bestowed upon Sir *Thomas Areskin* Lord *Fenton* in *Scotland*, he grudged exceedingly. The Treason being discovered (which came by this occasion; *Raleigh* parting with his Sister at *London* had commended himself to her prayers, saying, *That he was going whence he thought not to return*; which she did interpret of some Combat he had undertaken, and breaking the same to her neighbours, the words were carried to Court, where they received another construction) they were all apprehended, and committed to several Prisons. Being brought to their Trial in *Winchester* about the beginning of *December*, they were found guilty, and condemned to die. *George Brook* and the two Priests were executed as Traitors;

An. 1603.

The Queen
fallen sick at
Striveling.The Prince
delivered to
the Queen.The King and
Queen inaugu-
rated at *West-
minster*.
A Conspiracy
detected a-
gainst the
King.*George Brook*,
and two Priests
executed.

An. 1604. *Barkshire Knight, Sir Richard Buckley Knight, Sir Henry Billingfly Knight, Sir Daniel Dunne Knight, Dean of the Arches, Sir Edward Hobby Knight, Sir John Savile Knight, Sir Robert Wroth Knight, Sir Thomas Challoner Knight, Sir Robert Mansel Knight, Sir Thomas Ridgway Knight, Sir Thomas Holcroft Knight, Sir Thomas Hasketh Knight, his Majesties Attorney of the Court of Wards and Liveries, Sir Francis Bacon Knight, Sir Lawrence Camfield Knight, Serjeant at Law, Sir Henry Hobart Knight, Serjeant at Law, Sir John Bennet Knight, Doctor of the Laws, Sir Henry Witherington, Sir Ralph Grey, and Sir Thomas Lake Knights, Robert Ashwith, Thomas James, and Henry Chapman, Merchants, Knights and Burgesses of the house of Commons:* 'Giving them, or any eight or more of the said Lords of the Higher House, and any twenty of the said Knights and Burgesses of the said House of Commons, full power, liberty and Commission to assemble and meet, at any time or times before the next Session of Parliament, for treating and consulting with certain selected Commissioners, to be nominated and authorized by authority of the Parliament of the Realm of Scotland, of and concerning such an Union of the said Realms of England and Scotland, and of and concerning such other matters, causes and things whatsoever as upon mature deliberation and consideration the greatest part of the said Lords, Knights, Citizens and Burgesses, being assembled with the Commissioners to be nominated by the Parliament of Scotland, shall in their wisdom think and deem convenient and necessary for the Honor of his Majesty and the weal and common good of both the said Realms, during his Majesties life, and under all his progeny and Royal posterity for ever; which Commissioners of both the said Realms shall, according to the tenor of their said Commissions, reduce their doings and proceedings into Writings, or Instruments tripartite, every part to be subscribed and sealed by them, to the end that one part thereof may in all humility be presented to his most Excellent Majesty, the second part to be offered to the consideration of the next Session of Parliament for the Realm of England, and the third to be offered to the consideration of the next Parliament for the Realm of Scotland; that thereupon such farther proceeding may be had, as by both the said Parliaments may be thought fit and necessary for the weal and common good of both the said Realms.

A Parliament in Scotland for the same purpose was indicted to the tenth of April, and thereafter prorogated to the eleventh of July; at which time the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, assembled by virtue of his Majesties Commission, did ordain the persons following; they are to say, *John Earl of Montrose Chancellor of Scotland, Francis Earl of Arrol High-Constable of Scotland, James Earl of Glencarn, Alexander Earl of Linlithgow, John Archbishop of Glasgow, David Bishop of Ross, George Bishop of Cathnes, Walter Prior of Blantire, Patrick Lord Glamis, Alexander Lord Elphinston, Alexander Lord Fyvie President of the Session of Scotland, Robert Lord Roxbrough, James Lord Abircorn, James Lord Balmerino Principal Secretary of Scotland, David Lord of Scoon, Sir James Scrimgeour of Dudop Knight, Sir John Cockburn of Ormston Knight, Sir John Hume of Coudenknowes Knight, Sir David Carnegie of Kinnard Knight, Sir Robert Melvil elder of Murdocarny Knight, Sir Thomas Hamilton of Binnie Knight, Sir John Lermouth of Balcomy Knight, Sir Alexander Straton of Lawriston Knight, Sir John Skeen of Curry-hill Knight, Mr. John Sharp of Howston Lawyer, Mr. Thomas Craig Lawyer, Henry Nisbit, George Bruce, Alexander Rutherford, and Mr. Alexander Wedderburn, Merchants, or any twelve of them, to assemble and convene themselves, after the ending of the present Session of Parliament, and before the next Session thereof, at such time and in such place as it should please his Majesty to appoint, with certain selected Commissioners nominated and authorized by the Parliament of England, according to the tenor of their Commissions in that behalf, to confer, treat, and consult upon a perfect Union of the Realms of Scotland and England, and concerning such other matters, things and causes whatsoever, tending to his Majesties Honour and contentment, and to the weal and tranquillity of both the Kingdoms, during*

The power granted them.

A Parliament in Scotland to that purpose.

The Scottish Commissioners.

his Majesties life, and his Royal posterity for ever as upon mature deliberation the greater part of the said Commissioners, assembled, as is afore said, with the Commissioners authorized by the Parliament of England, shall in their wisdom think most expedient and necessary, not derogating from any fundamental Laws, ancient Priviledges and Rights, Offices, Dignities and Liberties of the Kingdom. This last clause was added because of the Narrative of the English Act, wherein it was said, *That it was not his Majesties mind to alter or innovate the Fundamental Laws, Privileges and good Customs of the Kingdom of England;* by the abolishing or alteration whereof it was impossible but that a present Confusion should fall upon the whole state and frame of that Kingdom. In all other things the Statute in substance was the same with the English.

Soon after this the King resolving to have Westminster at London the place of the Meeting, Letters were directed to the Noblemen and others nominated for Scotland, willing them to address themselves to the journey, and to be ready to meet with the other Commissioners the 20 of October; and lest any disorder should fall out in the absence of the Chancellor and others of the Council, the Lord Newbottle was appointed to attend and reside in Council unto their return.

The day and place of meeting was precisely observed by the Commissioners of both Kingdoms, who after many daies Conferences agreed unto certain Articles to be presented to his Majesty and to the Courts of Parliament of both Kingdoms, there to receive such strength and approbation as in their wisdoms should seem expedient. The Articles were as followeth.

'It is agreed by the Commissioners of England and Scotland to be mutually proposed to the Parliament of both Realms at the next Sessions, That all Hostile Laws made and conceived expressly, either by England against Scotland, or Scotland against England, shall in the next Sessions be abrogated and utterly extinguished.

'It is also agreed, that all Laws, Customes, and Treaties of the Borders betwixt England and Scotland shall be declared by a general Act to be abrogated and abolished, and that the subjects on either part shall be governed by the Laws and Statutes of the Kingdoms where they dwell, and the name of the Borders extinguished.

'And because by abolishing the Border-Laws and Customs it may be doubted, that the Executions shall cease upon those Sentences that have heretofore been given by the opposite Officers of those Borders, upon wrongs committed before the death of the late Queen of happy memory; it is thought fit that in case the Commissioners or Officers to be appointed by his Majesty before the time of the next Sessions of Parliament shall not procure sufficient redress of such filed Bills and Sentences, that then the said Parliaments may be moved to take such order as to their wisdoms shall seem convenient, for satisfaction of that which hath been decerned by some Officers; as also how disorders and inclosures may be hereafter repressed, and the Country which was lately of the Borders kept in peace and quietness in time to come. As likewise to prescribe some order, how the pursuits of former wrongs, preceding the death of the late Queen and since the last Treatise of the Borders in the years 1596 and 1597, which have never as yet been moved, may be continued and prosecuted to a definitive Sentence.

'And forasmuch as the next degree to the abolition of all memory of Hostility is the participation of mutual Commodities and Commerce; It is agreed, First, concerning importation of Merchandise into either Realm from foreign parts, that whereas certain Commodities are wholly prohibited by the several Laws of both Realms to be brought into either of them by the Natives themselves or by any other, the said Prohibitions shall now be made mutual to both, and neither an English man bring into Scotland, or a Scotch man into England, any of these prohibited Wares and Commodities: Nevertheless if the said Commodities be made in Scotland, it shall be lawful to bring them out of Scotland to England; and

An. 1604.

Inequality of Privileges to be tried.

Importation to be free to both people.

Exportation of Goods prohibited made unlawful to both.

Order for Native Commodities.

and so reciprocally of the Commodities made in England, and carried to Scotland.

Whereas a doubt hath been conceived against the equal Communication of Trade betwixt English and Scottish subjects in matter of Importation, grounded upon some Inequality of Privileges which the Scots are reported to have in foreign parts, and namely in France, above the English, whereby the English might be prejudged; and that after a very deliberate consideration had of the said supposed Inequalities, both private and publick examination of divers Merchants of either side touching all Liberties, Immunities, Privileges, Imposts and payments on the part of the English, and on the part of the Scottish, either at Bordeaux for their trade of Wines, or in Normandy or any other part of France for other Commodities, it appeared that in the Trade of Bordeaux there was and is so little difference, in any advantage of privileges or immunities, or in the imposts and payments, all being reckoned and well weighed on either side, as it could not justly hinder the communication of Trade; in the trade of Normandy likewise, or any other parts of France, the advantage that the Scottish subjects by their privilege is acknowledged to have is such, as without much difficulty may be reconciled and reduced to an equality with the English, by such means as is hereafter declared; It is agreed that the Scottish-men shall be free for the transporting of Wine from Bordeaux into England, paying the same Customs and duties that the English-men do pay, and the English-men shall be likewise free for transporting of Wine or other Commodities from Bordeaux into Scotland, paying the same Customs and duties that the Scottish-men do pay there.

And likewise for clearing and resolving the doubts touching the advantage that the Scots are supposed to have above the English in buying and transporting the Commodities of Normandy, and of other parts of the Kingdom of France, (excepting the buying of Wine in Bordeaux, which is already determined,) It is agreed that there shall be sent some meet and discreet persons into France, two for either side, to take perfect notice of any such advantage as either the English have above the Scots, or the Scots above the English, in the buying or transporting of any Commodities of Normandy or any parts of France, (excepting the Wine of Bordeaux) and as the said persons shall find the advantage to be, so for making the Trade equal, the Custom shall be advanced to the King in England and Scotland. And for the part of those that have the advantage, and according to the proportion of the said advantage, the advancement of the Custom to continue no longer than the privilege having such advantage shall continue; and that generally for all other Trade from any parts the English and Scottish subjects, each in others Country, shall have liberty of Importation as freely as any of the native subjects themselves having special Privilege.

Next concerning Exportation, It is agreed that all such Goods as are prohibited and forbidden to English-men themselves to be transported forth of England to any foreign part, the same shall be unlawful for any Scottish-men or any other to transport to any foreign Nation beyond sea, under the same penalties and forfeitures that the English are subject unto; and reciprocally that forth of Scotland no English-men shall transport to any foreign part the Goods or Commodities that are prohibited in Scotland to Scottish-men themselves: Nevertheless such Goods and Commodities and Merchandises as are licensed to English-men to transport out of England to any foreign part, the same may be likewise transported by Scottish-men thither, they certifying their going into foreign parts, and taking a Cocquet accordingly, and paying the ordinary Custom that English-men do pay themselves at the exporting of such Wares: The like liberty to be for English-men in Scotland.

As for the Native Commodities which either of the Countrys do yield, and may serve for the use and benefit of the other, It is agreed that mutually there may be transported forth of England to Scotland, and forth of Scotland to England,

land, all such Wares as are neither of the growth or handy-work of either of the said Realms, without payment of any impost, custom or exaction, and as freely in all respects as any Wares may be transported either in England from part to part, or in Scotland from part to part; excepting such particular sorts of Goods and Merchandises as are hereafter mentioned, being restrained for the proper and inward use of each Country. And for that purpose it is declared, That both in this communication of benefit and participation of the native Commodities of the one Country with the other, there shall be specially reserved and excepted the sorts hereafter specified; That is to say, Wool, Sheep, Sheepfell, Cattel, Leather, Hides and Linnen-yarn, which are specially restrained within each Countrey, not to be transported from the one to the other; excepting also and reserving to the Scottish-men their trade of Fishing within their Loches, Forthes and Bayes, within land, and in the Seas within fourteen miles of the Coasts of the Realm of Scotland, where neither English-men nor any Strangers have used to fish; and so reciprocally in the point of Fishing on the behalf of England. All which exceptions and restrictions are not to be understood or mentioned in any sort for a mark or note of separation or distinction, but only as matters of policy and conveniency for the several estate of each Country.

Furthermore it is agreed that all foreign Wares to be transported forth of Scotland to England, or out of England to Scotland, by any of the Kings subjects of either Kingdoms, having at their first entry once paid custom in either of the Kingdoms, shall not pay outward custom therein afterwards, save only inward custom at that Port whereunto they shall be transported: But the owner of the Goods, or the Factor or Master of the ship, shall give Bond not to transport the same into any foreign part.

It is also agreed that Scottish-men shall not be debarred from being associates unto any English company of Merchants, as Merchant-venturers or others, upon such conditions as any English-man may be admitted; and so reciprocally for English-men in Scotland.

It is nevertheless agreed by mutual consent, and so to be understood, that the mutual liberty aforesaid of Exportation and Trade in each part from the one to the other shall serve for the inward use only of either Realm; and order taken for restraining and prohibiting the transportation of the said Commodities into foreign parts, and for due punishment of those that shall transgress in that behalf.

And for the better assurance and caution herein, it is agreed that every Merchant so offending shall forfeit his Goods; the ships wherein the said Goods shall be transported, confiscated; the Customers, Searchers, and other Officers of the Custom whatsoever, in case of consent or knowledge on their part, to lose their Offices and Goods, and their bodies to be imprisoned at his Majesties pleasure. Of which Escheats and Forfeitures two parts shall appertain to his Majesty, if the Customs be unfarmed, and the third to the Informer: and if the Customs be farmed, one third of the Forfeiture shall belong to his Majesty, a third to the Farmers of the Customs, and the other third to the Informer. The trial of the offence to be summar in either Country in the Exchequer Chamber by Writ, sufficient Witnesses, or Oath of party, or before the Justice by Jury or Assize; and his Majesties Officers in either Country to convene with the Complainers that interest in the pursuit.

As also for the more surety that there shall be no transportation of such Goods it is agreed that at the shipping of all such native Commodities there be taken by the Customer of the Port where the Goods or Wares are embarked, a Bond or Obligation subscribed by the Owner of the said Goods, and Master of the Ship; by the Owner, if he be present, and in case of his absence, by the Master of the Ship, and Factor or party that laderh the same: which Bond shall contain a sum of money answerable to the value of the Goods, with condition of relieving the party obliged, and discharging him of the said Bond in case

An. 1604.

Indifferency of
Freighting.Tollanti de-
clared free.Exception for
Offices of the
Crown.

return be made of a due certificate to the Custom where the Goods were laden, from any part within *England* or *Scotland*: The Certificate to be subscribed and sealed by the Officers of the Customs of the part where the said Goods shall arrive, and be unladen; or if there be no such Officers there, by the chief Magistrate and Town-Clerk of that Harbor or Town, under their hand and Seal.

It is farther agreed touching the indifferent freighting of Commodities either in *English* or *Scottish* Bottoms, that *English*-men and *Scottish*-men freight and lade their goods each in others Ships and Bottoms indifferently, paying only *English* and *Scottish* custom, notwithstanding any contrary laws or prohibitions. And that a Proposition be made to the Parliament of *England* for establishing some good orders for upholding and maintaining the great Filling of *England*; as likewise that a Proposition be made to the Parliament of *Scotland* for the making of the Shipping more proportionable in burthen to the shipping of *England*, the better to serve for equality of trade, and a common defence for the whole Isle.

And because it is requisite that the mutual communication aforesaid be not only extended to matter of Commerce, but to all other benefits and privileges of natural born subjects; It is agreed that an Act be proposed to be passed in manner following: That all the subjects of both Realms born since the decease of the late Queen, and that shall be born hereafter under the obedience of his Majesty and of his Royal Progeny, are by the common Laws of both Realms and shall be for ever enabled to obtain, succeed, inherit and possess all goods, lands and catels, honors, dignities, offices, liberties, privileges and benefices Ecclesiastical or Civil, in Parliament and all other places of the Kingdoms, and every one of the same, in all respects and without any exception whatsoever; as fully and amply as the subjects of either Realm respectively might have done, or may do in any sort within the Kingdom where they are born.

Farther, whereas his Majesty out of his great judgment and providence hath not only professed in publick and private speech to the Nobility and Council of both, but hath also vouchsafed to be contented that, for a more full satisfaction & comfort of all his loving subjects, it may be comprised in the said Act, that his Majesty meaneth not to confer any Office of the Crown, any Office of Judicature, place, voice, or Office in Parliament of either Kingdom upon the subjects of the other, born before the decease of the late Queen, until time and conversation have encreased & accomplished an Union of the said Kingdoms, as well in the hearts of all the people and in the Conformity of Laws and Policies in these Kingdoms, as in the knowledge and sufficiency of particular men, who being untimely employed in such authorities could no way be able, much less acceptable, to discharge such duties belonging to them; It is therefore resolved by us the Commissioners aforesaid, not only in regard of our desires and endeavors to farther the speedy conclusion of this happy work intended, but also as testimony of our love and thankfulness for his gracious promise, on whose sincerity and benignity we build our full assurance, even according to the inward sense and feeling of our own loyal and hearty affections, to obey and please him in all things worthy the subjects of so worthy a Sovereign, that it shall be desired of both the Parliaments, to be enacted by their Authority, that all the subjects of both Realms, born before the decease of the late Queen, may be enabled and capable to acquire, purchase, inherit, succeed, use and dispose of all lands, goods, inheritances, offices, honours, dignities, liberties, privileges, immunities, benefices and preferments whatsoever, each subject in either Kingdom, with the same freedom and as lawfully and peaceably as the very natural and born subjects of either Realm, where the said rights, estates or profits are established, notwithstanding whatsoever Law, Statute, or former Constitutions heretofore in force to the contrary; other than to acquire, possess, succeed or inherit any Office of the Crown, Office of Judicatory, or any voice, place or Office in Parliament, all which shall remain free from being claimed, held or enjoyed by the subjects of the one Kingdom within the other, born before the decease of the late Queen, notwithstanding any words, sense or

interception of the Act, or any circumstance thereupon depending, until there be such a perfect and full accomplishment of the Union as is desired mutually by both the Realms. In all which points of reservation, either in recital of the words of his Majesties sacred promise, or in any clause or sentence before specified enabling them to any of the aforesaid places or dignities, it hath been and ever shall be so far from the thoughts of any of us, to presume to alter or impair his Majesties Prerogative Royal (who contrariwise do all with comfort and confidence depend herein upon the gracious assurance which his Majesty is pleased to give in the declaration of his so just and Princely care and favor to all his people) as for a farther laying open of our clear and dutiful intentions towards his Majesty in this and all in things else which may concern his Prerogative, we do also herein profess and declare, that we think it fit there be inserted in the Act to be proposed and passed, in expresse terms, a sufficient reservation of his Majesties Prerogative Royal to denize, enable and prefer to such offices, honors, dignities and benefices whatsoever in both the said Kingdoms, and either of them, as are heretofore excepted in the preceding reservation of all *English* and *Scottish* subjects born before the decease of the late Queen, as freely, sovereignly and absolutely, as any of his Majesties most noble progenitors or predecessors, Kings of *England* or *Scotland*, might have done at any time heretofore, and to all other intents and purposes in as ample manner as no such Act had ever been thought of or mentioned.

And forasmuch as the several Jurisdictions and Administrations of either Realm may be abused by Malefactors, by their own impunity, if they shall commit any offence in the one Realm, and afterwards remove their persons and abode unto the other; it is agreed, that there may be some fit course advised of by the wisdoms of the Parliaments for trial and proceeding against the persons of offenders remaining in the one Realm, for and concerning the crimes and faults committed in the other Realm: And yet nevertheless that it may be lawful for the Justice of the Realm where the fact is committed, to remand the offender remaining in the other Realm to be answerable unto Justice in the same Realm where the fact was committed, and that upon such remand made the offender shall be accordingly delivered, and all farther proceeding, if any be, in the other Realm shall cease, so as it may be done without prejudice to his Majesty or other Lords in their Escheats and Forfeitures. With provision nevertheless, that this be not thought necessary to be made for all criminal offences, but in special cases only; as namely in the cases of wilful Murther, falsifying of Monys, and forging of Deeds, Instruments and Writings, and such other like cases as upon farther advice in the said Parliament may be thought fit to be added.

These were the Articles agreed upon, which written in their several Scrolls of Parchment were subscribed and sealed at Westminster the sixth of December by the Commissioners of both Parliaments, and one thereof presented the same evening to his Majesty by the Earl of Salisbury, who, in name of the whole number there present, having shewed what pains they had taken in that business, and how after many Conferences they were grown to the resolution contained in that Scroll, besought his Majesty to accept graciously that which was done, and made offer of their best service in perfecting that Work as they should be employed.

The King professing a great content did specially thank them for reserving his Prerogative in the preferment of men to Offices and Honors, in either Kingdom; For inequality, said he, of Liberties and Privileges is not the way to effect the Union I desire; capacity of Offices ought to be equal to both people: but the moderation of that Equality must be left to me; neither you to suspect that I will offer any manner of grievance to either of the Countreys, or do any thing that may kindle emulation among them, considering the desire I have to see you united in a fast and indissoluble amity. This said, he recommended the prosecution of that business in the several Parliaments to their fidelity and trust; wishing them to lay aside all jealousies, needless fears and other worse passions, in a matter that so nearly concerned the good and benefit of both Kingdoms.

An. 1604.

Reservation of
his Majesties
Prerogative.Remanding of
Malefactors.A Scroll of the
Articles pre-
sented to the
King.The Kings
speech to the
Commissioners

An. 1605.
The title of
Great Britain
assumed.

Some months before the King had assumed by virtue of his Prerogative the Title of *THE KING OF GREAT BRITAIN*, commanding the same to be used from thenceforth in all Proclamations, Missives and Treaties, and the names of *England* and *Scotland* to be discontinued (except in Instruments of private parties, and where legality of Process would not admit the same.) This same in both Kingdoms took ill; but his Majesty esteeming those names whereby they had been called no better than names of Hostility, would needs have the ancient name of *Britain* received, and these of *Scotland* and *England* abolished. In like manner he did prohibit the name of the *Borders* to be used, and ordained all places of strength in these parts (the Houses of Noblemen and Barons excepted) to be demolished, their Iron gates to be turned into Plow Irons, and the inhabitants to betake themselves to labour and the exercises of Peace; for the same purpose he did break the Garrisons at *Berwick* and *Carlisle*. And in memory of the Union so happily begun made divers pieces of Gold and Silver to be coined, upon some whereof were engraven these Inscriptions; *Quæ Deus conjunxit, nemo separet*; and, *Tueatur unita Deus*: on others, *Faciam eos in gentem unam*; and, *Henricus rosas, Regna Jacobus*.

Pieces of Gold
and Silver
coined.

The Earl of
Montrose made
Commissioner
of the King-
dom.

The Lord Fyvie
received Chan-
cellor.

An. 1605.
The General
Assembly con-
tinued.

During this Conference the Lord Fyvie President of the Session supplied the place of the *Scottish* Chancellor, and was shortly after preferred to the same Office by the Earl of *Montrose* his dismissal, who in stead thereof was made Commissioner and Deputy of *Scotland* during life: Secretary *Elphinston* was chosen President of the Session, and all affairs trusted by his Majesty to the Chancellor and him; with a special direction, that they should be assisting to the Church, and maintain those whom his Majesty had preferred in the places of Bishops in the same. How they answered the trust committed to them in this particular, we shall hear.

But leaving the matter of State let us now see how things went at that time in the Church. The General Assembly, that should have kept at *Aberdene* in July 1604, was continued, because of the Union, to the same month in the year following. The King being informed of a great preparation that the Ministers made for keeping that Meeting, and that they intended to call in question all the Conclusions taken in former Assemblies for the Episcopal Government, directed the Commissioners of the Church to desert the Diet, and make no Indiction of another till he should be advertised. They accordingly did intimate his Majesties pleasure to all the Presbyters, and therewith, as they were desired, declared that his Majesty did purpose to call a number of the Bishops and disaffected Ministers to Court, and, for preventing such disorderly meeting, hear the differences that were among them debated in his own person.

A number
convene not-
withstanding
the discharge.

The greater part resolved to obey; Nine Presbyteries only of Fifty (so many there are reckoned in the whole Kingdom) sent their Commissioners to keep the meeting. The chief leaders of this Stir were Mr. *John Forbes* Minister of *Amsford*, and Mr. *John Welch* Minister at *Aire*. These two having encouragement given them in private by some principally in the State, used all means to bring the Ministers together, and were in expectation of a frequent Assembly; yet, when the day appointed came, there convened 13 only, and after some 2 or 3 days 7 or 8 more.

The names of
them conven-
ed.

The names of the Ministers that convened were, Mr. *Charles Farum* Minister of *Frazerburgh*, Mr. *Robert Youngson* Minister at *Clat*, Mr. *James Mill* Minister at *Inncrury*, Mr. *Alexander Straghan* Minister at *Creich*, Mr. *David Robertson* Minister at *Feterangus*, Mr. *Robert Kid* Minister at *Banchory*, Mr. *James Irwyn* Minister at *Towch*, Mr. *John Monro* Subdean at *Ross*, Mr. *William Forbes* Minister at *Kinbethock*, Mr. *William Davidson* Minister at *Ruthven*, Mr. *Thomas Abernethy* Minister at *Hawick*, Mr. *James Grey* Minister at *Lowdon*, Mr. *Nathaniel Inglis* Minister at *Cragy*, Mr. *James Ross* and Mr. *Archbald Blackburn* Ministers at *Aberdene*, Mr. *John Ross* Minister at *Blare*, Mr. *John Sharp* Minister at *Kilmeny*, Mr. *Andrew Duncan* Minister at *Craill*, Mr. *Robert Dury* Minister at *Anstruther*, with the said Mr. *John Forbes* and Mr. *John Welch*. Sir *Alexander Straiton* of *Lowreston*, Commissioner for his Majesty in Church affairs, upon a rumour he heard of a meeting to be kept, lest any imputation of negligence should be laid on him, prevented the same, and by Letters he had obtained from the secret Council caused discharge the Assembly

The Kings
Commissioner
discharged
the Meeting.

sembly at the *Market-Cross* of *Aberdene*. They nevertheless convened the next day, which being reported to the Commissioner, he went to the place, and in his Majesties name commanded to dissolve. They replying, 'That they were warranted by the Laws of the Country, and that they could not betray the Liberties of the Church by giving way to such unlawful Prohibitions; he shewed them that the liberty granted for keeping Assemblies could not annul his Majesties Power, nor denude him of his Prerogative in the continuing or discharging these meetings, when he should find cause: For even the Parliament, which is the highest Court of the Kingdom, said he, is disposed as the King thinketh meet, at his pleasure it is called, prorogued, dismissed and deserted, as he judgeth most convenient. And you will not, I trust, equal your Assemblies to the Parliament of the three Estates. Besides, you are not a number, you want the ordinary Clerks; neither is the Moderator of the last Assembly present, and can do nothing orderly. After a little debating they request him to remove, till they should deliberate among themselves what were best for them to do; but he was no sooner gone, but then they chose Mr. *John Forbes* Moderator, and that done continued the Assembly to the last day of *September*, thinking by this means to preserve their Liberty.

Lowreston finding himself in this abused, caused to execute the Letters, and denounced them Rebels. And, lest they should make a new business in *September*, complained to the Council of the disobedience given to their charge. Order was taken hereupon to summon them before the Council, and a beginning made with the two Leaders of the rest, Mr. *Forbes* and Mr. *Welch* being charged to a certain day of the same month. They appeared, and standing to the defence of that which they had done, were committed to the Castle of *Blackness*; direction was likewise given for citing the rest to the third of *October*.

At the day all appeared, and being charged for disobeying his Majesties Letter, thirteen of the number acknowledging their offence, and protesting that what they did was not out of disobedience, intreating the Lords to intercede with his Majesty for their Pardon. The rest taking contrary course, and maintaining their proceedings, were committed to several Prisons: their names were, Mr. *Charles Farum*, Mr. *John Monro*, Mr. *James Irwyn*, Mr. *William Forbes*, Mr. *Nathaniel Inglis*, Mr. *Andrew Duncan*, Mr. *James Grey*, and Mr. *John Sharp*. Some of these being sent to *Dunbarton*, others to *Blackness*, and some to the Castle of *Down*; the others that had confessed their offence were dimitted, and suffered to return to their Charges.

These proceedings of the Council were openly condemned by divers Preachers; and to make them more odious, it was every where given out that the suppressing of Assemblies and present Discipline, with the introduction of the Rites of *England*, were the matters intended to be established: whereupon the Declaration following was by his Majesties command published.

'Whereas we have ever since it pleased God to establish us in the Imperial Crown of Great Britain equally regarded the good of both Kingdoms, now happily united in our Royal Person in one Monarchy, ever minding to maintain and continue the good and laudable Customs and Laws whereby each of them hath been these many Ages so worthily governed; nevertheless some malicious spirits, enemies to common tranquillity, have laboured to possess the minds of our well-affected subjects with an opinion that we do presently intend a change of the authorized Discipline of the Church, and by a sudden and unseasonable laying on of the Rites, Ceremonies and whole Ecclesiastical Order established in this part of our Kingdom of Britain, to overturn the former Government received in these parts; which none of our good subjects we trust will be so credulous to believe, knowing how careful we have been to maintain both Religion and Justice, and to reform the evils that did in any sort prejudice the integrity of either of the two, whereby Justice hath attained under our Government to a greater perfection and splendor than in any of our predecessors times, and many abuses and corruptions

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The Ministers
denounced
and cited by
the Council
for their dis-
obedience.

Some confess
their fault,
and are par-
doned.
Others main-
tain their
Meeting, and
are committed

The proceed-
ing of the
Council con-
demned by
the Ministry.

His Majesties
Declaration
touching some
rumors dis-
persed.

An. 1605. in the Discipline of the Church amended, that otherwise might have brought the purity of Religion in extreme danger, neither of which was done by our Sovereign and absolute Authority (although we enjoy the same as freely as any King or Monarch of the world) but as the disease of the Civil Body ever was cured by the advice of our Three Estates, so were the defects of the Church by the help and counsel of those that had greatest interest therein.

The King his resolution in making no sudden change in the Church Policy.

And however in rule of policy we cannot but judge it convenient that two Estates so miserably disjoyned should be drawn to as great Conformity in all things as the good of both may permit; and that no Monarchy either in Civil or Ecclesiastical Policy hath yet obtained to that perfection that it needs no Reformation, or that infinite occasions may not arise whereupon wise Princes will foresee for the benefit of their estates just cause of alteration; yet are we, and ever have been, resolved not to make any sudden and hasty change in the Government of that part of our Kingdom either Civil or Ecclesiastical, but with grave advice and consent of our Estates, and the wisest and best sort of them whom it most properly concerns, much less to trouble them with an unnecessary alteration of indifferent and ceremonial matters; but to do it upon such foreseen advantages and prevention of Confusion and evil to come, as the greatest enemies to peace and obedience to Princes shall not obtrude any inconvenient to the contrary. And as by Gods holy assistance we have drawn that part of our Kingdom out of infinite Troubles, Factions and Barbarities, reducing the utmost Borders and Confines thereof to Gods obedience and acknowledging of our Laws; (a condition never heard of since this Isle was first inhabited) so by the same Divine Providence and our Fatherly care over the whole Island, we intend to transmit the same in good order, happy quietness and flourishing Policy to the posterity where with God hath blessed us, and after them to the worlds end. Like as for the more verification of our own honourable intention, and to stop the mouths of those unquiet spirits, raisers of that false scandal of Alteration, we have appointed a General Assembly to be holden at Dundee the last Tuesday of July, whereat we expect a reparation of these Disorders in as far as belongeth to their censure, and to be freed in time coming of all such calumnies. Given at our Honor of Hampton-Court the 26 of September 1605, and in the third year of our reign of Great Britain, France, and Ireland.

The Copies of this Declaration were sent to the Ministers remaining in Ward, that they might see the vanity of these rumors, and be induced to acknowledge their offence: but they still continuing in their obstinacy, and shewing no tokens of penitency, were again called before the Council the 24 of October, to receive their censure for the disobedience of his Majesties commandments. At which time being enquired what they had to say for themselves, and how they could excuse the contempt of his Majesties directions; after some speeches tending to justify their doings, they presented in writing a Declaration formed in this sort.

The form of their Declinator.

Please your Lordships, the approbation or disallowance of a General Assembly hath been, and should be, a matter spiritual, and always cognosced and judged by the Church as Judge competent within this Realm: and seeing we are called before your Lordships to hear and see it found and declared, that we have contemptuously and seditiously convened and assembled our selves in a General Assembly at Aberdeen the first Tuesday of July last, and the said Assembly to be declared unlawful, as at more length is contained in the Summons executed against us; We, in consideration of the premises and other Reasons to be given by us, have just cause to decline your Lordships judgment, as no ways competent in the cause above specified, and by these presents we simpliciter decline the same, seeing we are most willing to submit our selves to a trial of a General Assembly, that is only the Judge competent. Subscribed with our hands the 24 of October, 1605.

The Subscribers were, Mr. John Forbes, Mr. John Welch, Mr. John Monro, Mr. Andrew Duncan, Mr. Alexander Straughan, Mr. James Grey, Mr. William Forbes, Mr. Nathaniel Inglis, Mr. Charles Farum, Mr. James Irwyn, Mr. John Sharp, Mr. Robert Dury, Mr. John Roffe, and Mr. Robert Youngson.

The

An. 1605. The last of these was one that had acknowledged his offence, and craved pardon, yet at this Diet compeired with these others, professing, *That he was troubled in conscience for the Confession he had made, and that he would now take part with the Brethren who stood to the defence of the good cause*, as he termed it. The Council repelling the Declinator, declared the Assembly to have been unlawful, and those that met in the same contrary to his Majesties command punishable. But because they had added to their former fault the crime of Treason, it was thought meet to defer the Censure till the King should be acquainted therewith, and his pleasure known.

Some of the Ministers pursued declared criminal: ly.

No sooner was his Majesty advertised of the Declinator, than direction was sent to the Council for proceeding against them according to the Laws: whereupon the six that were imprisoned in Blacknesse (that is to say) Mr. John Forbes, Mr. John Welch, Mr. Andrew Duncan, Mr. John Sharp, Mr. Robert Dury, and Mr. Alexander Straughan, were upon the tenth of January thereafter brought to the Town of Linlithgow, and presented upon Pannel before the Justice, who was assisted by a number of Noblemen and others of the Privy Council.

The Indictment made, which was grounded upon the Statute of Parliament holden in May 1584, touching his Majesties Royal Power over all Estates, and the presumptuous fact committed by them in declining the judgment of the Council; certain of their brethren did supplicate the Justice for licence to confer with them apart, that they might persuade them to an humble submission and acknowledgment of their offence. This obtained, they were most earnestly dealt with (as well by their Brethren as by the Advocates that came to plead for them) to relinquish their wilfulness, and not to exasperate the King by standing to the defence of their Declinator: but no persuasions could avail. So returning to the Bar they were desired to answer, and shew a reason (if any they had) why the matter should not pass the trial of a Jury. The Advocates that stayed with them (for the two principals refused to plead because of their obtnacy) excepting against the Indictment, and saying, that the Statute 1592, having only declared, *That the Act made against declining of the Councils judgment should not derogate any thing from the privileges which God had given to the Spiritual Office-bearers in the Church, concerning Heads of Religion, in matters of Hereſe, Collation and Deprivation of Ministers, or any such essential Censures, having warrant of the Word of God; they thereupon inferred that their meeting at the time libelled in Aberdene being an essential censure warranted by Gods word, they might lawfully have declined the Councils judgment from taking cognition therein.*

Exception proposed by the Advocates:

It was answered by his Majesties Advocate, *That the Exception was naught, because the keeping of an Assembly at a certain time and place, and the appointing of another contrary to his Majesties direction and the charge of the Council, was neither a Head of Religion, nor matter of Hereſe, nor Excommunication, nor an essential Censure; and so being no ways comprehended under that limitation, their declining of the Council, whenas they were called to answer for the keeping of that Conventicle in the Town of Aberdene, must of necessity come under the generality of the Statute 1584, and bring them under the punishment of Treason.*

The Reply to the Exception,

The matter after some dispute being put to trial of an Assize, all the six were found guilty of Treason, and returned to their several Prisons, till his Majesties pleasure concerning their punishment should be certified: what this was, in the story of the next year shall be declared. Meanwhile a Proclamation went out, discharging all the subjects of what rank, place, calling, function or condition soever, either in publick or private, to call in question his Majesties Authority Royal, or the lawfulness of the proceeding against the said Ministers, or to make any other construction of the Statute concerning the declining of his Majesties and the Councils judgment than made in that decision of the Justice; with certification of those that contravened, that they should be called and severely punished as Seditious persons and wilful contemners of his Majesties most just and lawful Government.

The Ministers found guilty of Treason.

A Proclamation that none should oppose the decision of the Justice.

Before

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A Convention of Estates. His Majesty's Letter directed to the Estates.

Before these Stirs in the Church, a Convention of the Estates was kept the sixth of June at Edinburgh, where a Letter was presented by his Majesty to the Estates full of affection. The Letter was to this effect; *That his Majesties love being nothing diminished through his absence towards that his native and ancient Kingdom, he did wish them to contend in a laudable emulation who should live most virtuously, and be most obedient to the Laws: That the Nobility should give assistance to the execution of Justice, and be in all things a good example to their inferiors; the Barons should set themselves to procure the good of the Kingdom; and the Burgeses apply their minds to the increase of Trade, especially the trade of Fishing, which had been long neglected, and to the working of Cloth, that had made their neighbor Country so famous. To them all he recommended the rooting forth of Barbarity, the planting of Colonies in the Isles, and peopling the same with civil and industrious persons: assuring them that, they so behaving themselves, their Liberty should be as dear to him as either his Life or Estate.*

The Act passed in the Convention.

This was the substance of the Letter, which the Chancellor having resumed, and thereunto added many persuasions for the following of those wholesome and profitable counsels, the Estates did express a great forwardness that way, and after a long deliberation condescended upon divers good Acts, which if they had been all carefully put in practice, as they were wisely devised, the Kingdom had long before this time tried the benefit thereof. Amongst other directions, the removing of the barbarous Fends was recommended to the Council, whereof they were desired to make a Roll, and urge the parties to reconcile; and if they refused, then to assure them to the peace, and commit them to Ward till the same was secured. And whereas the custom had been to cause parties Assure one another, the King did prohibit the same as a thing dishonourable, and arguing too great presumption in the subject, seeing the Law should be to every man a sufficient assurance. The Council, reverencing his Majesties direction, did ordain that course from thenceforth to be observed, and all Assurances to be taken for the Peace thereafter, and not of one party to another: beginning being made with the Lord Maxwell and the Lord of Johnston, they were moved to joyn hands and reconcile in presence of the Council.

The enterprise of the Lewis defeated.

This Summer the enterprise of the Lewis was again set on foot by Robert Lunisdale of Ardrrie and Sir George Hay of Netherliffe, to whom some of the first Undertakers had made over their right. In August they took journey thither, and by the assistance of Macky, Mackenzie, and Donald Gorum forced the Inhabitants to remove forth of the Ile, and give surety not to return.

Ardrie and his Copartners thinking all made sure, and that there was no more danger, returned South about Martinmas, leaving some Companies to maintain their possession; which they made good all that Winter, though now and then they were assaulted by the Isles-men. In the Spring Ardrrie went back, taking with him fresh provision, and fell to build and manure the lands. But this continued not long; for monys failing, the work-men went away, and the Companies diminishing daily, the Natives having associated a number of Isles-men made a new Invasion about the end of Harvest, and by continual Incurfions so outwearied the new possessors, as they gave over the enterprise, and were contented for a little sum of mony to make away their rights to the Laird of Mackenzie. This turned to the ruine of divers of the Undertakers, who were exhausted in means before they took the enterprise in hand, and had not the power which was required in a business of that importance.

The History of the Powder-Treason.

In the end of the year a horrible Conspiracy was detected against the King and the whole body of the State of England. The names of the Conspirators were, Robert Catesby, Thomas Piercy, Thomas Winter, John Wright, and Guido Faux, English-men all, and Papists by profession. These five meeting together, and consulting by what mean they might best relieve the *Catholick Cause* (so they speak) Thomas Piercy proponed the killing of the King, and at his own peril made offer to perform the same. Catesby, who had another plot in his head, answered, 'That they would not hazard him so; and that albeit it should succeed, the case of the Ca-

'tholick Cause would be no better, the Prince and Duke of York being left alive; yea if both these were cast away, yet the Counsellors, Nobility, Judges, Knights, and a great many others addicted to Religion, would be remaining, who should be able enough to restore the Estate, and cross all their purposes: That therefore he had bethought himself of a better and more safe way, which was at one time and with one blow to cut off all their enemies. This (he said) was by blowing up the Parliament-house with Gun-powder at the time when the King and Estates were assembled. The advice pleased them all: but first it was thought meet to ask the opinion of their ghostly Fathers, and be informed of the Lawfulness of the fact; as of Henry Garnet, Oswald Tesmond alias Greenwall and John Gerard Jesuites; who being consulted commended the enterprise, assuring them they might go on with a good Conscience and perform the deed, seeing they were Hereticks, and persons *ipso jure* excommunicated against whom they were set.

The Jesuites approve of the enterprise.

This resolution satisfying their Consciences, for their great security they took an Oath of Secrecy, 'swearing each to other by the Sacred Trinity and the Blessed Sacrament they were at that time to receive, that neither directly nor indirectly, by word or circumstances, they should discover the purpose they had taken to any whomsoever, nor should desert from performing the same without licence of their associates. This Oath was given upon a Primer in the presence of Gerard the Jesuite: and having heard Mass and received the Sacrament, Thomas Piercy was appointed to hire a house nigh-adjoyning to the Parliament, for the more safe and secret working of the Mine.

The Conspirers swear Secrecy.

This being obtained, yet with difficulty enough, they entred to work, and after divers intermissions, because of proroguing the Parliament, when they had brought the Mine to the midst of the Wall, they found the opportunity of a Cellar under the Parliament-house to be let, and leaving the Mine, for that the Wall was hard to be digged through, they hired the Cellar, and put in it 36 barrels of Powder, a number of Billets, Faggots, and a great quantity of Coles, wherewith they covered the Barrels. They had called in Christopher Wright, Robert Winter, John Graunt, and Thomas Bates, Catesby's servant, and communicated the matter to them. This last was troubled at first with the Cruelty of the Plot, and had forsaken them, if he had not been confirmed and encouraged by Tesmond the Jesuite to go with the rest. After these Ambrose Rookwood and Robert Keyes were made of the Counsel, all taking the Oath of Secrecy, and receiving the Sacrament upon the same. And because the charge in buying Powder, Billets, and hiring of Houses had been a burthen heavy for Thomas Piercy, it was thought meet to bring in some mo; whereupon Sir Everard Digby and Francis Tresham were assumed.

A Cellar hired for the Mine.

All things being now, as they judged, made sure, they began to think what course was fittest to take after the deed was performed. The first Doubt was made touching the Prince and surprise of his Person; or if he should accompany his Father to the Parliament, how they might seise upon the Duke of York his Brother. But this Piercy undertook to do by reason of his acquaintance in the House, into which he could enter without suspition, and how soon the Blow was given carry him away by the help of such as he should have in a readiness to assist. Of the Lady Elizabeth they made small question, for that she was kept in the Country by the Lady Harrington near to Ashby, Catesbys dwelling-house.

A deliberation for the Kings Children.

The next Doubt they proponed, where they should have mony and horses: and for this Digby made offer of fifteen hundred pounds English, Tresham two hundred, and Piercy promised to bring all he could gather of Northumberland Rents, which he thought would extend to four thousand pounds, and to provide ten horses for his part. Neither doubted they but having the Heir apparent in their hands they should find means sufficient.

Contribution for the enterprise.

A third Question they made, what Lords they should save from going to the Parliament: which they agreed to be as many Catholicks as conveniently they might.

Catholicks to be stopped from coming to the Parliament. No foreign Princes to be acquainted therewith.

Fourthly, it was moved among them what foreign Princes they should acquaint with the purpose, and whose aid they should seek. Concerning which it was agreed, therewith.

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agreed, that none of them should be made privy to the Plot; fearing they could not enjoyn secrecy to Princes; and for aid after the deed performed there would be time enough to intreat the same either of Spain or France, or the Country of Flanders.

Intencion to proclaim Lady Elizabeth Queen.

Lastly, because they saw no way to assure the Duke of York his person (for Piercy his undertaking they held unsure) they resolved to serve their turn with the Lady Elizabeth, and to proclaim her Queen: to which purpose they had a Proclamation formed, wherein no mention was made of altering Religion, because they had no forces sufficient, and till they might make good their party, they would not avow the deed to be theirs, but lay it so far as they could upon the Puritans.

The Conspiracy detected.

Now there remained nothing, all dangers being foreseen, and every thing provided, but the last Act of the intended Tragedy to be performed, whenas that which was so secretly hatched came to be discovered after a wonderful manner. The Lord Monteagle, Son and Heir to the Lord Morley, being in his lodging at seven of the clock at night, had a Letter given him by one of his footmen, who received the same upon the street from a person unknown, with a charge to put it in his Masters hand. The tenor whereof was as followeth.

My Lord,

The letter sent to the Lord Monteagle.

OUT of the love I bear to some of your friends, I have a care of your preservation; therefore would I advise you, as you tender your life, to devise some excuse to shift off your attendance at this Parliament: for God and man have concurred to punish the wickedness of this time. Think not slightly of this advertisement, but retire your self into your Country, where you may expect the event in safety: for though there be no appearance of any stir, yet I say they shall receive a terrible blow in this Parliament, and shall not see who hurteth them. This counsel is not to be contemned, because it may do you good, and can do you no harm; for the danger is passed as soon as you have burnt the Letter: and I hope God will give you the grace to make good use of it, in whose holy protection I commit you.

The Secrecy of so many secrecy strange.

It was some ten daies only before the Parliament that Monteagle received this Letter, and but twelve hours before the meeting of the Estates that the Plot was found out. Where it is a sort of wonder to think that so many being made privy to the Conspiracy, the same should not have burst out one way or other in so long a time: For it was the eleventh of December 1604 when they began to work at the Mine, and so the space of a year and more the Conspiracy went concealed. Some advertisements were sent to the King and divers of his Majesties Council from beyond sea, That the Papists were preparing to present a Petition for Toleration of Religion at the meeting of the Parliament, which should be so well backed as the King would be loth to refuse it. But these advertisements were contemned, and thought to be invented for putting the King in fear.

Yea and the Nobleman, when he received the Letter, not knowing what construction to make of it, doubted much that it had been a device to scare him from attending the Parliament. Nottheless out of his care of the Kings preservation he resolved to communicate the same with the Earl of Salisbury his Majesties principal Secretary, and going the same night to White-hall, delivered the Letter to him. The Secretary acquainting the Chamberlain, Admiral, and some others of the Council therewith, and examining every line thereof, resolved to shew the same to the King at his return (for he was then at hunting at Royston) and not to search farther in the matter till they should hear what was his judgment.

The King returning to London the Thursday after, which was Allhallows evening, the Letter was shewed him the next day in the afternoon; who having read the same once or twice, said, That it was not to be contemned, and that the style seemed more quick and pithy than is used in Libels, Pasquils, and the like. The Secretary perceiving the King to apprehend the matter more deeply than he expected, told him that the Letter seemed to be written by a Fool or Mad-man; and pointing at the passage, the danger is past as soon as you have burnt the Letter, said, that

that the warning was to little purpose, if the burning of the Letter might make the danger eschewed. An. 1605.

But the King willed him to consider the former sentence, wherein it was said that they should receive a terrible Blow at the Parliament, and not see who did hurt them, and when he should joyn that with the other, he should find it to be sudden danger, as by blowing up by Powder, that was thereby meant. Therefore willed all the rooms in the Parliament-house to be searched, both above and below, to prevent the danger, if any there was.

This belonging to the Chamberlain his office, he was desired to make the search, and for staying the idle rumours, to delay his going to Monday in the afternoon, the day before the first Session of Parliament. At which time the Chamberlain taking with him the Lord Monteagle, who was careful to see what the warning given would prove, went and viewed all the rooms, where he perceived in the Vault under the Upper House great store of Fagots, Billets and Coals; and asking the keeper of the Guardrobe, named Whinyard, to what use he had put those low Cellars (for they appertained to him) he answered, that Thomas Piercy had hired the House and Cellar, and the Billets and the Coals were the Gentlemans provision for Winter. The Chamberlain casting his eye aside, and espying a fellow in the corner of the Vault, asked who he was, and received answer that he was Piercies man, who kept the house for his Master.

Thus having look'd upon all things in a careless manner as it appeared, he returned to the King, and made report of that he had seen; which encreased his Majesties first apprehension: and thereupon was order given for turning up those Billets and Coals even to the bottom. If nothing should be found, it was devised that Whinyard should pretend the stealing of some of the Kings stuff which he had in his keeping, and that made the colour of search. Sir Thomas Knevet, Gentlemen of his Majesties Privy Chamber and Justice of Peace within Westminster, being appointed for this business, went thither with some few in company about midnight, and finding a man standing without doors in his cloaths and boots, caused him to be apprehended. This was Guido Faux, whose hand should have fired the train, and gave himself out for Piercies man. Thereafter entering into the House he made the Coals and Billets to be turned up, under which they found 36 barrels of Powder more and less. Then turning to the fellow they had apprehended, and questioning him touching the Powder, he did instantly confess, swearing, That if he had been within the House when they took him, he should have blown them up with the House and all.

Sir Thomas taking the man along went immediately to the place, and shewed the Chamberlain and Secretary how he had sped. They making themselves ready, and warning the Counsellors that lay within the Palace, went all together to his Majesties Bed-chamber. The King awake, the Chamberlain, not able to conceal his joy cried aloud, that the treason was discovered and the traitor in hands. Then command was given to command the Council to examine the Prisoner touching his partakers. He, nothing dejected nor moved a whit with so honorable a presence, did boldly avow the fact, repenting only that he had failed in the execution, and saying, The devil envying the success of so good a work had discovered the same. All that day nothing could be drawn from him touching his Complices, taking all the blame upon himself, and professing he had done it for Religion and Conscience sake. Speaking of the King, he denied him to be his Sovereign, or Anointed of God, in regard he was an Heretick, and that it was no sin to cut him off. This was his behavior at first; but being conveyed to the Tower, and the Rack presented, he laid open the whole matter of Conspiracy, and confessed the truth. There were in the City at that time Catesby, Piercy, Tho. Winter, Francis Tresham and the younger Wright, who hearing that all was disclosed made away to the Country, appointing to meet the next morning at Dunchurch in Warwickshire, Digbys lodging. John Grant, with some Reculants that he had associated to himself, had broke up the same night a stable of Bourch a Rider of great Horses, and carried away seven or eight belonging to certain Noblemen of the Country; for he did think the Conspiracy had taken effect, and was preparing to surpris the Lady Elizabeth

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whose

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whose residence was not far from the place. But within a few hours *Catesby*, *Piercy*, and the others that were fled from London bringing assurance that all was failed, they resolved upon a publick Rebellion, and pretending the quarrel of Religion, labored to draw some companies together; yet when they had gathered all their forces, they did not exceed 80 in all.

Sir Fulk Grevil, Lieutenant-deputy of *Warwickshire*, hearing of the Riot that *Grant* had committed, and apprehending it to be the beginning of a Rebellion, sent to advertise the Towns about, and warned them to be on their guard. The Sheriffs of the County convening, the people likewise in arms, pursued them from Shire to Shire. *Sir Richard Walch* the Sheriff of *Worcestershire* having tried where they had taken harbor, sent a Trumpet and Messenger to command them to render unto him in his Majesties name, promising to intercede for their lives. But they, hearing their fault to be unpardonable, returned answer, that he had need of better assistants than the numbers that accompanied him before he could either command or compel them. The Sheriff provoked by their arrogant answer prepared to assail the House. And they making defence, it happened that a spark of fire falling among some powder, which they were drying, did kindle and blow up the same, wherewith their hands, faces and sides were fore scorched and burnt, as they lost courage, and opening the gate exposed themselves to the peoples fury. *Catesby*, *Piercy* and *Tho. Winter* joyning backs, and resolving rather to die than to be taken, the two first were killed with one shot, the other after some wounds made prisoner; the two *Wrights* were killed, *Rookwood*, *Grant*, *Digby* and *Bates* were taken: *Tresham* had stayed at London, and changing his lodging thought to lurk till he should find occasion to escape by sea, but was in end found out; so were *Robert Winter* and one *Littleton*, and all of them committed to the Tower of London.

Being examined, *Tho. Winter* ingenuously confessed all, setting down the particulars under his hand, and acknowledging the offence to be greater than could be forgotten. *Digby* excused the crime by the despair they were driven unto, having hopes given them at the Kings first coming to the Crown, that the Catholics should have the exercise of their Religion permitted, which being denied they had taken these wicked courses. *Tresham* in his Confession named *Garnet* the Jesuite as privy to the Conspiracy: but afterwards by his Wifes instigation did deny it, affirming that he had wronged him, and not seen him once these sixteen years. Yet *Garnet* being apprehended some months after confessed that they met divers times within the last half year. *Tresham* died in the prison, the rest were put to the trial of a Jury, and condemned. *Digby*, *Grant*, *Robert Winter* and *Thomas Bates* were executed at the Western gate of *S. Pauls* in the end of January; *Thomas Winter*, *Ambrose Rookwood*, *Robert Keys* and *Guido Faux*, who had wrought at the Mine, suffered in like sort in the Court near the Parliament-house.

This was the end of that Conspiracy, the like whereof in no mans memory hath been heard. We have heard of Kings treacherously killed, of practices against Estates and Commonwealths; but such a Monster of Conspiracies (as *Thuan* calls it) no Country nor Age did ever produce: The King, Queen, with their posterity, the Nobility, Clergy, Judges, Barons, Knights, Gentry, and in a manner the whole Kingdom to be in one moment all destroyed, was a Wickedness beyond all expression, but, blessed be God, this Monster, which was long in breeding, in the very birth was choaked and smothered.

The King, giving meeting to the Parliament the same day that the Conspiracy was discovered, made a long speech to the Estates, wherein having aggravated the danger by many circumstances, and greatly magnified the mercies of God in the Discovery, when he came to the Trial and Punishment, was observed to keep a marvellous temper in his discourse, wishing no innocent person either foreign or domestic should receive blame or harm thereby: For however, said he, the blind superstition of their Errors in Religion hath been the only motive of this desperate attempt, it must not be thought that all who profess the Roman Religion are guilty of the same: for as it is true (I keep his Majesties own words) that no other Sect of Hereticks (not excepting Turk, Jew or Pagan, nay not those of Calcut that adore the Devil) did

ever

ever maintain by the grounds of their Religion, that it was lawful and meritorious to murder Princes or people for the quarrel of Religion; yet it is as true on the other side that many honest men, blinded peradventure with some opinions of Popery, as if they be not sound in questions of Real Presence, the number of the Sacraments, and some such School questions, do either not know, or not believe at least, all the true grounds of Popery, which is indeed the Mystery of iniquity: and therefore do we justly confess that many Papists, especially our forefathers, laying their only trust upon Christ and his Merits, may yet be saved; detesting in that point, and thinking that cruelty of Puritans worthy of fire, that will admit no Salvation to any Papists. And so concluding that part of his discourse, said, As upon the one part many honest men, seduced with some Errors of Popery, may yet remain good and faithful Subjects; so upon the other part, none of those that truly know & believe the whole grounds of Popery, can prove either good Christians or faithful Subjects. The Speech is to be seen amongst his Majesties Works, and is worthy the reading, for wise directions given in that business.

The news of this Conspiracy were speedily advertised to the Council of Scotland, and a command given for a publick Thanksgiving in all the Churches for his Majesties deliverance; but the cause was left to every mans conjecture (albeit the advertisement did bear expressly, That the contrivers were Papists, and their only quarrel Religion.) This being told to the King, and that one of the Privy-Councillors had said, That the Conspiracy proceeded of a mere discontent the people had conceived at his Majesties Government, he was mightily offended, and from that forth held his affection to his service continually suspected.

Information was made at the same time, that some of the Ministers imprisoned at Blacknes did blame the Chancellor for their Meeting at *Aberdene*, offering, 'That they had Warrant from him to meet, and his promise that they should incur no danger for the same. The King, to understand the truth thereof directed his servant *Sir William Irwyn* to inquire at the imprisoned Ministers, what dealing they had with the Chancellor in that business: their answer was, 'That a little before their Meeting at *Aberdene*, Mr. *John Forbes* and Mr. *John Welch* had sought his advice touching their convening; and that he asking them what they intended to do, they answered, that fearing the establishment of Bishops, they were to do their Best for withstanding the same; and that he to encourage them did promise all the assistance he could give that way: which they took to be an allowance of their Meeting. A Letter hereupon was directed to certain of the Council to call the Ministers, and if they stood to their saying, to hear what the Chancellor would answer. They maintaining that which they had said, and the Chancellor called to his Answer, he affirmed that he was intreated by them to oppose the restitution of Bishops Temporalities, which then was in working, promising that he should not be questioned for his Religion, which they understood to be Popish. This denied by the Ministers, they fell in a sharp contest; which continued some space with words not seemingly on either part. The Ministers, for clearing his approbation of their Assembly, did farther alledge that he had uttered so much to Mr. *Walter Balcanquell* and Mr. *James Balfour*, Ministers at *Edinburgh*; who being examined touching their knowledge, Mr. *Walter Balcanquell* did affirm, 'That the Chancellor in private to himself had commended them for maintaining the Liberty of the Church, which was not a little prejudiced, as he said, by the continuation of Assemblies from year to year. The same he was said to have spoken to Mr. *James Balfour*; but he excused himself by forgetfulness, saying he did not remember any such speeches. This report made to the King, he said, That none of the two deserved credit; and that he saw the Ministers would betray Religion rather than submit themselves to Government; and that the Chancellor would betray the King for the malice he carried to the Bishops.

By this contest always the Chancellor was made more tractable in the restitution of Bishops Temporalities, which he had strongly resisted unto that time; and in the Parliament kept at *Perth* in the beginning of July shewed a great desire to promote the same. This Parliament had been indicted to keep at *Edinburgh* in June preceeding, and the Earl of *Dunbar* employed to see all matters carried therein to his Majesties mind. The Chancellor (whether out of emulation to shew his Greatness,

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ness, or that he feared some affront by the Earl of Dunbar) went on the streets accompanied with the Burgeses in great numbers, who otherwise than was their custom did walk with their swords. Dunbar taking this in ill part, yet dissembling his offence, caused adjourn the Parliament to the first of July, and therewith presented a Warrant for removing the same to the Town of Perth, which coming unlooked for made the Burgeses forthink their doing.

At Perth it happened the very first day the Lord Seaton and Alexander his Brother to encounter the Earl of Glencarn in the Bridgegate, where drawing their weapons against others a great Tumult was raised, which continued a certain space, and disturbed the Council that as then was sitting. The Lord Seaton being tried to have invaded the other, which he did for revenge of his Uncles slaughter, he was cited before the Council for troubling the Parliament; but leaving the Town he went home, and for his not appearing was denounced Rebel. It was held an ominous beginning, and gave many to think that matters would not succeed well; but the Earl of Dunbar did so wisely and with so great care prevent every thing that was like to breed trouble, as all things were carried from that time forth in a most peaceable sort.

There were attending in the Town abundance of Ministers, labouring all they could secretly to make some perturbation. The Earl calling them to his lodging did rebuke them sharply, saying, *That it seemed strange to him, that they who had so often petitioned to have the Act of Annexation dissolved should go about to hinder the same, now when the King was to do it in part, specially considering there was nothing to be moved in prejudice of their Discipline. And that for removing the differences that were amongst them in that point, his Majesty had resolved, as they knew by the Letters some of them had received, to call the most learned and discreet of both sides before himself, and have matters composed so far as might be to their content. More fitting, he said, it were for you, to whom his Majesty hath addressed his Letters, to have been preparing your selves for the journey. And I should advise you, for your own good and the peace of the Church, not to write to the King any more, but rather study by your peaceable behaviour to procure favor to your Brethren that are in trouble.* With these speeches he did quiet them, and so the Parliament went on, and after some few daies ended in great peace.

In this Parliament divers good Constitutions were made: but the two principal were the Acts of his Majesties Prerogative, and the Act entituled, *The Restitution of the estate of Bishops*; which Title giveth many to mistake the truth of things, and think that before this time the estate of Bishops was overthrown and cast down, whereas the same was never so much as intended. Only by this Act the Temporalities of Bishopricks, which by the Act of Annexation were made to belong to the Crown, were restored, in regard it was seen that the Bishops were disabled to attend their service in the Church and State by the want thereof.

Soon after the Parliament dissolved, such of the Clergy as his Majesty called to Court went together. Of the one side went the Archbishop of S. Andrews and Glasgow, the Bishops of Orkney, Galloway, and Mr. James Nicolson who was destinate Bishop of Dunkeld; on the other part were Mr. Andrew Melvil, Mr. James Melvil, Mr. James Balfour and Mr. William Watson, Mr. William Scot, Mr. John Carmichael, and Mr. Adam Col't. All these arriving at London about the Beginning of Sept. had warning given them to attend the 20 of that month at Hampton-Court.

The King had appointed some of the Bishops of England to attend during the Conference, and preach by course upon the subjects presented to them. Doctor Barlow Bishop of Lincoln began, taking for his Text the 28 verse of the 20 chap. of the Acts, whereby he took occasion to prove out of the Scriptures and Fathers the Supremacy of Bishops above Presbyters, and to shew the inconveniencies of Parity in the Church, with the Confusion arising from the same. Dr. Buckridge Bishop of Rochester took for his Text the Precept of the Apostle, *Omnis anima, &c.* Rom. 13. 1. where falling to speak of the Kings Supremacy in causes Ecclesiastical, he did handle that Point both soundly and learnedly, to the satisfaction of all the hearers: only it grieved the Scots Ministers to hear the Pope and Presbytery so often

often equalled in their opposition to Sovereign Princes. Dr. Andrews Bishop of Chichester followed, who chused for his Text the first verses of the 10. chapter of Numbers, confirming thirdly the power of Kings in Convocating Synods and Councils. The fourth was Dr. King Bishop of London, he took for his Theme the 11 verse of the 8 chapter of Canticles, and thereupon discoursing of the Office of Presbyters, did prove *Lay-Elders to have no place nor Office in the Church, and the late device to be without all warrant of Precept or Example, either in Scripture or in Antiquity.* This course his Majesty took, as conceiving that some of the Ministers should be moved by force of Reason to quit their Opinions, and give place to the Truth: but that seldom happeneth where the mind is prepossessed with prejudice either against persons or matter.

The First audience was at Hampton the 22 of September; at which, besides the Bishops and Ministers from Scotland, were present the Earls of Dunbar, Argile, Glencarn, Sir Thomas Hamilton Advocate, and Sir Alexander Straiton: of the English, Dr. Montague Dean of the Chappel was only admitted to stay. There the King, declaring the purpose for which he had called them, spake a few words to this effect: *That having left the Church of Scotland in peace at his parting forth of it, he did now hear of great disturbances in the same; whereof he desired to understand the true cause, and to have their advice how the same might best be removed, This being, said he, the errand in general for which I have called you, I should be glad to hear your opinions touching that meeting at Aberdene, where an handful of Ministers, in contempt of my Authority, and against the discharge given them, did assemble; and though they were neither a sufficient number, nor the accustomed order kept, they would take upon them to call it a General Assembly, and have since proudly maintained it, by declining my Council, and such other means as they pleased to use. The rather I would hear your minds, because I am informed that divers Ministers do justifie that Meeting, and in their publick Preachings commend these Brethren as persons distressed, which in effect is to proclaim me a Tyrant and Persecutor.*

Mr. James Melvil answering first, said, 'That there was no such discharge given to those Ministers that met at Aberdene as was alledged, adjuring Sir Alexander Straiton, who was said to have given the charge, to declare in his Majesties presence how that matter was carried. As to the absence of Moderator and Clerk, he said that none of these were essential parts of an Assembly; and that the Moderator absenting himself of purpose, and the Clerk refusing to serve, the Brethren convened might lawfully create others in their places: so as the Ministers having Warrant to convene from the Word of God, and from his Majesties Laws, as also coming thither by direction of their Presbyteries, he could not in his conscience condemn them.

Well then, said the King, *I shall desire you to answer me three things that I will ask. First, If it be lawful to pray publicly for persons convicted by the lawful Judge as persons being in distress and afflicted. 2. Whether I may not, being a Christian King, by my Authority Royal, convocate, and prorogue, and desert, for just and necessary causes known to my self, any Assemblies or Meetings within my Dominions. 3. Whether or not may I by my Authority call and convene before me and my Council whatsoever person or persons, Civil or Ecclesiastical, for whatsoever offences committed by them in whatsoever place within my Dominions; and if I may not take cognition of the offence, and give sentence therein. And farther, Whether or not are all my subjects, being cited to answer before me and my Council, obliged to compeer, and acknowledge me or them for Judges in these offences?*

Mr. James answering, said that the Questions were weighty, and craved a great deliberation; wherefore he would humbly entreat his Majesty to grant them a time to confer and advise together, that they might all give one direct answer. This desire granted, they were commanded to advise and meet together that night, and be ready to answer the next day. At this Meeting the Earls of Salisbury and Northampton with divers of the English Clergy were present. The Ministers desiring to have the Meeting more private, requested the Earl of Dunbar to move the

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Mr. James Melvil's answer in name of the rest.

His Majesty proponeth three Questions to them.

A time is desired by them and granted.

The second Audience.

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The Bishops judgment of the Meeting at Aberdene.

Mr. Andrew Melvil's answer touching the same.

Mr. James Balfour his answer.

Mr. Melvil his answer.

Mr. William Scot his answer interrupted by Mr. Andrew Melvil.

The Ministers called before the Scottish Council.

They are discharged to return into Scotland.

The Kings pleasure touching the warded Ministers.

King therein, and that none but Scots-men should be present; *fearing* (as they said) *that some unseemly words might escape them*. But this was denied, and they warned to speak with that respect which became subjects. It was believed that the King should have begun with the Questions proposed in the former Meeting; but his Majesty taking another course, required them to declare one by one their judgments touching *Aberdene Assembly*. The Bishops (being first ask'd) did all condemn the Meeting as Turbulent, Factious, and Unlawful.

Mr. Andrew Melvil then being enquired made answer, 'That he could not condemn the Assembly, being a private man: That he came into *England* upon his Majesties Letter, without any Commission from the Church of *Scotland*, and though he had Commission in *dicta causa*, yet not hearing what they could say for themselves, he could not give his judgment. Sentence he said was given against them in a Justice-Court; how justly, he did remit that to the great Judge: but for himself he would say as our Saviour did in another case, *Quis me constituit judicem?*

Mr. James Balfour being next ask'd, 'Did pray his Majesty not to press him with any answer, for that he knew nothing would be well taken that proceeded from his mouth, and that Mr. Andrew had answered his mind sufficiently.

Mr. James Melvil, without giving a direct answer, began to tell, 'That since his coming to *London* he had received divers Letters, and with them a Petition, that should have been presented to the late Parliament in behalf of the warded Ministers, which he was desir'd to offer unto his Majesty, and, as he thought, the Petition would make all their minds known.

The King taking the Petition and falling to read the same, willed the Advocate to go on and receive the answer of the rest. And as the Advocate was questioning Mr. William Scot, and urging him with a distinct answer (for he used many circumlocutions, according to the custom) Mr. Andrew Melvil in a great passion said, *That he followed the instructions of Mr. John Hamilton his Uncle, who had poisoned the North with his Papistry, and that he was now become natipus & rōv adn-ēv*. Northampton asking what he meant by that speech; the King said, he call-eth him *the mickle Devil*: and then folding up the Petition, said, *I see you are all set for maintaining that base Conventicle of Aberdene. But what answers have you to give to the Questions I moved?* It was answered, 'That they had conferred together, and finding them to concern the whole Church, they would not by their particular voices prejudge the same. *But you will not I trust*, said the King, *call my Authority in question, and subject the determination of the same to your Assemblies*. 'This they said was far from their thoughts; but if his Majesty should be pleased to set down in writing what he required, they should labour to give him satisfaction.

Thus were they dismissed for that time, and being the next day called before the *Scottish Council* (for after this they were no more admitted to his Majesties presence) they were enquired whether they had in their public prayers prayed for the warded Ministers as persons afflicted, and sufferers for Gods cause. Some of them confessed that they had prayed for them as persons in trouble and distress: others, that they had commended them to God, but remembered not in what words.

The 20 of October they were again brought before the *Scots Council*, and had the three Questions delivered to them in writing, which they were commanded to answer severally: meanwhile they were discharged to return into *Scotland* without his Majesties licence, and prohibited to come towards the Queen and Princes Court. The Bishops and others of the Clergy that assisted them were permitted to return.

The Conference breaking up in this sort, and matters made worse rather than better, his Majesties pleasure concerning the warded Ministers, which to this time had been delayed, was signified by two several Letters to the Council and Justice. The Letter to the Justice was as followeth. 'Whereas in our Justice-Court hold-
'en at *Linlithgow* the 10 of January last, Mr. John Forbes, Minister of *Amsford*,
'Mr. John Welch Minister at *Aire*, Mr. Robert Dury Minister at *Anstruther*, Mr. Andrew

Andrew Duncan Minister at *Crail*, Mr. Alexander Straughan Minister at *Creich*, An. 1606.
'and Mr. John Sharp Minister at *Kilmeny*, were convicted of the crime of Treason, for their contemptuous and treasonable declining the Judgment of us and the Lords our secret Council, by a Declinator subscribed with their hands, and presented in judgment before the said Lords; and that the pronouncement of the doom was upon grave and weighty respects continued till our pleasure was declared: We now, considering the great Insolency committed by them, and how dangerous the example of such a fact may prove if it should go unpunished, specially since we of our accustomed lenity have given to these declared Traitors more than sufficient time to have acknowledged their offence, and made sute for our Pardon, and that yet nothing hath appeared in them but an obdured obstinacy, without any token of resipiscence; albeit the greatness of the offence in men of their Function, whose actions should be patterns of duty and obedience to others, hath demerited most justly the extremity of punishment appointed by Law; yet, according to our wonted Clemency, being willing to dispense with the rigor of Law at this time, and not to inflict the punishment of death upon them, Our will and pleasure is, that you affix a Justice-Court at *Linlithgow*, or any other place our Council shall appoint, the 23 of October, and then cause doom of punishment forth of our Dominions during their natural lives to be pronounced against the said Traitors: After which you shall return them to their Wards, there to remain for the space of a month, till they have made their preparations to depart; before the expiring whereof if they do not depart, wind and weather serving, or being departed shall return unto our Dominions without our licence, the ordinary death usually inflicted upon Traitors shall be executed upon them. And because this our Clemency extended towards these above named may perhaps move others to think, that for trespasses of this quality no greater rigor will hereafter be used; to remove all such conceits, and that notice may be taken of our full determination in the like case, you shall in open Court make intimation to all our lieges, That if any hereafter shall offend in such an high trespass, they shall be punished with all severity, and the death due unto Traitors be inflicted upon them with all rigour, the example of this our present lenity notwithstanding: And that it is our will you cause this to be recorded in your Books of Adjournal, and publication to be made thereof at the Market-Cross of *Edinburgh*, and all other places needful.

By the Letter directed to the Council, Mr. Charles Farum was ordained to be confined in the Isle of *Bute*, Mr. John Monroe in *Kintyre*, Mr. Robert Youngson in the Isle of *Arran*, Mr. James Irwyn in *Orkney*, Mr. William Forbes in *Teteland*, Mr. James Grey in *Cathnes*, Mr. Nathaniel Inglis in *Sutherland*, and Mr. John Rosse in *Lewis*.

The Justice as he was commanded did keep his Court at *Linlithgow*, and pronounced the Sentence and doom in the manner prescribed. Messengers were also directed to charge the other Ministers to enter into the parts appointed for their confining, and not to exceed the same without licence, under pain of death. After which a Proclamation was made inhibiting all Ministers to recommend either in their sermons or prayers the persons so sentenced.

And lest the Jesuites, Seminary Priests, and others of their Faction, should presume of any oversight to be given to them because of these proceedings against the Seditious Ministers, they were in like sort commanded by Proclamation to depart forth of the Realm, and all the subjects inhibited to respect or entertain them, under the pain of his Majesties displeasure.

Mr. Andrew Melvil, that would not be idle, and was still speaking against the Orders of the *English Church*, having dispersed some bitter and scornful verses against the Rites used in his Majesties Chappel, which was brought to the King by one of the Chaplains, was called before the Council of *England*, and charged with the injuring of the State and Church: where, in stead of acknowledging his offence, he behaved himself insolently, and more like a mad man than Divine; for

The Letter to the Justice prescribing the form of the Sentence.

A Letter from his Majesty to the Council.

The Sentence pronounced by the Justice.

A Proclamation against Jesuites.

Mr. Andrew Melvil committed to the Tower.

An. 1606. for which he was committed in the Tower of London. There he remained three years and more, and afterwards, upon the Duke of Balloign his request, was sent to Sedan, where he lived in no great respect, and contracting the Gout lay almost bedfast to his death.

The Observa-
tion of the
Writer.

Whilest I am writing this, there cometh to my mind the hard and uncharitable dealing that he and his Faction used towards Patrick sometimes Archbishop of S. Andrews, who not content to have persecuted that worthy man in his life, made him a long time after his death the subject of their Sermons, interpreting the miseries whereunto he was brought to be the judgment of God inflicted upon him for withstanding their courses of Discipline. If now one should take the like liberty, and say, That God, to whom the Bishop at his dying did commend his cause, had taken revenge of him who was the chief instrument of his trouble, it might be as probably spoken, and with some more likelihood, than that which they blasted forth against the dead Bishop. But away with such rash and bold conceits; the love of God either to causes or persons is not to be measured by these external and outward actions.

An Assembly
indicted at
Linlithgow.

But leaving this, the King being very desirous to have the Church quieted, and a solid and constant Order established for preventing the like offences, did call a General Assembly to meet at Linlithgow the 10 of December: and for the better ordering of business, directed the Earl of Dunbar to attend the Meeting. At the day many convened both Ministers and others. Of Ministers there were reckoned one hundred thirty six; of Noblemen, Barons and others, thirty and three. Mr. James Nicolson elected to preside, the Earl of Dunbar presented a Letter from his Majesty to this effect: 'That it was not unknown what pains he had taken whilest he lived amongst them, as well to root out Popery as to settle a good and perfect Order in the Church; and that notwithstanding of his care bestowed that way, he had been continually vexed by the jealousies of some perverse Ministers, who traducing his best actions gave out amongst the people, that all he went about was to thrall the Liberty of the Gospel. Neither content thus to have wronged him, they had in his absence factiously banded themselves against such of their Brethren as had given their concurrence to the furtherance of his Majesties just intentions: upon the knowledge whereof he did lately call the most calm and moderate, as he esteemed, of both sides unto his Court, thinking to have pacified matters, and removed the Divisions arisen in the Church; but matters not succeeding as he wished, he had taken purpose to convene them, for setting down such Rules as he hoped should prevent the like troubles in after times, which he had intrusted to his Commissioner the Earl of Dunbar: willing them to consider what was most fitting for the peace of the Church, and to apply themselves to the obedience of his directions, as they did expect his favor.

An Overture
sent from his
Majesty to
the Assembly.

After the reading of the Letter the Overture was presented, conceived in this form, 'That his Majesty, apprehending the greatest causes of the misgovernment of Church affairs to be, that the same are often, and almost ordinarily, committed to such as for lack of wisdom and experience are no way able to keep things in a good frame; for remedying this inconvenient, thinketh meet that presently there be nominated in every Presbytery one of the most grave, godly, and of greatest authority and experience, to have the care of the Presbytery where he remained, till the present jars and fire of dissension which is among the Ministry, and daily encreaseth, to the hinderance of the Gospel, be quenched and taken away; and the Noblemen professing Papistry within the Kingdom be either reduced to the profession of the Truth, or then repressed by justice and a due execution of the Laws; and for encouragement of the said Moderators, and the enabling them to the attendance of the Church affairs, his Majesty is graciously pleased to allow every of them one hundred pounds Scots, or two hundred Marks, according to the quality of their Charge; but where the Bishops are resident, his Majesty will have them to moderate and preside in these Meetings. As likewise because it often falleth out

that

An. 1606. 'that matters cannot be decided in Presbyteries, by reason of the difficulties that arise, and that the custom is to remit the decision thereof to the Synod of the Diocie; It is his Majesties advice, that the Moderation of these Assemblies be committed to the Bishops, who shall be burthened with the delation of Papists, and solicitation of justice against those that will not be brought to obedience, in respect his Majesty hath bestowed on them places and means to bear out the charges and burthens of difficult and dangerous actions, which other Ministers cannot so well sustain and undergo.

This overture seeming to import a great alteration in the Discipline was not well accepted of divers: but his Majesties Commissioner having declared that it was so far from the Kings purpose to make any change in the present Discipline, as he did not long for any thing more than to have it rightly settled, and all these eyelists removed which had given him so just occasion of discontent; they desired a time to deliberate, and that a number of the most wise and learned might be selected to confer thereupon, and report their opinions to the Assembly.

Some Bre-
thren deputed
undergo to
consider the
overture.

The Brethren named in this Conference having debated every point at length, and considered the inconveniencies that might arise by the change, especially the usurpation that was feared these constant Moderators should make upon their Brethren, resolved that the Overture proposed was not to be refused, so as certain Cautions were added, which were condescended to in manner following.

The Overture
embraced with
some Cautions.

- First, That the Moderators of Presbyteries and Provincial Assemblies should not presume to do any thing of themselves, without the advice and consent of their Brethren.
2. That they should use no farther Jurisdiction nor power than Moderators have been in use of by the Constitutions of the Church.
3. If it should happen the Moderators to be absent at any time from these Meetings, it should be in the power of Synods and Presbyteries to nominate another for moderating in their absence.
4. When the place of a Moderator in any Presbytery should be void, the election of one to succeed should be made by the whole Synod with consent of his Majesties Commissioner.
5. If any of the Moderators should depart this life betwixt Assemblies, it should be lawful to the Presbyteries to nominate one of the most grave and worthy of their number for the place unto the meeting of the next Synod.
6. That the Moderators of the Presbyteries should be subject to the trial and censure of the Synod; and in case they usurped any farther power over the Brethren than is given them by the Assembly, the same should be a cause of Deprivation from their Office of Moderation, and they deprived thereof by the said Synods.
7. In like manner the Moderator of the Provincial Assembly should be tried and censured by the General Assembly; and in case he was found remiss, or to have usurped any farther power than the simple place of a Moderator, he should be deprived therefore by the General Assembly.
8. That the Moderators of every Presbytery and Synod with their Scribes should be stricken to be present at the General Assembly, and be reputed members thereof, by bringing with them the Registers of the Acts and proceedings in their Meetings to be seen, that so their diligence and fidelity in their Charges might be known.
9. That it should be lawful to each Presbytery to send two or three Commissioners to the General Assembly by and besides the Moderator and Scribe, if they should think it convenient.
10. That the Moderator of the General Assembly should be chosen by the voices of the whole Assembly, lites being first made and proposed, as in times passed.
11. That

Cautions for
the constant
Moderators.

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The Cautions and Overture approved.

11. That in the Synods where there is not a Bishop actually resident, the like lite should be made of the Moderators of the Presbyteries within these bounds, and one of them elected to moderate the same Assembly, so as his Majesties Commissioners give their advice thereunto.

And lastly, That the Rolls of Moderators in every Presbytery should be examined, to see if there was any other of the number fit to use the said Office; and that they whom this present Assembly should nominate, should accept the said Moderation upon them without making any shift or excuse.

The Cautions and Overture approved.

These Cautions being read in the full Assembly were approved of all, and the Overture thereafter put to voices was allowed, and the same enacted as a Conclusion of the whole Assembly, four only of the whole number dissenting; other four refusing to vote because they had no Commission, as they pretended, from their Presbyteries, and two answering, *Non liquet*. This Conclusion taken, the Rolls of Presbyteries were called, and none found more sufficient than they who did presently moderate these Meetings; whereupon an Ordinance was made, that they should continue in their Charges, and not be altered, unless the Synod did make another choice.

A complaint of the Papists and their insolency.

This business ended, a great complaint was made of the insolency of Papists, chiefly in the North parts, and of the Superstitions used at the Burials of the Lord *Ogilvy* and Laird of *Gight*, who had deceased a few months before. The Marquis of *Huntley* being also returned lately from Court, had given out that he brought a Warrant from his Majesty to stay all Ecclesiastical proceedings against him, his Lady and family: by which reports those of the Roman profession were not a little encouraged, and were become open contemners of the Censures of the Church.

Petition from the Assembly to his Majesty.

These complaints being greatly taken to heart by the whole Assembly, it was concluded that a Petition should be preferred to his Majesty in all their names, for confining the Marquis of *Huntley*, the Earls of *Angus* and *Arrol*, with their Ladies, in some Cities and Towns where they might by the hearing of the Word and conference with learned men be reduced from their Errors, at least kept from doing harm, and from the perverting of others. To present this Petition and the Act of constant Moderators, choice was made of Mr. *James Law* Bishop of *Orkney*, and he dispatched the Court; which done, the Assembly brake up and dissolved with the good satisfaction of all.

His Majesties answer.

Nor was it long before the Kings answer returned in these particulars. And first, concerning the Marquis of *Huntley*, his Majesty declared, 'That he had obtained no Warrant for impeding the Church-discipline, neither against himself or any of his family; and that only (because he affirmed that he had kept all the Injunctions prescribed, except that he had not Communicated) the Council was desired after trial of his obedience in the rest of the particulars enjoined, to command the Presbyteries of the North to stay their proceedings against him for his not Communicating, concerning which point he had certified the Marquis, that howsoever some space was granted to him for his better resolution, if he did persist in his Errors, and would not be reclaimed, he would make no other reckoning of him than of one that studied to make himself the head of a Faction, and rather root him out, than nourish him in his follies by a preposterous Toleration.

His Majesties pleasure touching the Popish Noblemen.

As to the Confining of him and the other Noblemen in the Cities and places set down in the Assemblies Petition, 'His Majesty did think it too rigorous, unless they were tried to have committed some offence deserving the same. Wherefore he would have them called before the Council, the Bishop of the Dioc, Moderator of the Presbytery, and the Minister of the Parish being present, and enquired concerning their behavior, and whether they did resort or not ordinarily to Sermon; wherein if they should be tried to have transgressed, his pleasure was they should be confined within so many miles compass as are distant betwixt the Houses of their residence and the City wherein it was desired they should be confined, to the end they may repair to their houses when the necessity of their business

'business requireth, and at other times resort to the City or Town designed for their instruction, where they should be tied to stay ten days together, and during their stay hear Sermons, admit conference, and forbear the company of Jesuites, Seminary Priests and others of that profession. And if it should happen them to have any business in Council or Session, that licence should be granted unto them for repairing thither during a certain space, providing they did resort to the Church, and gave no scandal by their behavior.

For the Superstitious Rites used at the Burial of the Lord *Ogilvy* and *Gight*, His Majesties pleasure was, that their Sons should be called before the Council and committed; but no sentence should be given, till the whole circumstances were tried and notified to him.

As touching the conclusion taken for the constant Moderators, 'His Majesty did thank them for their travels: But whereas they were of opinion that the Act should be universally received (for so much the Assembly had written) he said, that he knew them too well to expect any such thing at their hands. Their conscientious zeal to maintain Parity, and a desire to keep all things in a continual constant volubility, he said was such as they would never agree to a settled form of Government. Besides, he knew that divers of these who were nominated to the places of Moderation would refuse to accept the same, lest they should be thought to affect Superiority above their brethren. That therefore he would have the Council to look to that business, and direct Charges as well for those that were nominated to accept the Moderation, as to the Ministers of every Presbytery to acknowledge them that were nominated.

The event justified his Majesties opinion, for all the next year there was no matter that so troubled the Council as that of the constant Moderator. The Synod of *Perth*, convening in *March* thereafter, did in direct opposition of the Act concluded at *Linlithgow* inhibit all the Presbyteries within their bounds to acknowledge the conclusion taken in that Meeting, and discharged Mr. *Alexander Lindsay* Parson of *Simmedose*, who was nominated by the Assembly Moderator of *Perth*, to exercise the said Office under pain of the Censure of the Church. The Synod being cited before the Council for this Presumption, was discharged to meet thereafter, and the Presbyteries within the bounds commanded under the pain of Rebellion to accept their Moderators.

In *May* the resistance was no less; for the Synod being continued twice, first from *April* to *June*, then from *June* to *September*, meeting at that time in *Dysert*, and presided by the Lords *Lindesay*, *Scone* and *Halirudhouse*, Commissioners from the Council, to accept the Archbishop of *S. Andrews* for their Moderator, did obstinately refuse, and dissolved without doing any thing: hereupon was that Synod likewise discharged, and all the Burghs inhibited to receive them, if perhaps they should reassemble after the Commissioners were gone. The Presbyteries of *Mers* were also very troublesome, and the Council so vexed with complaints of that kind, as not a day passed without some one or other. But all this opposition proved vain, and they in end forced to obey, did find by experience this settled course much better than their circular elections.

A Commission came in this mean time for planting some learned and worthy person in the place of Mr. *Andrew Melvil* at *S. Andrews*. The Commission was directed to the Archbishop of *S. Andrews*, the Bishops of *Dunkeld*, *Rosse* and *Briechen*, the Lord *Balmerinloch*, the Advocate, the Laird of *Balcomy*, and Commissar of *S. Andrews*; who meeting in the new College the 16 of *June*, after the reading of his Majesties Letters (whereby it was declared, That the said Mr. *Andrew* being judged by the Council of *England* to have trespassed in the highest sort against his Majesty, and for the same committed to the Tower till he should receive his just punishment, was no more to return to that charge) they, according to the power given them, did proceed and make choice of Mr. *Robert Howy* to be provost of the said College, ordaining him to be invested in the said Office with all the immunities and privileges accustomed. Which was accordingly performed in the *July* thereafter, and he entred to his Charge the 27 of that month.

An. 1607.

Direction to the Council for constant Moderators.

An. 1607. The Synod of Perth discharged.

The Synod of Fife discharged.

A Provost placed in the new College of S. Andrews.

An. 1608.

The Ministers
permitted to
return from
London.

It remained that some course should be taken with the Ministers that were stayed at London; as it was once purposed, they were to be provided with some Livings in England: but that Church not liking to entertain such guests, they were all permitted to return home, upon their promise to live obedient and peaceable. *M. James Melvil* was only retained, who living a while confined at *Newcastle*, was after some months licensed to come to *Berwick*, where he deceased. A man of good learning, sober and modest; but so addicted to the courses of *Mr. Andrew Melvil* his Uncle, as by following him he lost the Kings favor, which once he enjoyed in a good measure, and so made himself and his labours unprofitable to the Church.

Alexander
Lord Spynie
killed.

Now let us see what happened in the Kingdom during this time. The King was ever seriously commending to the Council the removing of the barbarous Feuds wherewith he had been so greatly troubled, divers whereof by their travels were this year agreed: yet new occasions daily arising, they were kept in a continual business. *David Lindejay* younger of *Edyel*, seeking to revenge the slaughter of his Uncle *Mr. Walter Lindejay*, whom *David Maister of Crawford* had killed, as he lay in wait of the said Maister (who was then by the decease of his Father succeeded in the Earldom) through a pitiful mistake did invade *Alexander Lord Spynie*, and killed him in stead of the other. The Noblemans death was much regrated for the many good parts he had, and the hopes his friends conceived that he should have raised again that noble and ancient house of *Crawford* to the former splendor and dignity, all which perished with him. He that was in place and escaped the peril being a base unworthy prodigal, and the undoer of all that by the virtue of his Ancestors had been long kept together.

Trouble be-
twixt the Earl
of Morton and
Lord Maxwell.

Another business no less troublesome did also then happen betwixt the Earl of *Morton* and the Lord *Maxwel*, for holding of Courts in *Eskdale*, unto which both did pretend right. The preparation on both sides was great, and like to have caused much unquietness, if the same had not been carefully prevented. Both parties being charged by the Council to dissolve their forces, and not to come towards the bounds; the Earl of *Morton* obeyed: *Maxwel* contemning the charge went on, and by a cartel did appeal *Morton* to the combate; whereupon he was committed in the Castle of *Edinburgh*, and after some two months stay made an escape. No sooner found he himself at liberty, than he fell a plotting the Laird of *Johnstons* murder, which he wrought in a most treacherous manner. He pretending to use his friendship in obtaining his Majesties Pardon, employed *Sir Robert Maxwel* of *Orchardtown*, whose Sister *Johnston* had married, to draw on a meeting betwixt them, as he did: at a little hill called *Achmanhill* they did bring each of them one servant only, as was agreed, the said *Sir Robert* being present as a friend to both. At meeting after they had courteously saluted one another, and conferred a little space very friendly, the two servants going aside, the one called *Charles Maxwel* a Brother of *Kirkhouse*, the other *William Johnston* of *Locherby*, *Charles* falleth in quarrelling, the other shooteth a pistol at him; the Laird of *Johnston* making to part them, the Lord *Maxwel* shooteth him in the back with two bullets, whereupon he falleth, and for a while keeping off the Lord *Maxwel*, who made to strike him with his sword, expired in the place. It was the 6 of April in the year 1608 that this happened. The fact was detested by all honest men, and the Gentlemans misfortune sore lamented; for he was a man full of wisdom and courage, and every way well inclined, and to have been by his too much confidence in this sort treacherously cut off was a thing most pitiful. *Maxwel*, ashamed of that he had done, forsook the Country, and had his Estate forfeited. Some years after stealing quietly into the Kingdom he was apprehended in the Country of *Cathnes*, and beheaded at *Edinburgh* the 21 of May 1613.

Maxwel com-
mitted mak-
eth an escape.The Laird of
Johnston most
treacherously
killed by Max-
wel.

An. 1608.

Maxwel be-
headed.The Earl of
Argyle made
Lieutenant of
the Isles.

The purpose of civilizing the Isles was this year again renewed, and a long Treaty kept with the Marquess of *Huntley* thereupon; but he breaking off by reason of the small duty he did offer for the North Isles, the Earl of *Argyle* was made Lieutenant thereof for the space of six months, in which time it was hoped that some good should be wrought, and the people reduced to good manners: yet nothing was done to any purpose, the great men of those parts studying only the in-crease

crease of their own Grandeur, and striving whose command should be greatest. An. 1608.

In the Parliament of England that held in November preceding the matter of Union received many crossings, and of all the Articles condescended among the Commissioners only that was enacted which concerneth the abolishing of hostile Laws. The King grieved at this exceedingly, and conceiving that the work should more easily be effected if a beginning was made in Scotland, did call a Parliament in August, which was kept by *Lodowick Duke of Lennox*, as Commissioner for his Majesty, the Earl of *Montross* being then deceased. The Estates, to satisfy the Kings desire, did allow all the Articles concluded in the Treaty, with a provision, That the same should be in like manner ratified by the Parliament of England, otherwise the Conclusions taken should not have the strength of a Law. It was also declared, that if the Union should happen to take effect, the Kingdom notwithstanding should remain an absolute and free Monarchy, and the Fundamental Laws receive no alteration. But the Parliament of England either disliking the Union, as fearing some prejudice by it to their Estate, or upon some other hidden cause, did touch no more the business; and so that good Work, tending to the advantage of both Kingdoms, was left and quite deserted.

A Parliament
in Scotland for
the Union.Provision for
the Union.

In the Church a new Trouble was moved by the revolt that *Huntley* and the two Earls of *Angus* and *Arrol* made; divers especially in the North parts falling away by their example. This being represented to the King, he gave order for calling an Assembly which convened at *Linlithgow* in the end of July. Therein the Earls of *Dunbar*, *Winton*, and *Lothian* late Commissioners for the King. The Bishop of *Orkney*, elected to preside, having shewed the occasion of the present Meeting to be the growth and increase of Papists in all the quarters of the Kingdom, it was thought meet to take up the names of those that made open profession of Popery, and likewise of those that were suspected to favour the course, that their number and forces being known, the remedies might be the better advised and provided.

An Assembly
in Linlithgow
for restraining
Papists.

The number was found to be very great, chiefly in the North, and the Marquis of *Huntley* delated by all as the only cause of the defection in those bounds. He being cited to appear before the Assembly under the pain of Excommunication, and neither compeiring nor sending any excuse, was ordained to be Excommunicated, and the Sentence accordingly pronounced in the hearing of the whole Assembly. This was appointed to be intimated in all the Churches, and no Absolution given upon whatsoever offers, in regard of his manifold Apostasies, without the advice of the General Church. The like course was concluded to be kept with *Angus*, *Arrol*, and the Lord *Semple*, how soon the Processes intended against them were brought to an end.

The Marquis
of Huntley
Excommuni-
cated.

This done, the Assembly began to rip up the causes of the defection more narrowly; which they found to proceed from the Ministers in a part, their negligence in Teaching and Catechising of people, the too suddain admission of young men into the Ministry, and the distraction of minds among those that are admitted: for remedy whereof it was ordained as followeth.

The causes of
the defection
partly in the
Church.

First that they should apply themselves to the exercise of their Function with greater diligence than they were accustomed, and take a special care of young Children, to see them instructed in the Belief, the Lords Prayer and Ten Commandments, whereof they should examine every child at the age of six years, and yearly enquire of their profiting and increase in knowledge.

The Remedies
of the same.

2. That some longer time should be prescribed for the admission of men to the Ministry, and the exceptions contained in the Act of the age of Ministers to be admitted referred to the cognition of the General Assembly.

3. That they use a greater diligence in the processing of Papists, and that none out of corrupt favour should grant them any oversight under the pain of Deposition.

4. That all who carried Office in the Church should be careful to eschew offences, and endeavor to keep love and peace among themselves.

5. And for the present distractions in the Church, seeing the same did arise partly from

An. 1608.

from a diversity of opinions touching the external Government of the Church, and partly from divided affections, the last of these two being the most dangerous, as not suffering the Brethren to unite themselves against the common enemy; they were all in the fear of God exhorted to lay down whatsoever grudge or rancor they had conceived, and to be reconciled in heart and affection one to another: Which all that were present did faithfully promise, by the holding up their hands.

The cause of the defection proceeding from others.

But the fault not being in the Ministers alone, and seen to proceed from other causes also, as from the oversight of Jesuites and Priests, and their entertainment in the Country, the preferment of men to publick offices that were suspected in Religion, the favor shewed to Papists by them in places of chief authority, Mass-Priests admitted without his Majesties Warrant, and no security taken for their not returning, Licences granted to Noblemens sons for going abroad, and their education trusted to men of contrary profession, advocacy to the Council of matters properly belonging to the Ecclesiastical Judicatories, and the lack of Preachers in many parts of the land; It was concluded that certain Petitions should be formed and presented to his Majesty by some selected Commissioners for remedying these evils, which were formed in this manner.

Supplication to his Majesty for redress of these evils. Petitions to his Majesty for repressing Popery.

First, that an humble supplication should be made by the whole Assembly, intreating his Majesty not to permit any Papist or suspected of Popery to bear charge in Council, Session, or in any Burgh or City; and where his Majesty did know any such to occupy these places, humbly to crave that order might be taken for their removing.

2. That the Laws made against Papists should receive execution, and no favor be granted unto them by the Officers of State; with a Prohibition to the Council to meddle in affairs Ecclesiastical, or to discharge the processes led by Ministers against Papists and others contemners of Church-Discipline.

3. That Papists abjuring their Religion in hope of preferment to Offices of State should not be admitted thereto, till they had given five years probation at least.

4. That the Sons of Noblemen professing Popery should be committed to the custody of such of their friends as are sound in Religion.

5. That a Commission should be granted to every Bishop within his Diocese, and to such well-affected Noblemen, Barons and Gentlemen as the Commissioners of the Assembly should nominate, for apprehending of Jesuites, Seminary Priests, Excommunicated Papists, and traffickers against Religion.

6. That the Searchers of Ships should seize upon all Books that are brought unto the Country, and present them to the Ministers of the Town where the Ships shall happen to arrive.

7. That Excommunicate Papists be put in close prison, and none have access unto them but such as are known to be of sound Religion.

8. That the Deputies of Excommunicates be not suffered to enjoy any Office under them, and that some others be appointed by his Majesty to serve in their places.

9. Finally, that his Majesty should be humbly intreated to plant the unprovided Churches, especially the Churches of the Chappel Royal, with competent Stipends.

The Commissioners chosen to present these Petitions were, the Archbishop of Glasgow, the Earl of Wigton, the Lord Kilfith, Mr. William Couper Minister at Perth, and James Nisbit Burghs of Edinburgh. Together with the Petitions they received a Letter from the Assembly conceived in these terms.

Having convened in this General Assembly by your Majesties favorable licence and permission, and shadowed under your Majesties wings with the presence of your Majesties Commissioners, we did set our selves principally to consider the cause

cause of the late growth of Papists among us, and found by an universal complaint the chief cause to be this, that where the Church in these parts was accustomed to be nourished by your Majesties Fatherly affection, as the most kind Parent of Piety and Religion, we have been left in the hands of unkind Stepfathers, who esteeming us an uncouth birth to them have intreated us hardly, and cherished our adversaries by all means they could, as your Majesties Highness will perceive more clearly by the overtures for remedy, which in all humble submission we present to your Majesty by these honorable Commissioners and Brethren, humbly intreating your Majesty to take compassion upon us, your Majesties loving Children in this Land, that we may be taken out of the hands of these who are more ready to deliver the heads of the Kings sons to Jehu, if the time were answerable to their wishes, than to nourish and bring them up to perfection.

There is no cause, Sir, why the Apostates who have lately grown up in this Land should be feared, whatever they be in estate or number; for with them are the golden Calves, which God will destroy; with them is Dagon, whose second fall shall be worse than the first: but with your Majesty is the Lord your God to fight for you, and under your standard are the best of the Nobility, the greatest number of Barons, and all your Majesties Burghesses, unspotted in Religion, and resolute all of them, for Gods Honor and your Majesties preservation, to spend their goods and lives and whatever is dear to them. We also your Majesties humble servants, the Bishops and Ministers of the Gospel in this Land, now reconciled to others with a most hearty affection, by your Majesties only means and the careful labors of your Majesties trusty Councillor and our very good Lord, the Earl of Dunbar, are for our parts most ready to all service in our Callings to stir up your Majesties Subjects by the word that God hath put in our mouths, to the performing of that obedience which God and Nature doth oblige them unto, and by Gods grace shall go before them in all good example. These things we leave to be delivered by our Commissioners, whom we beseech your Majesty to hear graciously, and after some favourable consideration of our case and present suits, to give such answer as in your Highness wisdom shall be thought fittest. And now with our humble thanks to your Majesty for the liberty granted to meet in this Assembly, and our most hearty prayers to God Almighty for your Highness long life and prosperous Reign, we rest.

This Letter was subscribed by the Earls of Crawford, Glencarn and Kinghorne, the Lords Lindejay, Balclough, Salton, Lowdon, Torphichen, Blantyre, Scone, Hali-rudhouse, and a great number of the Clergy and Barons.

The Chancellor hearing of the Assemblies proceedings, and supposing himself to be specially aimed at in all that business (wherein he was not mistaken) moved the Secretary to take journey to Court for obviating these courses so far as he might. But he at his coming did meet with a business that concerned himself more nearly, for about the same time Cardinal Bellarmine had published an Answer to the Kings Apology, and therein charged him with inconstancy, objecting a Letter that he had sent to Clement the Eighth whilst he lived in Scotland, in which he had recommended to his Holiness the Bishop of Vaison for obtaining the dignity of a Cardinal, that so he might be the more able to advance his affairs in the Court of Rome. The Treatise coming to the Kings hands, and he falling upon that passage, did presently conceive that he had been abused by his Secretary, which he remembered had moved on a time for such a Letter, and thereupon began to think that among the Letters sent to the Dukes of Savoy and Florence, at the time another might have been shuffled in to the Pope, and his hand surreptitiously got thereunto.

The Secretaries journey to Court.

The King lay then at Royston, and the Secretary coming thither, he inquired if any such Letter had been sent to the Pope at any time. The Secretary apprehending no danger, and thinking that his policy in procuring the Popes favour to the King should not be ill interpreted, confessed, that such a Letter he had written by his Majesties own knowledge. But perceiving the King to wax angry, he fell on his knees and intreated mercy, seeing that which he had done was out of a good mind, and desire to purchase the Popes favour, which might at that time have advanced his Title to England.

He is charged for writing a Letter to the Pope, & stealing his Majesties hand thereto.

An. 1608.

The King then putting him in mind of the challenge made by the late Queen in the year 1599 for writing the same Letter, and how being at that time questioned thereupon he had not only denied his own knowledge thereof, but likewise moved Sir Edward Drummond, who carried the Letter to the Pope, to come into Scotland and abjure the same; he answered, 'That he did not think the matter would be brought again in hearing, and that fearing his Majesties offence he had denied the Letter, and had moved his Cousin Sir Edward to do the like; but now that he saw that which he had done in the politick course turned to the Kings reproach, with many tears he besought his Majesty to pardon his fault, and not to undo him who was his own creature, and willing to suffer what he thought meet for repairing the offence. The King replying that the fault was greater than he apprehended, and that it could not be so easily passed, enjoined him to go to London, and keep his chamber till he returned thither.

The Secretary charged with the fault before the Council.

After some eight days the King returned to White-hall, where the Secretary was brought before the Council, and charged with the fault; which the Lords did aggravate in such manner, as they made the same to be the ground of all the Conspiracies devised against the King since his coming into England, especially of the Powder-Treason. For the Papists, said they, finding themselves disappointed of the hopes which that Letter did give them, had taken the desperate course which they followed, to the endangering of his Majesties Person, Posterity, and whole Estates.

His answer to the Lords of the Council.

The Secretary, having heard their discourses, kneeled to the ground, and fetching a deep sigh, spake to this effect, *Cura leve loquuntur, ingentes stupent.* 'My Lords, I cannot speak nor find words to express the grief I have conceived for the offence committed by me against my gracious Sovereign: for on the one side, when I call to mind his Majesties favors bestowed upon me, having raised me out of the dust, to a fortune far exceeding my merit, and, on the other side, I look to my foul fault in abusing his Majesties trust, bringing thereby such an imputation upon his innocency as will hardly be taken away; I must with the forlorn child say, *Peccavi in celum & terram*: my offence is great, I confess, nor am I worthy to be reckoned any longer among his Majesties subjects or servants. His Majesties rare Piety, singular Wisdom, and unspotted Sincerity in all his actions, whereof I had so long experience, might have taught me, that when he refused to have any dealing with the Pope, the event of the course I took could not be good; but I unhappy man would needs follow the way which to me seemed best, and whereof I find now the smart. If no other thing can liberate his Majesty of this imputation caused by my folly, let neither my life nor estate nor credit be spared; but as I have all by his Majesties favor, so let all go even to the last drop of my blood before any reproach for my offence be brought upon his Majesty.

Then rising up he said, 'It shall not be necessary to remit my trial to Scotland, which I hear your Honors do intend, for I do simply submit myself to his Majesties will, and had much rather not live than live any longer under his Majesties displeasure. Therefore my humble suit to your Honors is, that in consideration of my miserable estate and ignominious Confession you would be pleased to move his Majesty for accepting me in will, and that without delay whatsoever may be done for reparation of his Honor may be performed, whereunto most willingly I submit myself.

Chancellor Egerton pronounced sentence against him.

The Chancellor Sir Thomas Egerton, without taking any notice of these last words, declared, that his Majesties pleasure was to remit the trial of his offence to the Judges in Scotland, and that he should be conveyed thither as a Prisoner, the Sheriffs attending him from Shire to Shire, till he was delivered in Scotland; in the mean time he did pronounce him deprived of all places, honors, dignities, and every thing else that he possessed in England.

Sprot his Execution.

Whether or not I should mention the Arraignment and Execution of George Sprot Notary in Eymouth, who suffered at Edinburgh in the August preceding, I am doubtful, his Confession, though voluntary and constant, carrying small probability. This man had deposed, 'That he knew Robert Logan of Restalrig, who was

dead

'dead two years before; to have been privy to Gowries Conspiracy, and that he understood so much by a Letter that fell in his hand written by Restalrig to Gowry, bearing that he would take part with him in the revenge of his Fathers death, and that his best course should be to bring the King by Sea to Fafcastle, where he might be safely kept, till advertisement came from those with whom the Earl kept intelligence. It seemed a very fiction, and to be a mere invention of the mans own brain; for neither did he shew the Letter, nor could any wise man think that Gowry, who went about that Treason so secretly, would have communicated the matter with such a man as this Restalrig was known to be: as ever it was, the man remained constant in his confession, and at his dying, when he was to be cast off the Ladder (for he was hanged in the publick street of Edinburgh) promised to give the beholders a sign for confirming them in the truth of what he had spoken; which also he performed, by clapping his hands three several times after he was cast off by the Executioner.

To return to the Commissioners of the Assembly: They had presence of the King in Hampton Court the 10 of September, where the Archbishop of Glasgow having declared the occasion of their coming, did present the Assemblies Letter together with their Petitions. The King having read both the one and the other said, *That the difference between the lawful and unlawful Meetings might be perceived by the fruits arising from both: for as that unlawful Conventicle at Aberdene had caused a Schism in the Church, and given the enemies of Religion a great advantage; so in this Assembly they had not only joyned in love among themselves, which is the main point of Religion, but also had taken a solid course for the suppressing of Popery and Superstition. That he did allow all their Petitions, and would give order for a Convention which should ratifie the Conclusions of the Assembly; assuring them that the Church, keeping that course, should never lack his Patrocinny and Protection.*

Letters were immediately directed to publish his Majesties acceptation of the Assemblies proceedings, and the Council joyned to commit the Marquess of Huntley in the Castle of Striveling, the Earl of Angus in the Castle of Edinburgh, and the Earl of Arrol in Dumbrilton. A Convention was likewise indicted at Edinburgh the sixth of December, which was afterward prorogued to the 27 of January. The Archbishop of Glasgow was in the mean time sent home to inform the Council concerning Balmerinloch his business, and how these matters had been carried in England.

This report made, the Chancellor, who had been much ruled by the Secretary, was greatly afraid, as suspecting the next assault should have been made upon himself. But the King, who knew his disposition, and expected that the Chancellor would carry himself more advisedly, especially in the matters of the Church, the Secretary being gone, did haste the Earl of Dunbar home with a Warrant to receive the Chancellor in the number of the Counsellors of England, and therewith appointed him Commissioner with Dunbar in the Convention of Estates: all which was done to make it seem that his credit was no way diminished with his Majesty.

In this Convention divers Acts were made in favors of the Church. As first, That Noblemen sending their Sons forth of the Country should direct them to places where the Reformed Religion was professed, at least where the same was not restrained by the Inquisition; and that the Pedagogues sent to attend them should be chosen by the Bishop of the Diocese; wherein if they should happen to transgress, the Nobleman being an Earl should incur the pain of four thousand pounds, if he was a Lord five thousand Marks, and if a Baron three thousand Marks. And if their Sons should happen to decline from the true Religion, that their Parents should withdraw all entertainment from them, and find surety to that effect.

That the Bishop of the Diocese should give up to the Treasurer, Controller, Collector and their Deputies, the names of all persons Excommunicated for Religion, to the end they might be known; and that no Confirmations,

Resignations,

X x 3

An. 1609.

The Commissioners of the Assembly have audience.

His Majesties answer.

A Convention at Edinburgh.

An. 1609. The Chancellor admitted Counsellor of England.

Acts made for Religion.

An. 1609.

Resignations, nor Infeſtiments ſhould be granted to any contained in that Roll. That the Director of the Chancery ſhould give forth no Briefs, direct Precepts of returns, nor Precepts upon comprifement, till they produced the Bishops Teſtificate of their Abſolution and obedience; and that it ſhould be lawful to Superiors and Lords of Regalities to reſuſe the entry of all ſuch to their lands by precepts of *Clare conſtat*, or any other way.

Laſtly, that perſons Excommunicated for not conforming themſelves to the Religion preſently profeſſed ſhould neither in their own names, nor covertly in name of any other, enjoy their lands or rents, but that the ſame ſhould be introduced with and uplifted to his Majeſties uſe.

Aſts made againſt ravifhing of women.

Theſe were the Aſts concluded touching Religion. For the puniſhment of Rapes, which was grown as then too common, his Majeſty by a ſpecial Letter did recommend to the Eſtates ſome overtures for reſtraining ſuch violences. As if any Widow, Woman or Maid ſhould be forced and abuſed againſt her will, the crime ſhould be capital, and not purged by the ſubſequent conſent of the Woman.

In like manner if any Woman ſhould be taken away, albeit no farther injury was done, and ſhe relieved either by her friends or by the Magiſtrate, or by whatſoever means, the only violence intended ſhould be puniſhed by death, in regard the party had endeavored to do his worſt.

And for thoſe that did intice any Woman to go away without their Parents or Tutors conſent, that they ſhould be ſecluded from any part of the goods or lands belonging to the Woman ſo inticed. Some other Aſts for the publick good of the Kingdom were paſſed at the ſame time, neither was it remembered that in any one Convention ſo much good of a long time was done as in this.

In the beginning of February the Secretary was brought to *Edinburgh* and delivered to the Magiſtrates, who received him at the nether port, and conveyed him as a Priſoner to the lodging that was appointed. A great gazing there was of the people, which troubled him not a little, as he ſhewed by his countenance. The next day he was delivered to the Lord *Scone*, who with a guard of horſe did convey him to the Priſon of *Falkland*: there he remained till the 10 of March, and was at that time taken to *S. Andrews* to abide his Trial. With the Juſtice there ſate as Aſſeſſors the Earls of *Dunbar*, *Montroſs* and *Lothian*, the Lord Privy-Seal and Clerk-Regiſter.

The Secretarys Trial at *S. Andrews*.

His Indictment.

His Indictment was to this Effect, 'That in the year 1598, by the inſtigation of his Couſin Sir *Edward Drummond* a profeſſed Papiſt, he had ſtolen and ſurreptitiously purchaſed his Majeſties hand to a Letter written by the ſaid Sir *Edward*, and directed to Pope *Clement* the Eighth, in favour of the Biſhop of *Vaiſon*, for the ſaid Biſhops preferment to the dignity of a Cardinal; and that, notwithstanding the many denials the King gave him in that buſineſs, he had treaſonably conſpired with the ſaid Sir *Edward* to deceive and abuſe his Majeſty, ſhuffling in a Letter among others that were to be ſigned, and filled it up after it was ſigned with the ſtyles and titles uſually given to the Pope, and ſealed the Letter with his Majeſties Signet, the keeping whereof was intruſted to him by virtue of his Office; and in ſo doing had moſt undutifully and treaſonably behaved himſelf, to the endangering of his Majeſties Honor, Life, Crown and Eſtate, and to the ſubverſion of the true Religion and the whole profeſſors thereof.

The Secretarys ſpeech and answer to the Indictment.

Upon the reading of the Indictment he was enquired if he would uſe any friends or advocates to ſpeak in his defence, as the order of the Court did allow him. His answer was, *That he ſtood never in ſo great need of a Proloquutor, the matter concerning his life, eſtate, and all that he poſſeſſed in this world; yet he had chuſed to keep ſilence, and not to employ either friends or advocates, the offence he had committed being ſuch as could admit no defence: for howſoever he conceived that the keeping of intelligence with the Pope might advance his Majeſties Succeſſion to the Crown of England, yet knowing, as he did, his Majeſties reſolution never to uſe any crooked courſe, but to reſt upon Gods Providence and his own Right, it did not become him to have medled in a matter of that importance. Therefore did he*

intreat

intreat all Gentlemen and others that were preſent to bear witneſs of his Confeſſion, and the true remorse he had for the offence committed, which he eſteemed ſo great, as neither his lands, nor life, nay nor twenty thouſand lives ſuch as his could repair. Only two things he asked liberty to proteſt. One was, that he never intended to work an alteration of Religion, or a Toleration of the contrary, the thing he had done being a mere worldly courſe, whereby he judged ſome good might have been wrought at the time. Next he proteſted, that neither the love of gain nor hope of commodity had led him on, having never received nor expected benefit from any Prince living (his Maſter the King only excepted;) but an opinion he fooliſhly conceived that he might that way promote his Maſters Right. In end he ſaid that he would not make the Judges any more buſineſs; that he had confeſſed the truth, and, as he wiſhed God to be merciful to his Soul in that great day, his Majeſty was moſt ſafely and wrongfully charged with the writing of that Letter to the Pope, and that he never could move him to conſent thereto.

His Proteſtation of two things.

The Jury was then called, and the perſons following ſworn in face of Court, The Jury ſworn. *David Earl of Crawford, George Earl Marſhal, John Earl Wigton, Patrick Earl of Kinghorn, John Earl of Tullibardin, Allan L. Cathcart, John L. Salton, David L. Scone, Alexander L. Garlies, William Maſter of Tullibardin, Sir James Douglas of Drumlanrick, Sir Robert Gordon of Lochinvar, Sir William Levingſon of Kilſith, Sir John Houſton of the ilke, and Sir Patrick Home of Polwart.* Theſe going apart returned after a ſhort ſpace into the Court, and by the mouth of the Earl of Marſhal pronounced 'James Lord *Balmerinock* guilty of Treasonable, ſurreptitious, fraudulent and falſe ſtealing of his Majeſties Hand to the Letter ſpecified in the Indictment, without his Majeſties knowledge and contrary to his will declared; as alſo of the Treasonable affixing of his Majeſties Signet to the ſaid Letter; and of aſſiſting known and profeſſed Papiſts in their Treasonable courſes to the danger of Religion, the overthrow of the true profeſſors thereof, and drawing of his Majeſties life, eſtate and right of Succeſſion to the Crown of England in moſt extreme peril; beſides the bringing of moſt falſe and ſcandalous Imputations upon his Majeſty as well in Religion as Honor; and of art and part of the whole Treasonable crimes contained in the ſaid Indictment.

The Doom pronounced againſt *Balmerinock*.

The King being advertiſed of his Conviction (for ſo he had commanded before any Doom ſhould be pronounced) by a Warrant directed to the Juſtice he was brought again to *Edinburgh*, and in a Juſtice-Court kept the firſt of April decerned to be taken to the place of Execution, and there to have his head cut off, his Lands, Heritages, Lordſhips, Baronies, Taks, Steadings, Rooms, Poſſeſſions, Offices, Benefices, Corns, Cattel, &c. forfeited and eſcheated to his Majeſties uſe, as being convicted of the aforeſaid Treasonable crimes. His life upon the Queens interceſſion was ſpared, and he returned to his Priſon in *Falkland*, where he abode ſome months: being thereafter liſenced to go unto his Houſe in *Balmerinock*, he dyed, as was thought, of grief and forrow. A man of abilities ſufficient for the places he enjoyed in Seſſion and Council; but one that made ſmall conſcience of his doings, and meaſured all things according to the gain he made by them. The poſſeſſions he acquired of the Church kept him ſtill an enemy unto it, for he feared a reſtitution ſhould be made of thoſe Livings if ever the Clergy did attain unto credit. Not long before he fell in his trouble the King had employed him to deal with the Lords of Seſſion, among whom he carried a great ſway, for reſtoring the Eccleſiaſtical Jurisdiction to the Biſhops; but he taking ways that he thought ſhould not have been perceived to diſappoint the errand, drew upon himſelf the Kings diſpleaſure, and fared nothing the better becauſe of his miſcarriage in that buſineſs, when this occaſion was offered. It is not for thoſe that ſerve Princes, and are truſted by them in the greateſt affairs to deal deceitfully with their Maſters; for ſeldom have any taken that courſe, and have not in the end found the ſmart thereof.

A Parliament was this year kept at *Edinburgh* the 24 of June, the Earl Marſhal being Commiſſioner for the King; wherein the Aſts concluded in the preceding Convention were ratified, the Jurisdiction of Commiſſaries reſtored to the Church, the

A Parliament at *Edinburgh*.

An. 1610.

the Justices of Peace commanded to be settled in every Shire, and a Statute made for the Apparel of Judges, Magistrates and Church-men, which were all remitted to his Majesties appointment. Patterns accordingly were sent from *London* not long after for the apparel of the Lords of Sessions, the Justice, other inferior Judges, for Advocates, Lawyers, Commissars, and all that lived by practice of Law; and command given to every one whom the Statutes concerned, to provide themselves of the Habits prescribed within a certain space under the pain of Rebellion. Such was the Kings care to have those who were in publick charge held in due respect, and dignified whithersoever they came.

An. 1610.
An Assembly
at Glasgow.

The King by his Letters was now daily urging the Bishops to take upon them the administration of all Church-affairs; and they unwilling to make any change without the knowledge and approbation of the Ministers, an Assembly to this effect was appointed to hold at *Glasgow* the 6 of June. The Earl of *Dunbar*, Sir *John Preston* President of the Session, and Sir *Alexander Hay* Secretary (which two had succeeded to *Balmerinock* his places) being Commissioners for the King, the Archbishop of *Glasgow* was elected to preside. There a Proposition was made by the Commissioners of certain Points of Discipline which his Majesty craved to be determined, *That all things might be done thereafter orderly in the Church, and with the consent and harmony which was fitting among Preachers.* Some three days being spent in reasoning, at last the Conclusions following were enacted.

1. The Assembly did acknowledge the indiction of all such General Assemblies of the Church to belong to his Majesty by the Prerogative of his Crown, and all Convocations in that kind without his Licence to be merely unlawful, condemning the Conventicle of *Aberdene* made in the year 1605, as having no warrant from his Majesty, and contrary to the prohibition he had given.

2. That Synods should be kept in every Diocese twice in the year, viz. in *April* and *October*, and be moderated by the Archbishop or Bishop of the Diocese; or where the Dioceses are so large as all the Ministers cannot conveniently assemble at one place, that there be one or more had, and in the Bishops absence, the place of Moderation supplied by the most worthy Minister having charge in the bounds, such as the Archbishop or Bishop shall appoint.

3. That no sentence of Excommunication, or Absolution from the same, be pronounced against or in favour of any person, without the knowledge and approbation of the Bishop of the Diocese, who must be answerable unto God and his Majesty for the formal, and impartial proceeding thereof. And the Process being found formal, that the Sentence be pronounced at the Bishops direction by the Minister of the Parish where the offender hath his dwelling, and the process did first begin.

4. That all Presentations in time coming be directed to the Archbishop or Bishop of the Diocese within which the Benefice that is void lieth, with power to the Archbishop or Bishop to dispose or confer the Benefices that are void within the Diocese after the lapse, *Jure devoluto.*

5. That in the Deposition of Ministers upon any occasion the Bishop do associate to himself some of the Ministers within the bounds where the delinquent serveth, and after just trial of the fact and merit of it pronounce the sentence of Deprivation. The like order to be observed in the Suspension of Ministers from the exercise of their Function.

6. That every Minister at his admission swear obedience to his Majesty and to his Ordinary, according to the form agreed upon *Anno 1571.*

7. That the Visitations of the Diocese be made by the Bishop himself; and if the bounds be greater than he can well undertake, by such a worthy man of the Ministry within the Diocese as he shall chuse to visit in his place. And whatsoever Minister without just cause or lawful excuse shall absent himself from the Visitation or Diocesan assembly, be suspended from his Office and Benefice; and if he do not amend, deprived.

8. That the Convention of Ministers for exercise be moderated by the Bishop being

being present, and in his absence by any Minister that he shall nominate in his Synod. An. 1610.

9. And last it was ordained, that no Minister should speak against any of the foresaid Conclusions in publick, nor dispute the question of Equality or Inequality of Ministry, as tending only to the entertainment of Schism in the Church, and violation of the peace thereof.

These Conclusions taken it was complained in behalf of the Moderators of Presbyteries, who had served since the year 1606, *That notwithstanding of their promise made at their accepting of the Charge, they had received no payment at all of the Stipend allowed.* Which the Earl of *Dunbar* excused by his absence forth of the Country, affirming, *That unto that time there was never any motion made thereof to him, and that before the dissolving of that Assembly he should cause satisfaction to be given to them for the time past, declaring withal, That seeing order was taken for the Moderation of Presbyteries in time coming, his Majesties Thesaurer should not be any farther burthened with that payment.* The Ministers therein remitting themselves to his Majesties good pleasure gave his Lordship thanks for that he had offered; which he did also see performed, some five thousand pounds Scots being distributed by the Thesaurers servants among those that had born the charge. Certain of the discontented fort did interpret it to be a sort of corruption, giving out, *That this was done for obtaining the Ministers voices:* Howbeit the debt was known to be just, and that no motion was made of that business before the foresaid Conclusions were enacted.

In the Assembly a Supplication was presented in the names of the Marquis of *Huntley* and the two Earls of *Angus* and *Arrol* for their Absolution, and a Commission given to that effect upon their satisfaction, they subscribing the Confession of Faith, and swearing to continue in the profession of the Religion presently established. The Marquis of *Huntley* was at that time confined in *Striveling*, and to him were the Archbishop of *Glasgow*, the Bishops of *Cathnes* and *Orkney* directed. They found him not unwilling to subscribe the Confession of Faith and make satisfaction for his Apostasie, but in regard of his many Relapses did not judge it fitting to absolve him: wherefore they gave order that he should confer with Mr. *Patrick Simpson* the Minister of the Town, a learned and moderate man, that so he might subscribe with knowledge and resolution not to fall back. In the *December* following, having professed himself resolute in all points, he was liberated from his confinement at *Striveling*, and licensed to go home to *Strathbogy.*

With the Earl of *Arrol* the difficulty was greater; for when in a publick meeting of the Council within the Castle of *Edinburgh* he had professed his Conformity in every point of Religion, and made offer to subscribe, the very night after he fell in such a trouble of mind, as he went near to have killed himself. Early in the morning the Archbishop of *Glasgow* being called, he confessed his disinclination with many tears; and beseeching them that were present to bear witness of his remorse, was hardly brought to any settling all that day. The Nobleman was of a tender heart, and of all that I have known the most conscientious in his Profession; and thereupon to his dying was used by the Church with greater lenity than were others of that Sect.

The Earl of *Angus*, who lived confined at *Glasgow*, took another course, and upon licence obtained from his Majesty went to *France*, where he might enjoy the exercise of his Religion with liberty, and died at *Paris* in a voluntary Banishment some years after.

Shortly after the Assembly dissolved the Archbishop of *Glasgow* was called to Court, and commanded to bring with him two others such as he thought fit. The Archbishop taking with him the Bishops of *Briehen* and *Galloway* came to Court in the midst of *September*. At their first Audience the King declared what the business was for which he had called them, speaking to this purpose; *That he had to his great charge recovered the Bishopricks forth of the hands of those that possessed them,*

The Moderators paid off the Stipend promised.

A Supplication in name of the Popish Lords.

Huntley freed of his confining.

The Earl of Arrol troubled for his Simulation.

The Earl of Angus goeth to Paris.

The Archbishop of Glasgow called to Court.

The business proposed by his Majesty.

An. 1610. *them, and bestowed the same upon such as he hoped should prove worthy of their places: but since he could not make them Bishops, nor could they assume that honor to themselves, and that in Scotland there was not a sufficient number to enter charge by Consecration, he had called them to England, that being consecrated themselves they might at their return give Ordination to those at home, and so the adversaries' mouths be stopped, who said that he did take upon him to create Bishops, and bestow Spiritual Offices, which he never did nor would he presume to do, acknowledging that authority to belong to Christ alone, and those he had authorized with his power.*

The Archbishop his answer.

The Archbishop answering in the name of the rest, 'That they were willing to obey his Majesties desire, and only feared that the Church of Scotland, because of old Usurpations, might take this for a sort of subjection to the Church of England. The King said, *That he had provided sufficiently against that; for neither should the Archbishop of Canterbury nor York, who were the only pretenders, have hand in the business, but Consecration should be used by the Bishops of London, Ely and Bath.* The Scots Bishops thanking his Majesty for the care he had of their Church, and professing their willingness to obey what he would command, the 21 of October was appointed to be the time, and the Chappel of London-House the place of Consecration.

The Consecration questioned.

A question in the mean time was moved by Dr. Andrews Bishop of Ely touching the Consecration of the Scottish Bishops, who as he said, 'must first be ordained Presbyters as having received no Ordination from a Bishop. The Archbishop of Canterbury Dr. Bancroft, who was by, maintained, 'That thereof there was no necessity, seeing where Bishops could not be had, the Ordination given by the Presbyters must be esteemed lawful; other wise that it might be doubted if there were any lawful vocation in most of the Reformed Churches. This applauded to by the other Bishops, Ely acquiesced, and at the day and in the place appointed the three Scottish Bishops were consecrated.

The High-Commissioners appointed.

At the same time did the King institute a High Commission in Scotland for the ordering of Causes Ecclesiastical, and therewith sent to the Clergy the Directions following.

Directions for the High-Commissioners and other matters Ecclesiastical.

1. That every particular matter should not be brought at first before the High-Commission, nor any thing moved unto it, except the same was appealed unto, or complained by one of the Bishops as a thing that could not be rectified in their Diocese; or then some enorm offence in the trial, whereof the Bishops should be found too remiss.
2. That every Archbishop and Bishop should make his residence at the Cathedral Church of his Diocese, and labour so far as they could and were able to repair the same.
3. That all Archbishops and Bishops be careful in Visitation of their Diocese, and every third year at least take inspection of the Ministers, Readers, and others serving cure within their bounds.
4. That every Archbishop visit his Province every seven years at least.
5. Whereas there be in sundry Dioceses some Churches belonging to other Bishops, that care be taken to exchange the Churches one with another, that all the Dioceses may lie contiguous, if possibly the same may be performed. As likewise in regard some Dioceses are too large, and others have a small number of Churches, scarce deserving the title of a Diocese; that a course be taken for enlarging the same in a reasonable proportion, by uniting the nearest Churches of the greater Diocese thereto.
6. That the Convention of Ministers for the exercise of Doctrine exceed not the number of ten or twelve at most, and over them a Moderator placed by the ordinary of the Diocese where the said Conventions are licensed, with power to call before them all scandalous persons within that Precinct, and censure and correct offenders according to the Canons of the Church: yet are not these Moderators to proceed in any case either to Excommunication or Suspension,

pension, without the allowance of the Ordinary. And if it shall be tried that these Ministers do usurp any farther power than is permitted, or carry themselves unquietly either in Teaching or otherwise at these Meetings, in that case the Bishop shall discharge the Meeting, and censure the offenders according to the quality of their fault.

7. Considering that Laick Elders have neither warrant in the Word, nor example of the Primitive Church, and that notwithstanding it is expedient that some be appointed to assist the Minister in repairing the fabrick of the Church, providing Elements to the holy Communion, and collecting the Contributions for the poor, with other necessary services; the Minister is to make choice of the most wise and discreet persons in the Parish to that effect, and present their names to the Ordinary, that his approbation may be had thereto.
8. That the Ministers of the Parish be authorized to call before them and their associates so allowed all publick and notorious offenders, and enjoin the satisfaction according to the Canons of the Church; or, if they be obstinate and contumacious, declare their names to the Bishop, that order may be taken with them.
9. That no Minister be admitted without an exact Trial preceding, and Imposition of hands used in their Ordination by the Bishop and two or three Ministers whom he shall call to assist the action: and to the end an uniform order may be kept in the Admission of Ministers, that a form thereof may be imprinted and precisely followed of every Bishop.
10. That the Election of Bishops shall in time coming be made according to the Conference Anno 1571. and whilst the Bishoprick remaineth void, the Dean of the Chapter be *Vicarius in omnibus ad Episcopatum pertinentibus*, and have the custody of the Living and Rents, till the same be of new provided.
11. That the Dean of every Chapter convene thereof once at least in the year, and take order that nothing pass except they be *Capitaliter congregati*; and that a Register be made of every thing done by the Archbishop or Bishop in the administration of the Rents, and kept safely in the Chapter house.
12. That when it shall be thought expedient to call a General Assembly, a Supplication be put up to his Majesty for licence to convene; and that the said Assembly consist of Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons, and such of the Ministry as shall be selected by the rest.
13. And because there hath been a general abuse in that Church, that youths, having passed their course in Philosophy, before they have attained to the years of discretion, or received lawful Ordination by Imposition of hands, do engyre themselves to preach; that a strict order be taken for restraining all such persons, and none permitted but those that received Orders to preach ordinarily and in publick.

These Directions, being exhibited to the Bishops and some principals of the Clergy convened with them at *Edinburgh* in February next, were approved of all; and at the same time was the High-Commission published, to the great discontent of those that ruled the Estate; for that they took it to be a restraint of their authority in matters Ecclesiastical, nor did they like to see Clergy-men invested with such authority.

The King no less careful to have all things ordered rightly in the Estate, did prescribe the number, attendants, and manner of proceeding which the Council should keep in their meetings. As, 'that the number should not exceed thirty, and seven at least be present in every meeting. That at their admission they should take the Oath of Allegiance and swear Fidelity and secrecy in matters to be communicated unto them. That they should convene twice in the week; once every Tuesday for matters of State, and once on the Thursday for actions. That none should be permitted to stay within the Council-house but the Lords and

The Clergy doth approve the Directions.

Orders for the Council.

An. 1611. and Clerks of the Council, nor any solicitations be made within the House, but that all should take their places at their coming in, and none stand on foot, unless they be to answer for themselves, and in that case to rise and stand at the head of the Table. That four days absence of any Councillor in the time of sitting, without licence from the rest, should infer the loss of their place. That if any of the number were denounced Rebel, or did not at least once in the year Communicate, they should be likewise excluded. That wheresoever they remained or happened to come, if they should be informed of any trouble like to arise betwixt parties, they should charge them to keep the peace; and if they refused, they should command them to enter in Ward; the disobedience whereof should be punished as if the whole Council were disobeyed. Lastly, to keep their persons and places in the greater respect, they were commanded in the streets either to ride with Foot-clothes or in Coaches, but not be seen walking on foot.

An. 1611. With these Directions a command was given to inhibit by Proclamation any persons to bear quarrel to another with intention of private revenge, requiring those that should happen to be in any sort injured to complain to the ordinary Judge within the space of forty days after the injury committed, and insist for justice; wherein if they should fail, and yet be perceived to carry a grudge towards him by whom they were injured, they should be called before the Council, and, if they refused to reconcile, be punished as despisers of the Royal Authority, and violators of the publick peace.

The troubles of Orkney.

The Earl of Orkney committed, and his Acts of Court discharged.

In the Isles of Orkney and Tetland at this time were great Oppressions by the Earl thereof, for which he was committed in the Castle of Edinburgh, and the Bishop of Orkney employed by the Council to examine the particular complaints. This Nobleman, having undone his estate by riot and prodigality, did seek by unlawful shifts to repair the same, making Acts in his Courts, and exacting penalties for the breach thereof: as if any man was tried to have concealed any thing that might infer a pecuniary mulct, and bring profit to the Earl, his lands and goods were declared confiscated; or if any person did sue for justice before any other Judge than his Deputies, his goods were escheated; or if they went forth of the Isle without his licence, or his Deputies, upon whatsoever occasion, they should forfeit their moveables; and, which of all his Acts was most inhumane, he had ordained that if any man was tried to supply or give relief unto Ships or any Vessels distressed by Tempest, the same should be punished in his person, and fined at the Earl his pleasure. These Acts produced by the Complainers, and confessed by the Earl himself, were by the Council decerned unlawful, and the execution thereof in all times thereafter prohibited.

The Clangore to be rooted out.

The Clangore, a barbarous and thievish race of people, that could by no means be repressed nor reclaimed from their Robberies, were at the same time ordained to be rooted forth, and the service committed to the Earl of Argyle; who made some beginning, and presented certain of the principals to justice; but the neglect of their children and their exhibition as was appointed, made them in after-times no less troublesome to the Country than before.

The death of the Earl of Dunbar.

Somerfet his rising.

In the end of the year the Earl of Dunbar departed this life at White-Hall; a man of deep wit, few words, and in his Majesties service no less faithful than fortunate. The most difficile affairs he compassed without any noise, and never returned when he was employed without the work performed that he was sent to do. His death made a great change in our Estate; Sir Robert Ker, a Son of Farnherst, who had served the King long in the quality of a Page, and was then grown powerful in Court, carrying all things by his credit. At first the Thesaurers Office, which was in the person of Dunbar whilest he lived, was trusted to certain Commissioners; but after a little space the same was bestowed upon the said Sir Robert, and he preferred to the Earldome of Somersfet. The guard that Sir William Cranston a Gentleman of great worth did command, and wherewith he had performed divers noble services in the Borders, was taken from him, and given to Sir Robert Ker of Ancrum, Somersfets Cousin. Sir Gideon Murray, his Uncle by the

Mother,

Mother, was made Deputy in the Office of Thesaury; and Sir Thomas Hamilton, An. 1612. his Majesties Advocate, who had married his Sister, placed first in the Office of Register, and afterwards made Secretary: all which was ascribed to Somersfet his credit. Yet these things were not ill taken, the last excepted. For Sir William Cranston being content to resign his place, the King in remembrance of his good service did prefer him to be a Lord of Parliament; Sir Gideon his abilities for the services he was trusted with were known to all; and for the Advocate, his sufficiency was undoubted, only the manner of his coming to be Register was not so well interpreted. Sir John Skeen had enjoyed the place a good many years, and being grown in age and infirm, thinking to get his Son provided to his Office, had sent him to Court with a dimission of the place, but with a charge not to use it, unless he found the King willing to admit him: yet he, abused by some politick wits, made a Resignation of the Office, accepting an ordinary place among the Lords of Session. The Office upon his Resignation was presently disposed to the Advocate: which grieved the Father beyond all measure. And the case indeed was pitiful and much regrated by all honest men; for he had been a man much employed and honoured with divers Legations, which he discharged with good credit, and now in age to be circumvented in this sort by the simplicity or folly of his Son, 'twas held lamentable. The King being informed of the abuse by the old mans complaint, was very careful to satisfy him, and to have the Son reconciled to his Father, which after some travel was brought to pass: yet so exceeding was the old mans discontent, as within a few days he deceased. The Office of Register was shortly after interchanged with the Secretary Sir Alexander Hay, and he made Keeper of the Rolls, the Lord Binning Secretary, and Sir William Oliphant received to be his Majesties Advocate.

Sir John Skeen's death of grief.

In the beginning of the next year there happened divers unhappy quarrels betwixt the Scots and English at Court, which was like to have produced very bad effects; and nothing worse taken than the slaughter of an English Fencer by the Lord Sanghar's instigation, who, for an injury alleged, did hire one called Carleill to kill the Fencer. This fact committed in the City of London, and so near to the Kings Court, caused such a heart-burning among the people, as it was not far from breaking forth into a general Commotion. But his Majesty, preventing the danger, made Sanghar to be arrested and brought to his Trial; where being convicted he was hanged publicly at the Palace-gate of Westminster. This act of justice gave the English a great content: nor was the death of the Nobleman much regrated by his own Country-people; for he had lived all his time dissolutely, and falling in familiarity with a base Curtesan at Paris, had by her a Son to whom he entailed his lands, intending to defraud the Heir. But the King, taking the matter into his own cognition, did by compromise adjudge the succession to the just inheritor, appointing a little portion to the base Son, who in a short time made away the same prodigally.

An. 1612. The Lord Sanghar executed in England.

Not long before, his Majesty being informed of a course kept by the Church in Excommunicating persons that were Fugitives for capital crimes, sent to the Bishops and Clergy a Letter of this tenor.

The Ecclesiastical Censure of Excommunication, which should be insisted upon such as having committed any scandalous offence are contemners of the Admonitions of the Church, is, as we have been informed, so far abused against the first institution, that we cannot sufficiently marvel of the proceeding said to be commonly used among you; namely, that persons Fugitive for capital crimes being cited before Ecclesiastical Judicatories, although it be known that they dare not compare for fear of their life, are sentenced as persons contumacious, whereas the fear they stand in ought in reason to excuse their absence, since they cannot be judged contemners of the Church who upon just terrors are kept back from giving their personal appearance. In a late Treatise the Venetian Padre Paulo did learnedly confute the Sentence pronounced by the present Pope against him for his not appearing to answer in the case of Heresie, only upon the just fear he pretended, and had his

Excommunication of persons for criminal and capital cases if they become fugitive.

Y y

Appeal

An. 1612. *Appeal justified by all indifferent men from the Popes Sentence as abusive. Your proceedings for the manner is no other, and by the learnedst Divines in these parts resembled to the Mulcovites form, who, if he be offended with any person, commandeth him to send his Head unto him: just so your Citations are in the foresaid case, which is to will the offenders come in and be hanged, which were they never so penitent is not to be thought they will do; for they will rather fall under your censure, than hazard themselves in the hands of the Justice. This being the ready way to bring the Censures of the Church in contempt, Our pleasure is, that hereafter there be no such form of proceeding used among you. Notwithstanding if it shall happen such offenders to obtain our pardon, and that the fear they stand in of their life be removed, we mean not but that they should be called before the Church, and Censures used against such of those that are impenitent. Hereof persuading our selves that you will have care, and not give way to the abuse in time coming, We bid you farewell.*

The Clergy agree to reform this point.

Upon the receipt of this Letter the Bishops convening with certain of the Clergy, to advise what course was fittest to be held in these cases, a long reasoning was kept, some maintaining, 'That the form practised by the Church was not to be changed, they having tried the good thereof, and that people were terrified by this means from falling into these odious crimes. Others reasoned, That the principal end of all Church-Censures, especially of Excommunication, was the reclaiming of offenders, and the bringing of them to the acknowledgment of their sin, and that where the principal use had no place, that other secondary ends ought not to be respected; and so in case of Fugitives, what could any Censure avail to their reclaiming, they not being in place to answer, or to receive any Admonition? yea and might it not fall, that by proceeding against men in such case, men truly sorrowful for their sin should be sentenced, and so the persons bound by the Church whom God hath loosed? They did therefore judge it more safe in these cases to advertise people of the hainousness of the fact committed, warning them to make their own profit thereof, and to forbear all proceeding against the Fugitive person till his condition should be made known. This turned to be the resolution of the whole number, and thereupon direction was given to the Ministers not to intend or follow any Process against Fugitives in time coming.

The death of the Earl of Eglington, and the disposition of his living to his Cousin.

This year the Earl of Eglington departed this life, who having no child nor heir male to succeed, made a disposition of his Lands and Honours to Sir Alexander Seaton his Cousin-german, with a proviso, *That he and his children should take the name and use the arms of the house of Montgomery.* The King, who was always most tender in the conveyance of Honors, being informed of the disposition made by the deceased Earl, did by a Letter written to the Council witness his displeasure at such Alienations; shewing that howsoever he could not stay Noblemen to dispose of their lands, he being the fountain of all Honor within his Kingdoms, would not permit the same to be sold or alienated without his consent: and thereupon did inhibit the said Sir Alexander to use the Title of Lord or Earl, notwithstanding the disposition made to him. Some two years after his Majesty was pleased to bestow the Honor upon him, and so was he received into the place and Honor formerly belonging to the house of Eglington.

A Parliament in Scotland.

In the month of October a Parliament was kept at Edinburgh, the Chancellor being Commissioner for the King; wherein the Conclusions taken in the Assembly at Glasgow were ratified, and all Acts and Constitutions, especially the Act made in the Parliament 1592, rescinded and annulled, in so far as they, or any of them, or any part of the same were derogatory to the Articles there concluded.

A Subsidy granted.

In this Parliament a Subsidy was urged, and a great Contest made for the quantity, which was required in a more large measure than in former times, because of his Majesties affairs, especially for the Marriage of Lady Elizabeth with the Palgrave, who in the same month arrived in England. The poverty of the Country, with a fear that what was then granted should be made a Preident for after-times, was pretended by those that withstood the motion; albeit the true cause was known to be the dislike that the Popish Faction had of the Match, which by all means they labored

labored to cross: nor was any more busie than the Lord Burleigh to impede the Subsidie. He, being a little before come from Court, did affirm that the King in a private speech with him touching the same had said, That he required no more than was granted in the Parliament 1606, and thereby made the opposition greater than otherwise it would have been. Yet in the end after long debating it was concluded, that the Supply should be more liberal in regard of the present occasion than at any time before.

The King upon advertisement of the Lord Burleighs business gave order to remove him from the Council, and to inhibit him from coming any more at Court: which he apprehending to be the Lord Scoves doing, and that he had informed against him, took so ill, as he did send him a Challenge, and appeal him to the combat. Hereupon he was committed in the Castle of Edinburgh, where he remained some two months; thereafter, upon the acknowledgment of his offence, and being reconciled with the Lord Scove, he was put to liberty.

The Lord Burleigh removed from Council.

In Court at this time was great rejoicing, and the Marriage of the Lady Elizabeth with the Prince Palatine daily expected, when on the sudden all was turned to mourning by the Death of Prince Henry, who departed this life at S. James's in the beginning of November. A Prince of excellent Vertues, and all the perfections that can be wished for in youth. He died at the age of 18 years and 8 months, greatly lamented both at home and abroad. The Council esteeming it their duty to express their dolence for that accident, made choice of the Chancellor and the Archbishop of Glasgow for that business. But the King having received an hard information of the Chancellors carriage in the late Parliament, sent his servant William Shaw to discharge him from coming to Court, who encountering him at Morpet caused him to return. The Archbishop, who was no farther advanced than Berwick, accompanied the Chancellor to Edinburgh; and after a short stay there, as he was willed, went to his journey again towards Court, whither he came a little before Christmas. The Nuptials, in regard of the Princes death, were put off to the February following; at which time, the sorrow being a little worn out, the same were performed with great solemnity.

An. 1613. The death of Prince Henry.

The Marriage of the Lady Elizabeth with the Palgrave. The King acquireth the lands of Orkney.

It was shewed before concerning the Oppressions of the people of Orkney, that the Acts made by the Earl in his Courts were judged unlawful, and he discharged to put the same thereafter in execution. Nottheless going on in his wonted course, he sent his base Son called Robert into the Country, in shew to uplift his Rents and duties, but in effect to try and punish the transgressors of these Acts: whereupon new complaints being preferred to the Council, the King was advised to make purchase of Sir John Arnots right, to whom the Earl had impignorated his estate, as being the only means to relieve that distressed people from his Oppressions. The bargain shortly was made, and the King possessed in the lands, Sir James Stewart Captain James his Son being made Chamberlain and the Sheriff of the Country. The Earl himself was transported from Edinburgh to the Castle of Dunbarton, and had allowed to him six shillings eight pence sterling a day for his entertainment; where he had not long remained, whenas he received advertisement that the Castles of Kirkwall, Birsay, and other his Houses in these Isles were all rendred to the Sheriff. This put him in a great passion, and many ways he assayed to make an escape; but finding no possibility, he sent his base Son, who was lately returned, with an express command to take back the Houses, and expulse the Deputy Mr. John Finlason, whom the Chamberlain had left there.

The young man at his coming to Orkney being assisted with some loose people made his first assault upon Birsay, expulping Bernard Stewart the Keeper, and placing a Garrison therein of some thirty persons. The Deputy hearing what was done went speedily thither, charging them in his Majesties name to render: but they despising the charge, and he not able to force them, he went from thence to Kirkwall; the Rebels following at his heels, compelled him in like sort to render the Castle of Kirkwall in which he had entred.

Rebellion in Orkney.

Upon report of this Rebellion, Commission was given to the Earl of Cathnes, as Lieutenant for the King in those bounds, to recover the Castles and pacifie the Country;

The Earl of Cathnes employed to suppress the Rebels.

An. 1614.

Persons executed for the Rebellion.

The death of the Bishop of Ross.

The Earl of Orkney put to Trial.

An. 1614. The Earl of Orkney, his Indictment.

The persons named for the Jury.

The Sentence pronounced.

Country; which he carefully performed. At his first landing, a company of people, to the number of five hundred, who were brought together more out of fear of the Rebels than of any desire to withstand, made a countenance to resist; but how soon they perceived the Earls resolution to pursue, they gave back, their Leaders flying to the Castle, which they meant to defend. This they made good some five weeks or more, till the Canon having beaten down a great part of the wall, they were forced to yield themselves at discretion. The persons taken in the Castle were Robert Stewart the Earls base Son, Archibald Murray, Andrew Martin, Alexander Legat, and Thomas King, servants to the Earl. These were all transported to Edinburgh, and being convicted by a Jury, were hanged on a Gibbet at the Mercat-cross. In this siege the Lieutenant lost four men only; namely, William Irwyn Son to William Irwyn of Saba, James Richardson, Andrew Adamson, and William Robinson, who were killed all by shots from the Castle: many were wounded and hurt, but thereof recovered.

Towards the end of the Year Mr. David Lindesay Bishop of Ross departed this life in a great age, having attained to fourscore and two or three years; a man nobly descended, and a Brother of the house of Edzel. Soon after the Reformation, returning from his travels abroad, he applied himself to the Function of the Ministry, and entering the Charge at Leith, continued therein to his death; of a peaceable nature, and greatly favoured of the King, to whom he performed divers good services, especially in the Troubles he had with the Church; a man universally beloved and well esteemed of by all wise men. His corps were interred at Leith by his own direction, as desiring to rest with that people on whom he had taken great pains in his life.

The Earl of Orkney being brought the October preceding from Dumbarton to Edinburgh was in February next put to Trial, where together with the Justice there sate as Assessors the Earl of Dunfermlin Chancellor, the Lord Bining Secretary, the President Sir John Preston, Sir Gideon Murray Thesaurer-Deputy, Sir Richard Cockburn of Clackington Lord Privy-Seal, Sir John Cockburn of Ormeston Justice Clerk, Sir Alexander Hay Clerk-Register, Sir William Levingston of Kilsyth and Sir Alexander Drummond of Medop, Senators of the College of Justice.

The substance of the Indictment was, 'That he had caused his base Son to surprise the Castle of Kirkwall with the Steeple of the Church, the place called the Yards, and House of Birsay; That he had incited the people to Rebellion, and detained the said Castles and Houses treasonably after he was charged to deliver the same. His Prolocutors were Mr. Alexander King, Mr. Thomas Nicolson, and Mr. Alexander Forbes, Lawyers, all of good esteem; the chief defence they used was a denial of the Libel. The advocate producing the Confession of his base Son and those that were executed with him, together with some missive Letters written by one John Sharpe at his direction for the detaining of the Castle of Kirkwall, and a Charter of certain lands gifted by him to Pat. Halcro for assisting the Rebels, the Justice remitted the verity of the Indictment to the Assize.

The persons chosen thereupon were James Earl of Glencarn, George Earl of Winton, John Earl of Perth, Robert Earl of Lothian, William Earl of Tullibardin, David Lord Scoone, William Lord Sanghar, John Lord Hereis, James Lord Torphichen, Hugh Lord Semple, William Lord Killmaers, John Grant of Frenchie, Sir Patrick Hepburn of Wighton, Robert Arnot of Farny, and Sir Henry Lindesay of Kinfarnes, who, sworn and received according to the custom, went apart by themselves for a certain space, and returning unto the Court, by the mouth of their Chancellor (the Earl of Glencarn) declared him guilty of the foresaid Rebellion, and of the whole points contained in the Indictment. The Justice thereupon gave Sentence, that he should be taken to the Mercat-cross, and there beheaded, and all his goods and lands confiscated.

The Earl taking the Sentence impatiently, some Preachers were desired to confer with him, and to dispose his mind towards death: but they finding him ireresolute, intreated for a delay of the Execution; which was granted to the sixth of February, at which time he was brought unto the Scaffold, guarded by the Magistrates

istrates of the City, and in the sight of many people beheaded. This was the end of Patrick Earl of Orkney, Son to Robert Stewart one of King James the Fifth his base Sons. Robert was at first provided to the Abbacy of Halirudhouse, which he enjoyed divers years: After the Forfeiture of Hepburn, Earl Bothwell, and the obtaining of these Isles, he exchanged the Abbacy with the Bishoprick of Orkney, and so became sole Lord of the Country. Patrick, succeeding to an elder Brother who died young, by his two much resort to Court and profuse spending did involve himself in great debts, and seeking to repair his estate by the indirect courses he touched, fell into these inconveniencies which you have heard, and may serve for a warning to all great personages not to oppress nor play the Tyrants over the meaner sort of people.

About the end of the year John Ogilvy a Jesuite was apprehended at Glasgow. He was lately come from Gratz, where the Jesuites have a College, by the command (as he said) of his Superiors, to do some service in these parts. There were found with him three little Books, containing certain directions for receiving Confessions; a Warrant to dispense with them that possess any Church-livings, conceived in this form, *Quoad dispensationem de bonis Ecclesiasticis, poteris dispensare ut retineant que possident, dummodo in usus pios aliquid impendant, pro judicio Confessarii dispensantis*, with some Reliques, and a tuft of S. Ignatius hair, the founder of their Order, which he seemed to have in great regard.

Upon advertisement given to his Majesty, a Commission was sent to the Secretary, the Lord Kilsyth, the Thesaurer-Deputy and Advocate for his Examination and Trial. Being presented before them, and enquired when he came into Scotland, what his business was, and where he had resorted: To the first he answered, That he came in the June preceeding; to the second, that his errand was to save souls; but to the third he denied to give any answer at all, saying, that he would not utter any thing that might work prejudice to others: nor could he be induced either by persuasion or threatening to detect the persons with whom he had resorted. The Commissioners offended at his obstinacy, and meaning to extort a Confession from him, advised to keep him some nights from sleep: and this indeed wrought somewhat with him, so as he began to discover certain particulars; but how soon he was permitted to take any rest, he denied all, and was as obstinate in denying as at first.

His Majesty being certified that without Torture nothing would be drawn from him, made answer, That he would not have those forms used with men of his Profession; and if nothing could be found but that he was a Jesuite, and had said Mass, they should banish him the Country, and inhibit him to return without licence, under pain of death. But if it should appear that he had been a practiser for the stirring up of Subjects to Rebellion, or did maintain the Popes transcendent power over Kings, and refused to take the Oath of Allegiance, they should leave him to the course of Law and Justice; meanwhile his pleasure was, that the Questions following should be moved unto him, and his Answers thereto required.

1. Whether the Pope be Judge and hath power in *Spiritualibus* over his Majesty; and whether that power will reach over his Majesty in *Temporalibus* if it be in *ordine ad Spiritualia*, as Bellarmine affirmeth.
2. Whether the Pope hath power to excommunicate Kings (especially such as are not of his Church) as his Majesty.
3. Whether the Pope hath power to depose Kings by him excommunicated; and in particular, whether he hath power to depose the Kings Majesty?
4. Whether it be no murther to slay his Majesty being so excommunicated and deposed by the Pope.
5. Whether the Pope hath power to affoil subjects from the Oath of their born and native Allegiance to his Majesty.

These Questions were sent inclosed in a Letter to the Archbishop of Glasgow, who assuming to himself the Provost of the City, the Principal of the College, and

An. 1614; and one of the Ministers, as Witnesſes, did in their hearing read the Questions, and receive his Answer, which he gave under his hand, as followeth.

His answer to the Questions.

I acknowledge the Pope of Rome to be Judge unto his Majesty, and to have power over him in Spiritualibus, and over all Christian Kings. But where it is ask'd, whether that power will reach over him in Temporalibus, I am not obliged to declare my opinion therein, except to him that is Judge in Controversies of Religion, to wit, the Pope, or one having authority from him.

For the second point, I think that the Pope hath power to Excommunicate the King: and where it is said, that the King is not of the Popes Church, I answer, that all who are baptized are under the Popes power.

To the third, where it is ask'd, if the Pope hath power to depose the King being Excommunicate; I say that I am not tied to declare my mind, except to him that is Judge in Controversies of Religion.

To the fourth and fifth I answer ut supra.

His answer sent to his Majesty.

Being reasoned with a long time, and the danger expounded wherein he did cast himself by maintaining such Treasonable Opinions; he answered, *That he would not change his mind for any danger that could befall him; and speaking of the Oath of Allegiance, that it was a damnable Oath, and Treason against God to swear it.* Some days being allowed him to bethink himself better of these Points, when as no advice could prevail, the Answers were sent to his Majesty subscribed by himself, and therewith a testification of such as were present at the giving thereof.

Commission for the Jesuites trial.

Hereupon the Council was commanded to pass a Commission to the Provost and Bailiffs of Glasgow for putting him to a Trial; there were assisting James Marquess of Hamilton, Robert Earl of Lothian, William Lord Sanquhar, John Lord Fleming, and Robert Lord Boyd. Some days before he was brought to the Bar it was told him, 'That he was not to be charged with saying of Mass, nor any thing that concerned his Profession, but only with the Answers made to the Questions proposed; which if he should recal, there being yet place to repentance, the Trial should be suspended till his Majesty were of new advertised. His reply was, *That he did so little mind to recal anything he had spoken, as when he should be brought to his answer he should put a bonnet on it.* And this indeed he performed, for when he was placed on pannel, and the Indictment read, which was grounded all upon the Acts of Parliament made against those that declined his Majesties Authority, or maintained any other Jurisdiction within the Realm, and upon answer made to the above-written Demands subscribed with his hand, he brake forth in these speeches:

The Jesuites Defence at his Indictment.

'Under protestation that I do no way acknowledge this Judgment, nor receive you that are named in that Commission for my Judges, I deny any Point laid against me to be Treason; for if it were Treason, it would be such in all places and all Kingdoms, which you know not to be so. As to your Acts of Parliament, they were made by a number of partial men, and of matters not subject to their Forum or Judicatory, for which I will not give a rotten fig. And where I am said to be an enemy to the Kings Authority, I know not what Authority he hath but what he received from his Predecessors, who acknowledged the Pope of Rome his Jurisdiction. If the King will be to me as his Predecessors were to mine, I will obey and acknowledge him for my King; but if he do otherwise, and play the runagate from God, as he and you all do, I will not acknowledge him more than this old Hat. At these words being interrupted, and commanded to speak more reverently of his Majesty, he said, 'That he should take the advertisement, and not offend, but the Judgment he would not acknowledge. And for the reverence I do you, to stand uncovered, I let you know it is *ad redemptionem vexationis, not ad agnitionem judicii.*

The Exception proposed by the Jesuite.

The persons cited upon the Jury being then called, and he desired to shew if he would except against them, he said 'That he had but one Exception against them all which was, that either they were enemies to his cause, or friends: if enemies, 'they

An. 1615. 'they could not sit upon his Trial; and if friends, they ought to assist him at the Bar. Only he should wish the Gentlemen to consider well what they did, and that he could not be judged by them. That whatsoever he suffered was by way of injury and not of judgment; and that he was accused of Treason, but had not committed any offence, nor could he beg mercy. And proceeding in this strain, 'I am, said he, a subject as free as the King is a King; I came by commandment of my Superior into this Kingdom, and if I were even now forth of it, I would return: neither do I repent any thing, but that I have not been so busy as I should in that which you call perverting of subjects. I am accused for declining the Kings Authority, and will do it still in matter of Religion, for with such matters he hath nothing to do: and this which I say the best of your Ministers do maintain, and if they be wise will continue of the same mind. Some Questions were moved to me, which I refused to answer, because the proferers were not Judges in Controversies of Religion; and therefore I trust you cannot infer any thing against me. But I hope, said the Archbishop, you will not make this a Controversie of Religion, Whether the King being deposed by the Pope may be lawfully killed. To this he replied, 'It is a question among the Doctors of the Church; many hold the affirmative, not improbably: but as that Point is not yet determined, so if it shall be concluded, I will give my life in defence of it; and to call it unlawful, I will not, though I should save my life by saying it.

His speeches, the more liberty was given him, growing the more intolerable, the Jurors were willed to go apart; who quickly returning, declared by the mouth of their Chancellor, Sir George Elphinstone, that they found him guilty of all the Treasonable crimes contained in the Indictment. Whereupon Doom was pronounced, and the same day in the afternoon he was hanged in the publick street of Glasgow. He was, as it seemed, well instructed in that Jesuitical Doctrine of Deposing and dethroning Kings, and like enough to have played another Ravilliac, if he had not been intercepted: which was the rather believed, that in lamenting his mishap to one that he esteemed his friend he did say, *That nothing grieved him so much as that he should be apprehended in that time; for if he had lived unto Whitsunday at liberty, he should have done that which all the Bishops and Ministers of Scotland and England should never have helped; and to have done it he would willingly have been drawn in pieces with horses, and not cared what torments he had endured.* But this did not burst forth till after his death.

The Jesuite convicted and executed.

Mr. James Moffet, another of the same Society, being apprehended near about the same time, took a safer course; for having condemned Ogilvies Positions he was suffered to depart the Country; the King professing, as he ever did, *That he would never hang a Priest for his Religion:* only these Polypragmatick Papists, that were set upon Sedition and to move disturbance in Countries, he could not away with.

Moffet another Jesuite licensed to depart.

The next Spring Mr. George Gladstaves Archbishop of S. Andrews departed this life: a man of good learning, ready utterance, and great invention; but of an easie nature, and induced by those he trusted to do many things hurtful to the See, especially in leasing the titles of his Benefice for many Ages to come, esteeming (which is the error of many Churchmen) that by this mean he should purchase the love and friendship of men, whereas there is no sure friendship but that which is joyned with respect; and to the preserving of this nothing conduceth more than a wise and prudent administration of the Church-rents wherewith they are intrusted. He left behind him in writing a declaration of his Judgment touching matters then controverted in the Church, professing, that he had accepted the Episcopal Function upon good warrant, and that his Conscience did never accuse him for any thing done that way. This he did to obviate the rumors which he foresaw would be dispersed after his death, either of his Recantation, or of some trouble of spirit that he was cast into; (for these are the usual practices of the Puritane Sect) whereas he ended his days most piously, and to the great comfort of all the beholders. His corps was interred in the South-east Isle of the Parish-Church, and the Funeral preached by Mr. William Comper, Bishop of Galloway, who was lately before preferred upon the decease of Mr. Gawin Hamilton Bishop of that See; a man for courage,

An. 1615. The Archbishop of S. Andrews his death.

An. 1615. courage, true kindness and zeal to the Church, never enough commended. S. Andrews falling thus void, divers Translations were made in the Church; as of the Archbishop of Glasgow to S. Andrews, the Bishop of Orkney to Glasgow, the Bishop of Dunblane to Orkney, in whose place succeeds Mr. Adam Ballendene Rector of Falkirk.

The History of Somersets fall.

Sir Tho. Overbury his free advice to Somerset.

In the end of this year there was at Court a great business for trying the Murther of Sir Thomas Overbury, who had died in the Tower some two years before. The occasion and secret contriving of the Murther, with the strangeness of the discovery, and his Majesties impartial proceeding in the Trial, deserve all to be remembered. The occasion was Overburies free and friendly counsels to the Earl of Somerset for diverting him from the Marriage he intended with Lady Frances Howard, who by a sentence of Nullity was freed from the Earl of Essex her husband. Often had he dissuaded Somerset, presuming upon the familiarity that he vouchsafed him, to forbear that Ladies company, and one night more freely, for that he saw Somerset going on in the Match, came unto him, and spake to this effect; *My Lord, I perceive you are proceeding in this Match which I have often dissuaded as your true servant and friend: I now advise you not to marry that Woman, for if you do, you shall ruine your Honor and your self; adding, that if he went on in that business, he should do well to look to his standing.* The Earl taking his free speech more impatiently because he had touched the Lady (with whom he was bewitched) in her Honor, replied in passion *that his legs were strong enough to bear him up, and that he should make him repent those speeches.* Thus he parted in anger at that time.

Overbury committed to the Tower.

Overbury interpreting this to be a sudden passion only, and not thinking that their long continuing friendship would break off by this occasion, continued in his wonted attendance, neither did the Earl wholly abandon him; howbeit having discovered to the Lady Overbury his counsel, and the words he had uttered to her prejudice, she never ceased to inflame him against the Gentleman, and by all means sought to practise his overthrow. It falling out that Overbury was about this time to be employed in an Ambassage to Russia, the Earl, whose counsel he asked, advised him not to embrace the service, but to make some fair excuse. This advice he followed, taking the same to proceed of kindness, and for his refuse was committed to the Tower.

Overbury poisoned & dieth.

The Lady now had him where she wished, and, meaning to dispatch him by poison, wrought so with the Lieutenant Sir Jervis Elways as he did admit one Richard Weston upon her recommendation to be Overburies keeper, by whom the very evening after he was committed a yellow poison was ministered unto him in a Broth at Supper, which provoked such extreme vomits and purging as it was looked he should not recover. But neither this nor the other poisons that were continually put in his meats serving to dispatch him, Mistress Turner, the preparer of all, procured an Apothecaries boy to give him a poisoned Clyster, which brought him to his end. Overbury thus dead was presently buried, and because of the blanes and blisters that appeared in his body after his death, a report was dispersed that he died of the French-Pox; which few believed, and still the rumor went according to the truth, that he was made away by poison. The greatness of the Procurers kept all hidden for a time; but God who never suffereth such vile acts to go unpunished, did bring the same to light after a miraculous manner.

The Murther discovered and laid open.

It happened the Earl of Shrewsbury in Conference with a Counsellor of Estate to recommend the Lieutenant of the Tower to his favor, as a man of good parts, and one that desired to be known to him. The Counsellor answering, *that he took it for a favor from the Lieutenant that he should desire his friendship*, added withal, *that there lay upon him a heavy imputation of Overburies death, whereof he wished the Gentleman to clear himself.* This related to the Lieutenant, he was stricken a little with it, and said, *That to his knowledge some attempts were made against Overbury, but that the same took no effect:* which being told to the King, he willed the Counsellor to move the Lieutenant to set down in writing what he knew of that matter; as he also did. Thereupon certain of the Council were appointed to examine and find out the truth. From Weston somewhat was found,

found, whereupon he was made prisoner. Turner and Franklin, the preparers of the poison, being examined confessed every thing; and then all breaking forth, the Earl of Somerset with his Lady and the Lieutenant were committed.

Weston at his first Arraignment stood mute, yet was induced afterwards to put himself to the trial of the Country; and being found guilty was hanged at Tiburn. Mistress Turner and James Franklin were in like sort executed. The Lieutenant who had winked at their doings was judged accessory to the crime, and condemned to death, which he suffered, expressing a great penitency and assurance of mercy at the hands of God.

In the May following the Earl and his Lady were brought to their Trial, which by their friends they labored earnestly to eschew; but the King would not be intreated for the love he had to maintain Justice. The Judge by Commission was Thomas Lord Ellesmere, Chancellor of England, and Lord High Steward for that time; his assistants were, Sir Edward Coke, Lord Chief-Justice of England, Sir Henry Hobart, Lord Chief-Justice of the Common-Pleas, Sir Laurence Tanfield, Lord Chief-Baron of the Exchequer, Judge Althared, one of the Barons of the Exchequer, Judge Crook, Judge Dodderige, and Judge Haughton, Judges of the Kings Bench, and Judge Nicols, one of the Judges of the Common Pleas.

The Peers by whom they were tried were, the Earl of Worcester Lord Privy-seal, the Earl of Pembroke Chamberlain, the Earls of Rutland, Sussex, Montgomery and Hartford, the Viscount Lisle, the Lord Souch Warden of the Cinqueports, the Lord Willomby of Eresby, the Lord Dacres, the Lord Montague, the Lord Wentworth, the Lord Rich, the Lord Willoughby of Parham, the Lord Hunfdon, the Lord Ruffel, the Lord Compton, the Lord Norris, the Lord Gerard, the Lord Cavendish, and the Lord Dormer.

With the Lady there was not much ado, for she with many tears confessing the fact desired mercy. The Earl, who was the next day presented before the Judges, made some Defences; but the Confessions of those that were executed and a Letter he had sent to his Majesty did so clearly convince him of being accessory to the crime at least, that they were both sentenced to be taken to the Tower of London, and from thence to the place of Execution, and hanged till they were dead. It was a foul and hateful fact, on the Earls part especially, who did betray his friend for satisfying the appetite of a revengeful Woman; yet by his Majesties clemency the lives of both were afterwards spared.

A new business was about the same time made by the Marquess of Huntley. Some eight years before he had been Excommunicated, and giving hopes from time to time of his Reconciliation, did not only frustrate the same, but, breaking out in open insolencies, had caused his Officers discharge his Tenants from hearing the Sermons of some Ministers, with whom he made shew to offend. Being for this called before the High Commission, he was committed in the Cattle of Edinburgh, and had not remained there two or three daies, when upon the Chancellors Warrant he was put to liberty. The Bishops that were in Town, complaining to himself of that he had done, were disdainfully answered, *That he might enlarge without their advice any that were imprisoned by the High Commission; and when it was told that the Church would take this ill, he said, that he cared not what their Church thought of him:* whereupon the Ministers made great exclamations in the Pulpits, as against one that abused his place and power.

Complaints hereupon were sent from all hands to the King. The Bishops complained of the Chancellor his usurping upon the Commission, and to this effect directed Alexander Bishop of Cathnes to Court. The Chancellor complained of the turbulency of the Ministers, and the liberty they took to censure the publick actions of Statesmen in their Sermons. The Marquess, upon a suit he made before his Imprisonment, had obtained licence to come unto Court, and had taken his journey thither. But the King, upon the Clergies complaint, sent Mr. Patrick Hamilton, then waiting as Secretary-deputy at Court, to command the Marquess to return and enter himself in the Castle of Edinburgh, for satisfying the High Commission; withal he carried a Letter to the Council, sharply rebuking

An. 1616. Somerset and his Lady committed.

Somersets and his Lady brought to Trial. The Judges.

The persons of the Jury.

The Earl and his Lady convicted and sentenced.

The Marquess of Huntley called before the Commissioners.

He is committed. He is released by the Chancellor.

The Bishops complain to his Majesty.

A Command to the Marquess to return to his ward.

An. 1616. buking them for releasing the Marquess, he being warded by the Lords of the Commission.

The Marquess permitted to come to Court.

The Gentleman meeting the Marquess at *Huntingdon*, within a days journey of *London*, did use his message; who intreated him to go back, and shew the King that he was come to give his Majesty satisfaction in every thing he would enjoy, and to beseech his Majesty, since he was so far on his journey, not to deny him his Presence. The offer of satisfaction pleased the King very well, who permitting him to come forward to Court, directed him to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with whom he offered to communicate. His Excommunication standing in the way, and it being contrary to the Canons, that one excommunicated by the Church should without their consent who had so sentenced him be absolved in another, it was a while doubted what course they should take. The King on the other side was desirous to win him home, and on the other loth to infringe the order of the Church; yet inclining to have the Marquess absolved, it was thought that the Bishop of *Cathnes* his consent in the name of the Clergy of *Scotland* was a Warrant sufficient. Thus the Bishop consenting, the Absolution was given him in the Chappel of *Lambeth* by the Archbishop of *Canterbury* in this form.

The form of the Absolution.

‘Whereas the purpose and intendment of the whole Church of *Christ* is to win men unto God, and frame their Souls for Heaven, and that there is such an agreement and correspondency betwixt the Churches of *Scotland* and *England*, that what the Bishops and Pastors in the one, without any earthly or worldly respect, shall accomplish to satisfy the Christian and charitable end and desire of the other, cannot be distastful to either; I therefore finding your earnest intreaty to be loosed from the bond of Excommunication wherewith you stand bound in the Church of *Scotland*, and well considering the reason and cause of that censure, as also considering your desire on this present day to Communicate here with us, for the better effecting of this work of participation of the holy Sacrament of *Christ* our Saviour his blessed Body and Blood, do absolve you from the said Excommunication, in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost; and beseech the Almighty God, that you may be so directed by the Holy Spirit, that you may continue in the truth of his Gospel unto your lives end, and then be made partaker of his everlasting Kingdom.

His Majesties Letter to the Bishops for justifying the Absolution.

How soon it was known that the Marquess was absolved by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, there were great exceptions taken by the Church, and the same interpreted to be a sort of usurpation: whereof the King being advertised, in a long letter written to the Archbishop of *S. Andrews*, he did justify the doing by these Reasons. ‘First, that in absolving the Marquess nothing was intended to the prejudice of the Church of *Scotland*, but what was done was out of a Christian necessity, it being needful that the Marquess should be absolved before he was admitted to the participation of the holy Sacrament. Secondly, He willed the Church to consider that his Absolution at home was only deferred upon the scruple he made of the Presence of our Saviour in the Sacrament, and that upon his Confession, swearing and subscribing the other points of Religion, they themselves had suspended his Excommunication, the lawfulness whereof he would not dispute, but remit the same to the Canonists; yet the Suspension standing, it was not much from an Absolution. Thirdly, That the Absolution given him in *England* did necessarily imply an acknowledgment of the authority of the Church of *Scotland*; whereas if the Archbishop of *Canterbury* had received him to the holy Communion, and not first absolved him, being Excommunicated by the Church of *Scotland*, the contempt and neglect had been a great deal greater. Fourthly, That the Marquess being come into *England*, and making offer to perform whatsoever should be required of him, it was more fit to take him in that disposition, than to have delayed it unto his return into *Scotland*. For these Reasons, he said, and especially because all that was done was with a due acknowledgment and reservation of the power and independent authority of the Church of *Scotland*, which the Archbi-

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shop of *Canterbury* had by his own hand testified; it was his pleasure, that upon the Marquess his return a full form of Absolution should be given him, or a Ratification made of that which was done in *England*; so as neither the Archbishop of *Canterbury* his doing should be disapproved as unlawful, nor the same so approved as it might seem that the Church of *Scotland* was inferior in any sort to that of *England*; and that the Archbishops Letter written to that effect should be put in record, and kept as a perpetual monument for Ages to come.

This Letter directed to the Archbishop of *S. Andrews* I have thought here meet to be inserted.

Salutem in Christo.

‘Because I understand that a General Assembly is shortly to be held at *Aberdene*, I cannot but esteem it an office of brotherly love to yield you an account of that great action which lately befell us here with the Marquess of *Huntley*. So it was then, that upon the coming up of the said Marquess, his Majesty sharply entreating him for not giving satisfaction to the Church of *Scotland*, and for a time restraining him from his Royal presence, the Marquess resolving to give his Majesty contentment, did voluntarily proffer to Communicate when and wheresoever his Highness should be pleased; whereupon his Majesty being pleased to make known that offer to me, it was held fit to strike the iron whilst it was hot, and that this great work should be accomplished before his Majesties going to progress; whereunto a good opportunity was offered by the Consecration of the Bishop of *Chester*, which was to be in my Chappel of *Lambeth* the seventh of this month, at which time a solemn Communion was there to be celebrated.

‘The only pause was, that the Marquess being Excommunicated by the Church of *Scotland*, there was in appearance some difficulty how he might be Absolved in the Church of *England*: wherewith his Majesty being acquainted, who wished that it should not be deferred, we grew to this peaceable resolution, which I doubt not your Lordship and the rest of our Brethren there will interpret to the best. For First, what was to be performed might be adventured upon, as we esteemed, out of a Brotherly Correspondency and Unity of affection, and not only of any Authority; for we well know, that as the Kingdom of *Scotland* is a free and absolute Monarchy, so the Church of *Scotland* is entire in it self, and independent upon any other Church. Secondly, we find by the advice of divers Doctors of the Civil Law, and men best experienced in things of this nature, that the course of Ecclesiastical proceedings would fairly permit that we might receive to our Communion a man excommunicated in another Church, if the said person do declare that he had a purpose hereafter for some time to reside among us; which the Lord Marquess did openly profess that he intended, and I know his Majesty doth desire it: and for my part, I rest satisfied that it can bring no prejudice, but rather contentment unto you and to that Kingdom. Thirdly, it pleased God the night before the celebration of the Sacrament to send in our brother the Bishop of *Cathnes*, with whom I taking counsel, his Lordship resolved me, that it was my best way to absolve the Lord Marquess, and assured me that it would be well taken by the Bishops and Pastors of the Church of *Scotland*. I leave the report of this to my Lord *Cathnes* himself, who was an eye-witness with what reverence the Marquess did participate of that holy Sacrament. For all other circumstances I doubt not but you shall be certified of them from his Majesty, whose Gracious and Princely desire is that this bruised reed should not be broken, but that so great a personage (whose example may do much good) should be cherished and comforted in his coming forward to God: which I for my part do hope and firmly believe that you all will endeavour, according to the wisdom and prudence which Almighty God hath given unto you. And thus as your Lordship hath ever been desirous that I should give you the best assistance I could with his Majesty for the reducing or restraining this Nobleman, so you see I have done it with the best discretion I could; which I doubt not but all our Brethren with you will take as proceeding from my desire to serve God and his Majesty, and the whole Church

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The Archbishop of *Canterbury* excuses for the Absolution.

An. 1616. *of Scotland.* I send you herewith the Form which I used in Absolving the Lord Marquess in the presence of the Lord Primate of *Ireland*, the Lord Bishop of *London*, and divers others. And so beseeching the blessing of God upon you all, that in your Assembly with unity of spirit you may proceed, to the honour of Christ and to the beating down of Antichrist and Popery, I leave you to the Almighty.

From my house at *Croyden*,
July 23. 1616.

The Archbishops Letter giveth some content. An Assembly at *Aberdeen*.

The Marquess of new Absolved.

Acts concluded in the Assembly.

This Letter being shewed to the Clergy and others that were offended with the Absolution of the Marquess gave them content: yet was it resolved that the Marquess (who then was returned from Court) should present a Supplication to the General Assembly which was to meet at *Aberdene* the 13 of *August*, acknowledging his offence, not despising the Admonitions of the Church, and promising to continue in the profession of the Truth, and make his Children to be educated in the same; and that upon his Supplication he should be new Absolved according to the Form used in the Church of *Scotland*. This was very solemnly performed the first day of the Assembly, the Earl of *Montross* being then Commissioner for his Majesty.

In the Assembly it was ordained, 'That forasmuch as his Majesty had by Proclamation recalled such as were gone forth of the Country to be educated in the Colleges of Jesuites or other Popish Universities within the space of a year, upon pain to be declared incapable of succession either to goods or lands, a trial and exact search should be made of all those that were sent or gone into foreign parts within these last ten years; and that every Minister should send a particular note unto his Ordinary of those within his Parish that were gone to follow their studies in places abroad, with their age, profession and families whereunto they appertained, to the end they may be known, and the dangers prevented wherewith their corrupt education did threaten the Church.

It was likewise enacted, 'That no man should be permitted to practise or profess any Physick, unless he had first satisfied the Bishop of the Diocese touching his Religion: That a Liturgy or book of Common-prayer should be formed for the use of the Church: That the Acts of the General Assemblies should be collected and put in form, to serve for Canons to the Church in their ministration of Discipline: That children should be carefully catechised, and confirmed by the Bishops, or in their absence by such as were employed in the Visitation of Churches: That Grammar Schools should be established in all Parishes where the same might be conveniently done: And that a Register should be kept of Baptisms, Marriages and Burials, by the Minister of every Parish.

These Acts being put in form were ordained to be presented to his Majesty by the Archbishop of *Glasgow* and Bishop of *Ross*, who were sent from the Assembly to intreat his Majesties Confirmation of the thing concluded.

By the answer returned with them his Majesties good liking of all that had proceeded in the Assembly was understood: only against the Act of Confirming young children by Bishops he excepted, saying it was a mere Hotch-potch, and not so clear as was requisite; and therefore directed the same to be reformed, and among the Canons of the Church the Articles following to be inserted.

First, That for the more reverent receiving of the holy Communion, the same should be celebrated to the people thereafter kneeling, and not sitting, as had been the custom since the Reformation of Religion.

2. If any good Christian visited with sickness, which was taken to be deadly, should desire to receive the Communion at home in his house, the same should not be denied to him, lawful warning being given to the Minister the night before; and three or four of good Religion and conversation being present to communicate with the sick person, who must provide for a convenient place, and all things necessary for the reverent administration of the blessed Sacrament.

3. That

3. That the Sacrament of Baptism should not be longer deferred than the next Sunday after the child is born, unless some great and reasonable cause declared and approved by the Minister do require the same: And that in the case of necessity, tried and known to the Minister, it should be lawful to administer Baptism in private houses, the same being always ministered after the form it would have been in the Congregation, and publick declaration thereof made the next Sunday in the Church, to the end the child might be known to have been received into the flock of Christs fold.

4. Seeing the inestimable benefits received from God by our Lord Jesus Christ his Birth, Passion, Resurrection, Ascension, and Sending down of the Holy Ghost, have been commendably remembered at certain particular days and times by the whole Church of the World; every Minister from thenceforth should keep a commemoration of the said Benefits upon these days, and make choice of several and pertinent Texts of Scripture, and frame their Doctrines and Exhortations thereto, rebuking all Superstitious observation and licentious profaning of the said times.

5. The Act of Confirmation of Children his Majesty desired to be reformed in this manner: Seeing the Confirmation of Children is for the good education of youth most necessary, being reduced to the Primitive integrity, it is thought good that the Minister in every Parish shall catechise all young Children of eight years of age, and see that they have knowledge, and be able to rehearse the Lords Prayer, the Belief and Ten Commandments, with Answers to the Questions of the small Catechism used in the Church, and that the Bishops in their Visitations shall cause the Children be presented before them, and bless them with prayer for the encrease of grace, and continuance of God his heavenly gifts with them.

The difficulty of admitting these Articles being represented in an humble Letter to his Majesty by the Archbishop of *S. Andrews*, and a reason given why the same could not be inserted with the Canons, as having at no time been mentioned to the Church, nor proposed in any of their Meetings, he was pleased to forbear the pressing of the same for that time, thinking at his coming into *Scotland*, which he intended the next Summer, to satisfy such as were scrupulous, and to obtain the Churches consent.

Shortly after a Letter was sent to the Council, 'to assure them of the Kings resolution to visit the Kingdom, which he said did proceed of a longing he had to see the place of his breeding, a *salmon-like instinct* (as he was pleased to call it;) and because he knew that evil-disposed persons would disperse rumours as if he came to make alterations in the Civil and Ecclesiastical Estate, he commanded Proclamation to be made for certifying the subjects of the contrary. It was true, he said, that he desired to do some good at his coming, and to have abuses reformed both in the Church and Commonwealth: yet foreseeing the impediments that his good intentions would meet with, and regarding the love of his people no less than their benefit, he would be loth to give them any discontent; and therefore willed all his good subjects to lay aside their jealousies, and accommodate themselves in the best sort they could for his receiving, and the entertainment of the Noblemen of *England* who were to accompany him in the journey.

The Earl of *Marre* was at that time made Thesaurer, and Sir *Gideon Murray* continued in his Deputation. A motion had been made a little before for appointing a Commissioner or Deputy in the Kingdom, which was hearkened unto by the King as that which would ease him of many vexations, and in his absence maintain a face of Court, and breed a great respect among the people: and so far was that purpose advanced, as both the King had made offer of the place to the Earl of *Marre*, and he yielded to accept the same. But this breaking out and coming to the Chancellors knowledge, whether that he desired not to have any in place above himself or, as he pretended, wishing the Noblemans good, he diverted

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An. 1616.

Reasons why the Articles could not be inserted among the Canons.

A Proclamation touching the Kings purpose to visit the Country.

The Earl of Marre made Thesaurer.

An. 1617.

A direction
for repairing
the Chappel.The Bishops
entreat the
stay of some
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ctures upon
fear of offence.An. 1617.
His Majesties
answer.The King re-
fuseth to defer
his Journey as
he was desired.A Parliament
in Scotland.His Majesties
Speech to the
Estates.

ed him from accepting that charge, and brought him to embrace the Office of Treasurer as the most profitable, and that which should bring with it a less envy. Sir Gideon had the intromission withal, as when Somerset was in place, and did provide things so carefully and with such foresight, as when the King came he found nothing lacking that was required for a Royal and Princely Entertainment.

Among other directions sent from the King, one was for repairing of the Chappel, and some English Carpenters were employed who brought with them the Pourtraicts of the Apostles to be set in the Pews or Stalls. As they were proceeding in their work, a foolish and idle rumor went, that *Images were to be set up in the Chappel*: and, as people are given to speak the worst, it was current among them, that *the Organs came first, now the Images, and ere long they should have the Mass*. The Bishop of Galloway then Dean of the Chappel, moved with these speeches, did pen a Letter to the King, entreating his Majesty 'for the offence that was taken to stay the affixing of these Pourtraicts. To this Letter he procured the Subscriptions of the Archbishop of S. Andrewes, the Bishops of Aberdene and Brechin, and divers of the Ministers of Edinburgh.

The answer returned by the King was full of anger, objecting ignorance unto them that could not distinguish betwixt *Pictures intended for Ornament and decoration, and Images erected for Worship and adoration*; and resembling them to the Constable of Castile, who being sent to swear the Peace concluded with Spain, when he understood the business was to be performed in the Chappel where some Anthems were to be sung, desired that *whatsoever was sung, Gods name might not be used in it, and that being forborn he was content they should sing what they listed*: just so, said the King, *you can endure Lions, Dragons and Devils to be figured in your Churches, but will not allow the like place to the Patriarchs and Apostles*. His Majesty always gave order for some other form, and staying the erecting of these Pourtraicts; which in the same Letter he said *was not done for ease of their hearts, or confirming them in their error, but because the work could not be done so quickly in that kind as was first appointed*. This Letter was of the date at Whitehall, the 13 of March 1617.

The King was much labored to defer his Journey to the next year, whenas he should find things better prepared; but he refusing to hearken to any such motion, made the greater haste, and in the beginning of May came to Berwick, where he was met with divers of the Council, and by their advice the Parliament which had been indicted to the 17 of May was prorogued to the 13 of June. All this time intervened the King spent in a progress through the Country, making his entry in the special Burghs after a most Royal manner, and welcomed with all the expressions of joy that could be devised.

At the day appointed the Estates were frequently assembled, where his Majesty made a long Speech for the establishing Religion and Justice, neither of which, he said, could be look'd for so long as a regard was not had to the Ministers of both. For Religion, he complained, *That notwithstanding of the long profession of the Truth, numbers of Churches remained unplanted, and of those that were planted few or none had any competent maintenance*: for this he wished some course to be taken, and certain Commissioners to be chosen for appointing to every Church a perpetual local Stipend, such as might suffice to entertain a Minister, and make him able to attend on his charge of justice. He discoursed long remembering the pains he had taken as well when he lived among them, as since his going into England, and how he had placed Justices and Constables (a most laudable kind of Government) for the preserving of Peace, and the keeping of the Laws in due regard; which he understood, as he said, to be much neglected, partly in default of some that were named to those places, and held it a scorn to be employed in such a charge, and partly by the opposition which the Lords and great men of the Country made unto them and to their setting: but he would have both the one and the other to know, that as it was a place of no small honor to be a Minister of the Kings Justice in the service of the Commonwealth; so he did esteem none to deserve better at his hands than they who gave countenance thereto; as, on the other part, whosoever

whosoever should shew themselves hinderers thereof should be accounted with him enemies to his Crown and the quiet of the Kingdom. In end he said, *that he had long striven to have the Barbarities of the Country, which they knew to be too many, removed and extinct, and in place thereof Civility and Justice established*; and that he would still endeavor to do his best that way, till he might say of Scotland as one of the Emperors said of Rome, *Inveni lateritiam, relinquo marmoream*.

The King having closed and the Lords gone apart to chuse those that should be upon the Articles, the humors of some discontented Lords begun to kith; for whosoever were by the King recommended as fit persons, were passed by as men suspected, and others named who stood worse affected to his Majesties service. Another question they made for admitting the Officers of State, refusing to admit any but the Chancellor, Treasurer, and Clerk of the Rolls. This being long and sharply debated, was in end agreed by the admission of the whole number.

Among these Articles proposed the first was, of his Majesties Authority in Causes Ecclesiastical; concerning which it was desired to be enacted, 'That whatsoever conclusion was taken by his Majesty with advice of the Archbishops and Bishops in matters of external Policy, the same should have the power and strength of an Ecclesiastical Law. The Bishops interceding did humbly intreat that the Article might be better considered, for that in making of Ecclesiastical Laws the advice and consent of Presbyters was also required. The King replying, *That he was not against the taking of Ministers their advice, and that a competent number of the most grave and learned among them should be called to assist the Bishops*: but to have matters ruled as they have been in your General Assemblies I will never agree; for the Bishops must rule the Ministers, and the King rule both in matters indifferent and not repugnant to the Word of God. So the Article passed in this form, 'That whatsoever his Majesty should determine in the external Government of the Church, with the advice of the Archbishops, Bishops and a competent number of the Ministry, should have the strength of a Law.

This coming to the Ministers ears, they began to stir, as if the whole Rites and Ceremonies of England were to be brought upon them without their consents: whereupon the Ministers that were in Town were called together and warned to be quiet, for that such a general Act did not lay upon them any bond; and if any particular was urged, the same should be communicated to them, and nothing concluded without their consents. It was farther told them, that there would not be wanting informations enough to stir them up unto unquietness, but they should do well not to irritate his Majesty, whom they knew to be a Gracious Prince, and one that would hear Reason, and give way to the same. This they did all promise; yet, upon the suggestion of some discontented people, the very next day Mr. William Struthers, one of the Ministers of Edinburgh, did unhappily break out in his Sermon upon these matters, condemning the Rites received in the Church of England, and praying God to save Scotland from the same. This reported to the King by some of the English Doctors that were his hearers, he became greatly incensed. But the Ministers not contented with this, did the same day in the afternoon tumultuously convene, and form a Protestation in the words following:

'Most gracious and dread Sovereign, most honorable Lords and remanent Commissioners of this present Parliament, We the Ministers of Christs Evangel, being here convened from all the parts of this your Majesties Kingdom, do in all reverence and submission intreat your Majesties and Honors patient and favorable hearing of this our reasonable and humble supplication: And first it will please your Highness and honorable Estates presently convened to be informed, that we are here a number of the Ministry out of all the parts of the Kingdom, and that the Bishops have protested to a great many of us since our coming, that nothing should be agreed nor consented unto by them in this present Parliament in matters concerning the Discipline and Order of the Church without our knowledge and advice, affirming that neither we nor they have any power to consent

An. 1617.

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Article.The Ministers
Protestation.

An. 1617.

‘ consent to any Novation, or smallest charge of the Order established, without the advice of the General Assembly; whereupon we resting in security, have received a sudden report of an Article to pass for a Law in the Parliament, decerning and declaring that your Majesty, with the advice of the Archbishops and Bishops, and such a competent number of the Ministry as your Majesty out of your wisdom should think expedient, shall in all time coming have full power to advise and conclude all matters of decency, and which any way may concern the Policy of the Church; and that such Conclusions shall have the strength and power of Laws Ecclesiastical: wherein it will please your Majesty and Honorable Estates to hear our own just griefs, and to consider our reasonable desires, and not to put us your Majesties humble subjects to that poor and simple part of Protestation, which if remedy be not provided, we shall be forced to use, for the freedom of our Church and discharge of our consciences.

‘ We then first plead our Reformation, and that the Purity of our Church in Doctrine, ministration of the Sacraments, Discipline and all convenient Order, with the best reformed Churches in Europe hath been acknowledged rather as a pattern to be followed of others, than that we should seek our Reformation from those that never attained to that perfection which we, by the mercy of God, this long time past have enjoyed under your Highness protection.

‘ Next, we plead the Liberty of our Church, which by the Laws of your Majesties Kingdom and divers Acts of Parliament, is established with power of public Meetings and annual Assemblies, and allowance to make Canons and Constitutions, such as may serve for the comely Order thereof; all which by this Conclusion that is intended will be utterly overthrow.

‘ Thirdly, we plead for the Peace and Tranquillity of our Church, that being nearest the Divine and Apostolical Institution hath lived without Schism and rent in it self, and by introduction of any Novelty against order may be miserably divided, and so our Peace broken.

‘ Fourthly, we have been at divers times sufficiently secured from all suspicions of Innovation, and specially by your Majesties Letter sent down this last Winter, to take away all fear of any Alteration which might arise upon your Majesties lovingly-intended journey; which Letter by your Majesties special will and direction of your Highness Council was intimated in Pulpits; as also by that Proclamation given out the 26 of September 1616, when rumors of an intended Conformity with the Church of England were dispersed: whereby your Majesty sufficiently avoided all such suspicion, and settled the hearts of honest men in a confidence that no such thing should be attempted.

‘ These and many other reasons have moved us in all reverence by this our humble Supplication to entreat your Highness and Honorable Estates, not to suffer the aforementioned Article, or any other prejudicial to our former Liberties, to pass at this time, to the grief of this poor Church; that the universal hope of thousands in this land, who rejoiced at your Majesties happy arrival, be not turned into mourning: wherein as we are earnest supplicants to God to incline your Majesties heart this way, as the most expedient for the honor of God and weal of your subjects; so if we shall be frustrated of this our reasonable desire, then do we in all humility (with that dutiful acknowledgment of our Loyalty to your Majesty as becometh) protest for our selves and all our Brethren that shall adhere to this our Protestation, that as we are free of the same, so must we be forced rather to incur the censure of your Majesties Law, than to admit or obtemper any imposition that shall not flow from the Church orderly convened, others having power from the same.

The Subscribers of the Protestation.

This Protestation was subscribed by Mr. Archibald Simson Minister at Dalkeith, in name of the Brethren and Supplicants. In another Paper the Ministers who were present set down their names each of them with his own hand, for a Testimony of their concurrence, which was committed to the said Mr. Archibald in custody. But, as it falleth out in things unadvisedly done, and in the heat of humor, the principals

pals in that business quickly forthinking that which they had done came the next morning early to the Archbishop of S. Andrews, entreating him to stop the presenting thereof, which he shewed he might easily do by taking the same from Mr. Peter Hewet in whose hand it was given to present.

This man being one of the Ministers of Edinburgh, had lately before been preferred to the Abbacy of Croisragwell, and having thereby a place in the Parliament-house, was held the most fitting to present the Protestation, which he willingly undertook; for he loved ever to be meddling, and was always set to make trouble. The Parliament was that day to close, and the Archbishop knowing how ill the King would take their doing, went the more timely to the Palace; where meeting with the Abbot, he asked him concerning the Protestation, desiring to see it; and having perused a few lines began to rebuke him for taking in hand such a business. He making some excuse, and saying, it was a Protestation only which could not offend, put forth his hand to take back the Paper; but the Archbishop holding it fast, the Protestation was near rent betwixt them. It happened one of the Grooms (called John Livingston) to see them at strife, for they had met in the private Gallery near to his Majesties Chamber, who shewing the King what he had seen, his Majesty came forth, being as yet undressed, and asked what the matter was. The Archbishop answered, ‘ That a number of Ministers having framed a Protestation against the Article of his Majesties Prerogative, had given it to the man that he had made Abbot to present, and that he had undertaken to do the same; for which he had been chiding him, it being an undutiful part in him without signifying the matter to his Ordinary to take such a business in hand.

The man falling upon his knees and trembling, said, ‘ That he supposed the Protestation would never offend his Majesty, and that he had promised to present the same in Parliament; but now that it appeared to him otherwise, he would no more meddle therewith.

The King taking the Protestation, and perceiving it subscribed by one only Minister, inquired who these others were that convened. The Abbot answered, that they had all signed a Paper besides, which the Subscriber kept by him for his Warrant. Then the King commanding the Bishop to keep the Protestation, went to prepare himself for the Meeting, and suspecting that some other might come and protest against the Article, commanded the Register Sir George Hay (who upon the death of Sir Alexander Hay had been preferred to the Office the year before) to pass by that Article as a thing no way necessary, the Prerogative of his Crown bearing him to more than was declared by it. Thus when the hour of meeting came, the Register, as he was commanded, laying by that Article, caused read the others that were concluded, as the custome is, and the same being assented to by the Estates were ratified by his Majesty. Thereafter the King in a most grave Speech having commended the execution of the Laws made to the Judges and other inferior Magistrates, gave the Estates a most kind and loving farewell.

The same night the Bishops had warning given them to meet his Majesty at S. Andrews the tenth of July, whither he minded to call the principal Ministers also, that they might know his mind before he went away. The Diet held as was appointed, and there assembled with the Bishops the Ministers of chief account, to the number of thirty six, who being convened in the Chappel of the Castle, the King did speak to them to this purpose.

What and how great my care hath been for this Church, as well before as since my going into England, is so well known to you all, as I neither need nor do I mean to speak much of it, lest any should think I am seeking thanks for that I have done. It sufficeth me that God knows my intention is, and ever was, to have his true Worship maintained, and a decent and comely Order established in the Church. But of you I must complain, and of your causeless jealousies, even when my meaning towards you is best. Before my coming home to visit this Kingdom, being advertised that in your last Assembly an Act was made for gathering the Acts of the Church, and putting them in form, I desired a few Articles to be inserted; one was for the yearly Commemoration

An. 1617.

Mr. Peter Hewet undertakes the presenting of the Protestation.

The Clerk of Register commanded to pass by the Article of Prerogative.

The Bishops warned to meet at S. Andrews.

His Majesties Speech at the Meeting.

An. 1617. *moration of our Saviour his greatest Blessings bestowed upon mankind, as his Nativity, Passion, Resurrection, Ascension, and the Descent of the Holy Spirit; another, for the private use of both Sacraments, in urgent and necessary cases; a third, for the reverent administration of his holy Supper; and a fourth, for catechizing and confirming young Children by Bishops. It was answered, that these particulars had not been moved in any of the Church-Assemblies, and so could not be inserted with the rest; which excuse I admitted, and was not minded to press them any more till you after advice did give consent thereto: yet when in the late Parliament I desired my Prerogative to be declared in the making of the Ecclesiastical Laws, certain of your number did mutinously assemble themselves, and form a Protestation to cross my just desires. But I will pass that among many other wrongs I have received at your hands: the errand for which I have now called you is, to hear what your Scruples are in these points, and the Reasons, if any you have, why the same ought not to be admitted. I mean not to do anything against Reason; and on the other part, my demands being just and religious, you must not think that I will be refused or resisted. It is a power innate and a special Prerogative which we that are Christian Kings have, to order and dispose of external things in the Policy of the Church as we by advice of our Bishops shall find most fitting; and for your approving or disapproving, deceive not your selves, I will never regard it, unless you bring me a Reason which I cannot answer.*

The Ministers promise obedience upon permission of a General Assembly.

The Ministers at these words falling on their knees did beseech his Majesty to think of them as his most humble and obedient subjects, and to permit them to confer a little space among themselves, that they might return with an uniform answer. This granted, they went to the Parish-Church, and after some two hours returned, making petition for a General Assembly, wherein these Articles being proposed might be with a common consent received. The King asking *what assurance he might have of their consenting*; they answered, that they found no Reason to the contrary, and knew the Assembly would yield to any reasonable thing demanded by his Majesty. *But if it fall out otherwise*, said the King, *and that the Articles be refused, my difficulty shall be greater, and when I shall use my Authority in establishing them, they shall call me a Tyrant and Persecutor.* All crying that none could be so mad as to speak so: *Tet experience*, says the King, *tells me it may be so; therefore unless I be made sure, I will not give way to an Assembly.* Mr. Patrick Galloway saying that the Bishop of S. Andrews should answer for them: the Bishop refused, for that he had been deceived by them, they having against their promise in the time of Parliament taken the course which they did. Then said Mr. Patrick, *If your Majesty will trust me, I will assure for the Ministers.* The King replying that he would trust him; it was condescended that an Assembly should be called for that end at S. Andrews the 25 of November next.

Mr. Archibald Simpson and Mr. David Catherwood committed.

Mr. Archibald Simpson the Subscriber of the Protestation had been called to the Meeting, but falling sick by the way, he excused himself by a Letter, and therein was very earnest to have the Brethren oppose the Articles, which he called *tricas Anglicanas*, using some other disdainful words. The Letter being shewed to the King he asked for the bearer. This was Mr. David Catherwood, who carrying himself unreverently, and breaking forth into speeches not becoming a subject, was committed in the Town-house of S. Andrews, and afterwards banished the Kingdom. Simpson for his Letter was warded in the Castle of Edinburgh, where he remained unto December following.

The King departed towards London.

The King after this taking his Journey to London by the West parts, was all the way through Scotland royally entertained, and at Dumfries had a farewell Sermon preached by the Bishop of Galloway, which made the hearers burst out in many tears.

An Assembly at S. Andrews.

When the diet of the Assembly came, the Earl of Haddington and Viscount of Stormont were sent thither as Commissioners from his Majesty: the Archbishop made the Exhortation, wherein having deduced the Story of the Church from the time of Reformation, he shewed that the greatest hinderance the Church received

ceived proceeded from the Ministers themselves, who for the pleasure of ill-disposed people spared not to provoke his Majesty to just anger: exhorting them for the glory of God, the honour of the Gospel and their own good, to take another course, and prefer the favor of their King, under whom they enjoyed so many blessings, to the vain applause of factious persons.

It seemed at first that matters should have gone well; for the first two days there was much calmness, and the reasoning very formal and free: but then upon a motion to delay the Conclusion to another Assembly, that the Ministers might have time to inform the people of the equity of the Articles, the greater part went that way, and almost cried for a Delay.

His Majesties Commissioners declaring that the King would take in ill part the delay, and that nothing should be done considering the promises they had made, if a General Assembly should be granted, to receive the whole Articles, a fashion was made to a condescending to private Communion, and the Ministers ordained to give the elements in the ministration of the holy Supper out of their own hands to the people: which two Acts, with a Letter of excuse for the continuance of the rest, were sent to his Majesty. How the same was accepted may appear by the answer that came a few days after, which was this.

We have received your Letter, and thereby understand what your proceedings have been in that Assembly of S. Andrews; concerning which we will have you know, that we are come to that age as we will not be content to be fed with Broath, as one of your Coat was wont to speak, and think this your doing a disgrace no less than the Protestation it self. Wherefore it is our pleasure, and we command you, as you will avoid our highest displeasure, the one of you by your Deputy in S. Andrews and by your self in Edinburgh, and the other of you in Glasgow, keep Christmas-day precisely, your selves Preaching, and choosing your Texts according to the time. And likewise that ye discharge all modification of Stipends for this year to any Minister whatsoever, such excepted as have testified their affection to our service at this time, by farthering at their power the acceptance of the Articles proposed: and in the premises willing you not to fail, we bid you farewell. Newmarket the 6 of December, 1616.

In a Postscript to the same Letter it was said, *So many Bishops as you can get warned in time to preach at their Sees on Christmas-day, urge them to it. Thus much in hast for this time, after two or three days ye shall hear further from us.* With his Majesties own hand, after all, was written, *Since your Scottish Church hath so far contemned my Clemency, they shall now find what it is to draw the anger of a King upon them.*

This Letter was directed to the Archbishops of S. Andrews and Glasgow, the other which followeth to S. Andrews him alone.

After we had commanded the dispatch of our other Letter, we received an extract concluded (we know not how) in your Assembly, and subscribed by the Clerk thereof; the one concerning Private Communion, and the other concerning the form to be used at the receiving of the holy Sacrament; both so hedged and conceived in so ridiculous a manner, as besides that of the whole Articles proposed these two were the least necessary to have been urged and hastned, the scornful condition and form of their grant makes us justly wish that they had been refused with the rest: for in the first, concerning the Communion allowed to sick persons, besides the number required to receive with such patients, and a necessity tying them upon oath to declare that they truly think not to recover, but to die of that disease, they are yet farther hedged in with a necessity to receive the Sacrament (in case aforesaid to be ministered unto them) in a convenient room; which what it importeth we cannot guess, seeing no room can be so convenient for a sick man (sworn to die) as his bed, and that it were injurious and inhumane from thence in any case to transport him, were the room never so neat and handsome to which they should carry him.

And as to that other Act, ordaining the Minister himself to give the Elements

An. 1617.

The Assembly inclineth to a delay.

The Commissioners obtain a grant of private Communion.

The King offended with the Assemblies proceedings writeth to the two Archbishops.

Another Letter to the Archbishop of S. Andrews.

An. 1617. 'ments in the celebration out of his own hand to every one of the Commu-
'nicants, and that he may perform this the more commodiously, by the advice
'of the Magistrates and honest men of his Session, to prepare a Table at which
'the same may be conveniently ministered; truly in this we must say that the
'Ministers ease and commodious sitting on his tail hath been more look'd to
'than that Kneeling which, for reverence, we directly required to be enjoyned
'to the receivers of so divine a Sacrament: neither can we conceive what should
'be meant by that Table, unless they mean to make a round Table (as did the
'Jews) to sit and receive it. In conclusion, seeing either we and this Church here
'must be held Idolatrous in this point of Kneeling, or they reputed Rebellious
'knives in refusing the same, and that the two foresaid Acts are conceived so
'scornfully, and so far from our meaning; it is our pleasure that the same be alto-
'gether suppressed, and that no effect follow thereupon. So we bid you farewell.
Newmarket the 11 of December 1617.

Letters to the
Council for
inhibiting the
payment of
Stipends.

These Letters were accompanied with another to the Council, 'for inhibiting
'the payment of Stipends to any of the Rebellious Ministers refusers of the said
'Articles either in Burgh or Landward, till they shew their Conformity, and
'that the same was testified by the Subscriptions of the Primate or ordinary Bi-
'shop. Which Letters being shewed to the Ministers of *Edinburgh*, and others that
happened to repair to that City for augmentation of Stipends, did cast them into
a great fear, so that repenting their wilfulness, as they had reason, they became
requesters to the Archbishop of *S. Andrews* to preach as he was commanded on
Christmas-day at *Edinburgh*, trusting his Majesty should be mitigated by his obedi-
ence and intercession for the rest. Neither did he fail to use his best means for di-
verting the King from these rigorous courses, and after a little time (so loth was
his Majesty to exerce any rigor against Ministers) obtained a Warrant for staying
the execution of the former Letters, till their behaviour should be tried in the
particular Synods, and their disposition for accepting the Articles.

Mr. Archibald
Simpson put to
liberty.

Mr. *Archibald Simpson*, who all this while remained prisoner in the Castle of
Edinburgh, hearing that the King was so greatly displeased, did supplicate the
Lords of his Majesties Commission (by whose command he was committed)
for liberty, 'promising not to fall again in the like Errors, and professing a great
'sorrow for his meddling with the Protestation, as likewise for writing that Letter
'wherein he had taxed the Church of *England*. Being brought before the Com-
mission, after he had set his hand to his Supplication, he was permitted to return
to his Charge at *Dalkieth*. Yet ere many days passed, finding the countenances of
the holy Brethren cast down upon him, he dispersed an Apologetick (as he enti-
tuled it) wherein making a Gloss upon every word of his Confession he concluded,
'that whatsoever weakness or frailty had befallen him, he hoped to be like *Peter*,
'*qui ore negavit, & corde confessus est, and never to betray the Lords cause with*
Judas. This I have remembered by the way, to make the humors of these men
seen, and the small regard they take of saying and gainsaying, when it maketh for
their purpose.

His inconstan-
cy and change.

But to proceed; the Bishops upon advertisement given them convened at *Edin-
burgh* the 29 of *January*, and considering the hurt that the Church might receive,
if the Commission granted in Parliament for provision of Ministers (which was to
expire at *Lammas* next) should take no effect, did by a common Letter intreat his
Majesty for a Warrant to proceed in that Commission, giving hopes that in their
Synods they should induce the Ministers to obey.

A Warrant to
proceed with
the Commis-
sion of Stipends.

The answer returned in *February* next was to this effect: 'That howbeit his
'Majesty did interpret well their doings, as intended to the good of his service;
'yet considering the obstinate resistance of the Ministers to all his just and Reli-
'gious desires, he could not expect any thing from them in their Meetings but
'a farther expression of their former misbehaviour. Nottheless as he had once al-
'ready, upon the Archbishop of *S. Andrews* his intreaty, suspended the Execution
'of his last Directions; so at their requests he was pleased that the Commis-
'sioners for Stipends should meet and go on with the providing of Churches, they in
'the

An. 1617. 'the mean time in their own persons and in their own Cathedrals observing the
'Festivities that should intervene between and the Synods, and ministering the
'holy Communion with the reverence required at the feast of *Easter* next. Thus
were matters pacified for that time, and the Commission for augmentation of Sti-
pends by the warrant of this Letter put in practice.

Most of the next Summer was spent in that work, but with greater detriment
than benefit to the Church; for what Augmentation soever was granted, the same
was recompensed to the givers by prorogation of their former leases for numbers
of years, and thereby the Church more damaged than bettered.

In the Synods all things were carried with reasonable quietness, so as upon the
Bishops humble requests licence was granted for meeting in a General Assembly,
and the same indicted at *Perth* the 25 of *August*. The Lords *Hadington*, *Carnegy*
and *Scone* were Commissioners in this Assembly for the King, who upon the end
of the Sermon presented his Majesties Letter conceived as followeth.

A General As-
sembly indict-
ed at *Perth*.

WE were once fully resolved never in our time to have called any more
'Assemblies here for ordering things concerning the Policy of the
'Church, by reason of the disgrace offered unto us in that late meeting of *S. An-
drews*, wherein our just and godly desires were not only neglected, but some of
'the Articles concluded in that scornful manner, as we wish they had been refused
'with the rest: yet at this time we have suffered our selves to be intreated by you
'our Bishops for a new Convocation, and have called you together who are now
'convened for the self-same business which then was urged, hoping assuredly that
'you will have some better regard to our desires, and not permit the unruly and
'ignorant multitude, after their wonted custom, to oversway the better and more
'judicious sort in evil, which we have gone about with much pains to have had
'amended in these Assemblies, and for that purpose, according to Gods ordinance
'and the constant practice of all well-governed Churches, we have placed you that
'are Bishops and overseers of the rest in the chiefeest rooms. You plead much, we
'perceive, to have things done by consent of Ministers, and tell us often, that what
'concerneth the Church in general should be concluded by the advice of the
'whole, neither do we altogether dislike your opinion, for the greater is your con-
'sent, the better are we contented. But we will not have you to think, that mat-
'ters proposed by us of the nature whereof these Articles are, may not without
'such a general consent be enjoyned by our Authority.

His Majesties
Letter to the
Assembly.

'This were a mis-knowing of your places, and withal a disclaiming of that innate
'Power which we have by our calling from God, whereby we have place to dispose
'of things external in the Church as we shall think them to be convenient and pro-
'fitable for advancing true Religion among our subjects. Wherefore let it be your
'care by all manner of wise and discreet persuasions to induce them to an obedi-
'ent yielding to these things, as in duty both to God and us they are bound; and
'do not think we will be satisfied with delays, mitigations and other we know not
'what shifts have been proposed; for we will not be content with any thing but a
'simple and direct acceptation of these Articles in the form sent by us unto you a
'long time past, considering both the lawfulness and undeniable convenience of
'them for the better furtherance of piety and Religion, the establishing whereof
'it had rather have become you to beg of us, than that we should have needed
'thus to urge the practice of them upon you.

'These matters indeed concern you of the Ecclesiastical charge chiefly; neither
'would we have called Noblemen, Barons and others of our good subjects to the
'determination of them, but that we understand the offence of people have been
'so much objected; wherein you must bear with us to say, that no Kingdom doth
'breed or hath at this time more loving, dutiful and obedient subjects than we
'have in that our Native Kingdom of *Scotland*; and so if any disposition hath ap-
'peared to the contrary in any of them, we hold the same to have proceeded from
'among you, albeit of all sorts of men ye are they that both of duty were bound,
'and by particular benefits obliged to have continued your selves, and confirmed
'others

An. 1618.

* others by sound Doctrine and exemplary Life, in a reverent obedience to our commandments. What and how many abuses were offered us by divers of the Ministry there before our happy coming to the Crown of England, we can hardly forget, and yet like not much to remember; neither think we that any Prince living should have kept himself from falling in utter dislike with the profession it self, considering the many provocations that were given unto us: but the love of God and his Truth still upheld us, and will by his grace so do unto the end of our life. Our patience always in forgetting and forgiving of many faults of that sort, and constant maintaining of true Religion against the adversaries, (by whose hateful practices we live in greater peril than you all or any of you) should have produced better effect among you than continual resistance of our best purposes: we wish that we be no more provoked, nor the Truth of God which you teach and profess any longer slandered, by such as under the cloak of seeming holiness walk disorderly amongst you, shaking hands as it were and joyning in this their disobedience to Magistracy with the upholders of Popery. In sum, our hearty desire is, that at this time you make the world see by your proceedings what a dutiful respect you bear to us your Sovereign Prince and natural King and Lord; that as we in love and care are never wanting to you, so ye in an humble submission to our so just demands be not found inferior to others our subjects in any of our Kingdoms. And that the care and zeal of the good of Gods Church, and of the advancing of Piety and Truth, doth chiefly incite us to the following of these matters, God is our witness, the which that it may be before your eyes, and that according to your callings you may strive in your particular places, and in this general Meeting, to do those things which may best serve to the promoting of the Gospel of Christ, even our prayers are earnest to God for you; requiring you in this and other things to credit the bearer hereof, our servant and Chaplain, the Dean of Winchester, whom we have expressly sent thither, that he may bring unto us a certain relation of the particular carriages of all matters, and of the happy event of your Meeting, which by Gods blessing (who is the God of order, peace and truth) we do assuredly expect, unto whose gracious direction we commend you now and for ever.

Given at Theobalds, the
10 of July 1616.

The five Articles concluded.

The Letter being read once and again, as the custom is with Letters of such importance, the Archbishop of S. Andrews resumed shortly the Heads thereof, advising them, as he had done in his Exhortation, to consider the inconveniences they should draw upon the Church by the refusal of the Articles. After which the Rolls being called, certain of the most wise and discreet Ministers were set apart to confer upon the Articles. How matters proceeded in the said Assembly you may learn by the Defence afterward published, in answer to a lying and seditious Pamphlet that came forth in print against the Conclusions there taken. To our story it shall suffice, that after long reasoning, first in the Conference, and then in the full Assembly, the Articles were concluded in this form.

Article for Kneeling.

1. Seeing we are commanded by God himself, that when we come to worship him, we fall down and kneel before the Lord our Maker, and considering withal that there is no part of Divine worship more Heavenly and Spiritual than is the the holy Receiving of the blessed Body and Blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, like as the most humble and reverent gesture of our body in our meditation and the lifting up of our hearts best becometh so divine and sacred an action; therefore notwithstanding that our Church hath used since the Reformation of Religion to celebrate the holy Communion to the people sitting, by reason of the great abuse of kneeling used in the Idolatrous worship of the Sacrament by the Papists; yet seeing all memory of by-past Superstitions is past, in reverence of God and in due regard of so divine a Mystery, and in remembrance of so mystical an Union as we are made partakers

takers of, the Assembly thinketh good, that the blessed Sacrament be celebrated hereafter meekly and reverently upon their Knees.

2. If any good Christian visited with long sickness and known to the Pastor, by reason of his present infirmity be unable to resort to the Church for receiving the holy Communion, or being sick shall declare to the Pastor upon his conscience that he thinks his sickness to be deadly, and shall earnestly desire to receive the same in his house, the Minister shall not deny him so great a comfort, lawful warning being given to him the night before, and that there be three or four of good Religion and conversation, free of all lawful impediments, present with the sick person to communicate with him, who must also provide a convenient place in his house, and all things necessary for the reverent administration thereof, according to the order prescribed in the Church.

3. Item, The Minister shall often admonish the people that they desert not the Baptism of Infants any longer than the next Lords day after the Child be born, unless upon a great and reasonable cause declared to the Minister, and by him approved, the same be continued: As also they shall warn them that without great cause they procure not their Children to be baptized at home in their houses; but when great need shall compel them to baptize in private houses (in which case the Minister shall not refuse to do it, upon the knowledge of the great need, and being timely required thereto) then Baptism shall be administered after the same form as it should have been in the Congregation: and the Minister shall the next Lords day after any such private Baptism declare in the Church that the Infant was so baptized, and therefore ought to be received as one of the true Flock of Christs fold.

4. Forasmuch as one of the special means for staying the increase of Popery and settling of true Religion in the hearts of people is, that a special care be taken of young Children their Education, and how they are Catechized, which in time of the Primitive Church most carefully was attended, as being most profitable to cause young Children in their tender years drink in the knowledge of God and his Religion, but is now altogether neglected, in respect of the great abuse and errors which crept into the Popish Church by making thereof a Sacrament of Confirmation; therefore that all Superstitions built thereupon may be rescinded, and that the matter it self, being most necessary for the Education of youth, may be reduced to the Primitive integrity, it is thought good that the Minister in every Parish should Catechize all young Children of eight years of age, and see that they have the knowledge and be able to make rehearsal of the Lords Prayer, Belief and Ten Commandments, with Answers to the Questions of the small Catechism used in our Church; and that every Bishop in his Visitation shall censure the Minister who shall be found remiss therein: and the said Bishops shall cause the said Children to be presented before them, and bless them with Prayer for the increase of their knowledge, and the continuance of Gods heavenly Graces with every one of them.

5. As we abhor the Superstitious observation of Festival-days by the Papists, and detest all licentious and profane abuses thereof by the common sort of professors; so we think that the inestimable benefits received from God by our Lord Jesus Christ, his Birth, Passion, Resurrection, Ascension, and Sending down of the Holy Ghost, were commendably and godly remembered at certain particular days and times by the whole Church of the world, and may also be now: therefore the Assembly admitteth that every Minister shall upon these days have the Commemoration of the foresaid inestimable benefits, and make choice of several and pertinent Texts of Scripture, and frame their Doctrine and Exhortation thereto; and rebuke all Superstitious observation and licentious profanation thereof.

These Articles concluded, order was given to intimate the same in all the Parish-Churches, and the Ministers enjoyned to inform their people of the Lawfulness thereof, and exhort them to obedience. But this being neglected of the greater part, was not the least cause of the Distractions that ensued, especially in the Church of Edinburgh, where the people being still fostered in an opinion that their Ministers would not go from their former practice, when they saw them give obedience, withdrew themselves in great numbers, and ran to seek the Communion from other Ministers they knew to be refractory. His Majesty always upon advertisement

The Articles ordained to be intimated in all Churches.

An. 1619.

The Earl of Argyle fell from his profession.

A Comet or Blazing star.

Queen Anne dieth.

An. 1619.

The Synod of Dordrecht said to have condemned the five Articles of Perth.

The Bishop of Galloway dieth.

The Bishop of Breichen translated to Galloway.

A distraction betwixt the Ministers and Magistrates of Edinburgh.

The disorder pacified.

tisement that the Articles were concluded, caused publish the same at the Mercat-Cross of the principal Burghs, commanding the subjects to obey and conform themselves, under the pain of his Highness displeasure.

At the same time the King being informed that the Earl of Argyle (who the Summer preceding had obtained licence upon a pretext of some infirmity to go unto the Spadan Wells) was revolted from the Religion, and that he entertained some secret practice with old Mackrannald for disturbing the Country, did recal his licence, and ordained him to be cited upon threescore days to appear before the Council. He not appearing at the time appointed was denounced Rebel, and process of Forfeiture intended against him. Whether he was perverted by his English Lady who was Popish, or that to gain the favour of Spain he did change his Religion, is doubtful; but thereby he lost his Majesties favor (who could never endure an apostate Papist) and undid his own reputation. Some ten years after he made means for his peace, and was permitted to return unto England.

In the month of November a Comet or Blazing-star of more than ordinary brightness shined many nights together. It was held to portend great Calamities, and was interpreted by divers to have foretold the Troubles that shortly after arose in Germany. But as every one is ready to make his own construction of such things, some with us did take it to foretel the death of our noble Queen Anne, who deceased some months after, to the great regrave of all honest subjects; a courteous and humane Prince, and one in whom there was much goodness.

It was in this year that the Synod in Dordrecht in Holland was gathered for repressing the Arminians, and thither did the Troublers of our Church (thinking to procure their approbation) direct a relation of the Government of the Scottish Church. But the Synod declining all questions of Discipline, held themselves to the Points of Doctrine controverted, and having condemned the Five Articles wherein the Arminians dissented from the Reformed Churches, the Acts of Perth Assembly being also five in number, it was given out among the vulgar sort, that they had condemned the Synod of Perth, and for a time was the people entertained by some Ministers in those conceits. The relation was confuted a little after, and the falsehood thereof discovered; yet they ceased not by their Libels and Pamphlets to injure the most worthy men, and among others the Bishop of Galloway, whom they vexed so with their Papers, as he, taking the business more to heart than was needful, fell in a sickness, whereof he deceased in the beginning of the same year. An excellent and ready Preacher he was, and a singular good man, but one that affected too much the applause of the popular. The good opinion of the people is to be desired, if it may be had lawfully; but when it cannot be obtained (as who is he that can please all men and at all times?) the testimony of a well-informed Conscience should suffice. *Mala opinio bene parva delectat*, said Seneca, An ill opinion well purchased (that is, for sustaining a good cause, or keeping a straight course) should work us joy and delight, not grieve us at all.

Upon the death of Mr. William Couper, Mr. Andrew Lambe was translated to Galloway, to whom succeeded in Breichen Mr. David Lindeley, then Minister at Dundee. At Edinburgh between the Magistrates and Ministers a great strife and discontent was raised, because of the Peoples straying from their Churches, at which the Magistrates were thought to connive. Their usurpation besides in Church-affairs, especially the intending of a Clerk upon the Church-Session, did minister no small cause of offence. The matter was brought before the King, where in behalf of the Ministers it was said, *That they were unkindly used for the obedience given to the Acts of Perth Assembly*; the Magistrates by their Commissioner did on the other side inform, *That the Ministers were the cause of the peoples disobedience, some of them having directly preached against the Acts of Perth, and all of them affirmed that these Acts were concluded against their hearts.*

His Majesty remitting the trial of these complaints to his Secretary and to the Archbishops of S. Andrews and Glasgow, when as they had examined the same, it appeared that both the one and the other were in fault, and that the mistakings among them were not the least cause of the disorders in that Church, whereupon they

they were admonished to lay aside their grudges, and to keep one course, for the retaining the people in the obedience of God and his Majesty. The Magistrates and Council were likewise commanded, as the King had given direction, to provide four other Ministers, besides those that were in present service, and perfect the division of the Town in Parishes, which had been often promised. And so shortly after this were Mr. William Forbes Minister at Aberdeen, Mr. John Guthrie Minister at Perth, Mr. John Maxwell Minister at Murthlack, and Mr. Alexander Thomson Minister at Cambuslang translated from their several Churches, and placed Ministers at Edinburgh.

The next year beginning the year 1620 the Wars of Bohemia growing hot, and the Palatinate invaded, the King took in mind the defence of his Daughter and Grand-children in their Patrimony; and because a supply of money was required to such a business, the Council was desired to travel with the Noblemen the Members of Session, and the town of Edinburgh, for a voluntary Contribution, knowing that others by their example would be drawn thereto. The Noblemen meeting to this effect the 24 of November expressed a great forwardness to satisfy his Majesties desire; yet fearing that all the Contributions when they were brought together should prove unworthy, advised the Council rather to call a Parliament, and impose upon the subjects by way of Tax a reasonable proportion, according to the wealth and substance that every man had. This being signified to the King, he refused to have any supply by Tax, for he considered that the collection would require a time, and a burthen should that way be cast upon the Commons and poor laborers of the ground, which would make an outcry among the people: therefore he desired as before, that Noblemen and those others he had named in his first Letter should be urged to shew their liberality.

A new Meeting for this business being kept in January thereafter, divers overtures were made for giving his Majesty content: the Noblemen that were present made offer to give a benevolent according to their abilities; and divers of their rank being minors, and others abroad in their travels, they saw not who would undertake for them. The town of Edinburgh being pressed with an answer excused themselves as being one Burgh only, and lacking the concurrence of the rest, without which any Supply they could make would be of little worth. The Advocates, Clerks and other members of the Session gave in effect the like answer, so as they were forced to turn unto the first overture for a Parliament. And for that the difficulties of the Contribution could not so well be expressed by Letter, it was thought meet that one of the Council should be sent to inform his Majesty of the reasons and necessity they had to call a Parliament. This employment being laid upon the Archbishop of S. Andrews, he took journey about the end of the same month, and obtained after a little insisting his Majesties Warrant for a Parliament: thus was it indicted to keep at Edinburgh the first of June, and prorogued to the 23 of July thereafter.

In this mean time it happened that Sir Gideon Murray Thesaurer-deputy, being then at Court, an information was made against him for abusing his Office to the Kings prejudice. The informer was James Stewart, styled the Lord Ochiltry, who, out of malice carried to the Gentleman for the strictness which he had used in calling him to an account for the duties of Orkney, made offer to justify the Accusation; and, by the assistance of some of better credit than himself, prevailed so far, that the matter was remitted to the trial of certain Counsellors at home. The Gentleman being of a great spirit, and taking impatiently that his Fidelity, whereof he had given so great proof, should be called in question upon the information of a malicious enemy, by the way as he returned from Court did contract such a deep Melancholy, as neither counsel nor comfort could reclaim him; so far was he overgone, that no advice given by friends, nor offer of their assistance, nor the company and counsel of any whomsoever could reduce him to his wonted estate; and so after he came to Edinburgh within a few dayes departed this life. It was not doubted if he should have patiently attended the trial, but he had been cleared, and the Accusation proved a mere Calumny; nor was it thought that the King

An. 1620. Four other Ministers placed at Edinburgh.

An. 1620. A Contribution required for defence of the Palatinate.

An. 1621. A Parliament desired by the Estates.

Sir Gideon Murray his death.

An. 1621. did trust the Information, but only desired to have the honesty of his servant appear: yet such was his weakness (courage I cannot call it) as, giving scope to his passions of Anger and grief, he suffered himself to be therewith oppressed. By his death the King did lose a good servant as ever he had in that charge; and did sore forthink that he should have given ear to such Delations. But of that pestilent sort some will never be wanting in the Courts of Princes, and happy is the King that can rid himself of liars in that kind. The Gentleman alwaies died happily, and had his corps interred in the Church of *Halirudhouse*.

The Marquess of Hamilton keepeth the Parliament.

Matters concluded in Parliament.

The King received great content by the things concluded.

A Letter from his Majesty to the Bishops.

A Letter from his Majesty to the Council.

The Marquess of Hamilton wronged by a false rumour.

The time of Parliament drawing near, the Marquess of *Hamilton* was employed as Commissioner for keeping the same. At his first coming having understood the business that some turbulent Ministers were making to impede the Ratification of the Acts of *Perth* Assembly, he caused discharge all the Ministers out of the Town, the ordinary Preachers excepted, and two of the number that would not be made quiet he sent prisoners to *Dumbarton*; all that time he did carry himself and the matters committed to his trust with such wisdom and foresight, as within a few daies he brought them all to the end which he wished, without any open contradiction. The Subsidie desired was granted, the Acts of *Perth* Assembly ratified, and divers Constitutions for the profit and good of the Country, as in the Acts imprinted may be seen. At the closing of the Parliament, which was the fourth of *August*, such abundance of Rain with such Thundrings and Lightnings did fall, as the Noblemen and others of the Estates were compelled to leave their horses, and betake them to their Coaches; which the Factious sort did interpret to be a visible sign of Gods Anger for ratifying the Acts of *Perth*: others in derision of their folly said, that it was to be taken for an Approbation from Heaven, likening the same to the Thundrings and Lightnings at the giving of the Law of Moses.

This was the last Parliament of King *James* in this Kingdom, and that wherein he received greatest content: for the *Puritan* Faction had boasted that the Acts of *Perth* should never pass in a Law, (so confident they were of their favorers in the Parliament-house) and now that they failed in their hopes, he trusted they would become more wise. But the King no less careful to have the Acts obeyed than he was to have them pass in a Law, did commend the same by two several Letters to the Bishops and Lords of the Council.

To the Bishops he said, *That as they had to do with two sorts of enemies, Papists and Puritans, so they should go forward in Action both against the one and the other. That Popistry was a disease of the Mind, and Puritanism of the Brain; and the Antidote of both a grave, settled and well-ordered Church in the obedience of God and their King whereof he willed them to be careful, and to use all means for reducing those that either of simplicity or wilfulness did erre.*

In his Letter directed to the Council, he put them in mind of that he had written in his *Basilicon Doron*, *That he would have Reformation begin at his own elbow, which he esteemed the Privy-Council and Session with their members to be, as having their places and promotions by him. Therefore commanded them and every one of that number to conform themselves to the obedience of the Orders of the Church now established by Law, which he trusted they would readily do; otherwise if any Counsellor or Sessioner should refuse and make difficulty, he did assure them that if within 14 daies before Christmas they did not resolve to conform themselves, they should lose their places in his service; and if any Advocate or Clerk should not at that time obey, they should be suspended from the exercises of their Offices, and the Fees and casualties thereunto belonging, unto such time as they gave obedience. In the same Letter he willed the Council to take order, that none should bear Office in any Burgh, nor be chosen Sheriff, Deputy or Clerk, but such as did conform themselves in all points to the said Orders.* This Letter was of the date, At the honor of *Hampton*, the 29 of September, 1621.

By this may the Reader judge of that which hath been commonly affirmed, That the Nobleman who was Commissioner should have promised at the passing

of the Acts, that none should be oppressed with the obedience of them, but all left to their own pleasures. That his Majesty gave no such Warrant it appears by the foresaid Letters, and that the Nobleman would go an inch from that he was trusted with none that knew him will believe. The truth is, that in most persuasive words (and with that majesty which became the place he represented) he did require them all to acquiesce, and willingly obey the Conclusions taken, and not to draw upon themselves by their disobedience his Majesties anger, assuring them in that case, that his Majesty should not in his daies press any more change or alteration in matters of that kind without their own consents. And this was all the Nobleman spake, as divers yet living may remember.

In the beginning of the next year the Chancellor died at his house of *Pinky* near *Mussilburgh*, in a good age, and with the repute of many; for he exercised his place with great moderation, and to the contentment of all honest men: he was ever inclining to the *Roman* Faith, as being educated at *Rome* in his younger years, but very observant of good Order, and one that hated lying and dissimulation, and above all things studied to maintain peace and quietness. Sir *George Hay* Clerk of Register being then at Court was preferred to the place, and by his dismissal Mr. *John Hamilton* Brother to the Earl of *Hadington* made Keeper of the Register.

About this time upon advertisements sent from *England* of the enlargement of certain Papists and Priests that were there imprisoned, a rumor was dispersed that the King was inclining to a Toleration of Popery, and would grant Liberty of Conscience. This rumor was increased by occasion of certain Directions sent from the King to the Bishops of *England* for reforming certain abuses crept into the Church, whereby the Preachers and Lecturers were commanded on *Sundays* and Holy-daies in the afternoon to teach the Catechism only, or then some Text taken out of the Creed, the Ten Commandments, or Lords Prayer; and in their Preaching to abstain from handling the deep points of Predestination, Reprobation, Election, the Universality, Efficacy, Resistibility or Irresistibility of Grace, leaving these Themes as fitter for the Schools than for simple Auditors: as likewise not to presume in any Lecture or Sermon to limit and bound by way of positive Doctrine the Power, Prerogative, Jurisdiction, Authority or Duty of Sovereign Princes, or to meddle with matters of State, having reference betwixt Princes and people, otherwise than they were instructed and presided in the Homily of Obedience, and others of that sort set forth by publick authority. These Directions were interpreted to be a discharge of Preaching, at least a confining of Preachers to certain Points of Doctrine, which they called a limiting of the Spirit of God; add, as people will ever be judging and censuring publick actions, every one made the construction whereunto their humors did lead them.

The better and wiser sort, who considered the present estate of things, gave a far other judgment thereof: for as then the King was treating with the *French* King for Peace to the Protestants in *France*, and with the King of *Spain* for withdrawing his forces from the *Palatinate*, at which time it was no way fitting that he should be executing the rigor of his Laws against Papists at home, while he did labor for Peace to them of the Religion abroad; the most likely way to obtain what he did seek of these Princes being a Moderation of the Severity of Laws against Priests and Papists, at least for a time. And as to the Directions given to the Preachers, the same they judged both necessary and profitable, considering the indiscretion of divers of that sort, who to make ostentation of their learning, or to gain the applause of the popular, would be meddling with Controversies they scarce understood, and with matters exceeding the capacities of people.

The King offending with these rumors, which he heard were dispersed in both Kingdoms, took occasion in a Parliament assembled about that time in *England* to speak to them, and say, *I understand that I am blamed for not executing the Laws made against Papists; but ye should know that a King and his Laws are not unfitly compared to a Rider and his Horse, the Spur is sometimes to be used, but not alwaies, the Bridle is sometimes to be held in, at other times to be let loose, as the Rider finds cause: just so a King is not at all times to put in execution the rigor of his Laws, but he*

A a a 2

His Majesties Speech in a Parliament held at that time in *England*.

The Chancellor for Staton dieth.

Rumors dispersed of Toleration intended.

The judgment of the wiser sort.

must

An. 1623. *must for a time and upon just grounds dispense with the same, as I protest to have done in the present case, and to have conniv'd only for a time upon just cause, howbeit not known to all. If any man for the favor shew'd to a Priest or Papist will judge me to be inclining that way, he wrongs me exceedingly. My words and writings and actions have sufficiently demonstrated what my resolution is in all matters of Religion.*

An. 1623. His Majesties Directions to the Council of Scotland. Some mo words to this purpose he uttered in that Meeting: but in a Letter directed to the Council of Scotland he was somewhat more rough, finding fault with those that presumed to censure his proceedings, and commanding them to take an exact trial of such as had broken out into any such insolencies either in word or deed; and to punish them severely according to the Laws. This was not well published, when the news of the Princes journey to Spain made all good men amazed: for hearing that he was gone accompanied only with the Duke of Buckingham and another servant, the fear of inconveniences that might befall his Person did mightily trouble them. But it pleased God both in his going and returning safely to conduct and protect him. The occasion and success of that journey I shall shortly relate.

The Princes journey to Spain, and the occasion thereof.

A Match had been treating of a long time betwixt the Prince and a Daughter of Spain, which received many hinderances both at home and in that Court; but it being thought that the delays made in these parts would be easily removed by the presence of the Prince himself, whereof great hopes were given by Gundomar the Spanish Ambassador, the King gave way to the Journey, as hoping by this mean to have the Palatinate freed from the vexations of War, and a general Peace established throughout Christendom. Thus the Prince accompanied in manner aforesaid departed secretly from Court, and landing at Calais went through France undiscovered, and after a few daies came safely to the Court of Spain.

The Princes entertainment in Spain.

At his coming he was kindly received and welcomed with divers Courtly Complements, but found a greater strangeness than he expected; for although he was still kept in hope of the Match, yet he was not permitted to visit the Lady, but upon condition to speak in such and such terms, and no otherwise. Afterward they began to move him touching his Religion, desiring he should confer with some Divines, for that he could not have the Infanta to Wife, unless he was converted and became a Roman Catholick. The Prince replying, *That he would not change his Religion for such a worldly respect, nor would he enter in conference with any Divines to that purpose, for if they did not prevail with him, it would breed a greater discontent; it was then told him, that he must attend till a Dispensation was procured from Rome, and that in the meantime he should be entertained as a Prince, but not as a Tutor.*

The Letter of Pope Gregory the Fifteenth to the Prince.

This Dispensation being returned, which had in it a Condition, that the King of Spain should take Oath to obtain the King of Britains consent unto certain Demands concerning Religion, there was a Letter therewith sent from Pope Gregory the Fifteenth to the Prince, wherein after many fair and plausible words he said *That as Pope Gregory was the first that induced the people of England to submit themselves to the See Apostolick, so he bearing the same name, and being his equal in the height of Dignity, though inferior to him in Vertue and holiness, desired nothing more than to follow his pattern, and promote the health and happiness of that Kingdom; the rather because his Peregrination at that time had given such hopes of an happy success: for since he was arrived in Spain and at the Court of the Catholick King, with a desire to joyn in Marriage with the House of Austria (which intention he greatly commended) he could not believe that he did really desire the Match and in heart abhor the Catholick Religion, and seek to ruine the holy See of Rome. Then falling to a prayer, he besought God the Father of lights to advance him (the most fair Flower of the Christian world, and the only hope of Great Britain) to that noble inheritance which his illustrious Progenitors had gained by the defence of the Apostolick Authority, and the suppression of the monsters of all Heresies. Towards the end of the Letter, willing him to call to mind the ancient times, and make his Prayers to his Ancestors, that they would vouchsafe to teach him the way by which they went to Heaven; he ask'd how he could with patience bear the*

Hereticks

An. 1624. Hereticks call them damned, whom the Catholick Faith doth testifie to reign in Heaven, and to dwell exalted above all the Princes of the earth. In chd returning to his Supplications, he said, *that the Catholick Church Roman stretching forth her arms to embrace him with all affection as her most desired Son, he could not perform any thing of greater comfort to the Nations of Christendom than to bring again the profession of that most noble Island to the Prince of the Apostles, whereof he could not despair, his hopes being set on God, in whose hands are the hearts of Kings, &c.*

This Letter given at Rome in the Palace of S. Peter the 20 of April 1623, and in the third year of his Apostolate, was delivered to the Prince about the midst of May, which he received courteously, thanking the Pope for his good affection. Thereafter understanding that the Dispensation was granted, he pressed the performance of the Marriage, but was answered, *That the Condition must first be fulfilled, and the Articles concerning the Infanta her liberty of Profession when she came into England, and the Education of her Children, if God should grant her any by him, drawn up in form.* These Articles being advised by a Commission of Divines were sent into England, and shortly after returned, signed with his Majesties hand, and approved by the Council. And now it was thought there should be no more delays used, but other excuses were forged; as, *That it was not fitting the Infanta should go to England before the business of the Parliament was settled, and that these Articles must be sent to Rome, and allowed by the Pope.* The Prince perceiving that there was nothing really intended on the King of Spain his part, and that the Treaty was only entertained till the King of Spain had reduced Germany in his power, resolved to be gone, and declaring the necessity he had to return, did leave a Proxie in the hands of the Earl of Bristol (the Ambassador legier) for espousing the Infanta, how soon the Articles returned from Rome. So the King of Spain having conveyed the Prince a little way towards the Sea, they parted in most loving terms; and in hope the Match should take effect. But the Prince being after that informed of a conclusion laid, *'That if the Match should be farther pressed the Infanta to eschew the same should presently enter into the house of los Descalceados, a Monastery of bare-footed Nuns)* after he was parted, sent and commanded Bristol not to make use of the Proxie till he should advertise.

The success of the Match intended with Spain.

The Prince, having for his convoy home eleven of the Kingships and some Merchants, arrived at Portsmouth the 5 of October with his whole retinue, and went the next day to Roysson where the King lay. The joy was exceeding great of all sorts of people, and publick thanks given to God throughout all the Churches of both the Kingdoms for his safe return. Soon after, when the King perceived by the report, that neither was the Match truly meant, nor the Palatinate like to be restored, he directed the Earl of Bristol to insist for the Restitution, and, if he was put off with delays, to take his leave and come home; which also he did. Thus was the Marriage which had been long treated of quite dissolved, the King saying, *That he would never marry his Son with a Portion of his only Sisters tears.*

The Prince returneth to England.

The year following the Ministers of Edinburgh were greatly vexed by a sort of mutinous people, who separating themselves from the publick Assemblies kept private Conventicles, and went so far as to oppose publicly the order established for receiving the holy Communion. The leader of those was William Rigge, elected one of the Bailiffs for that year. This man puffed up with a conceit of his own abilities did dream of no less than the overturning of the Church Orders, and reforming of the Ministry in such things as he held to be amiss: hereupon, in a meeting ordinarily kept before the celebration of the holy Sacrament, he did publicly challenge Doctor William Forbes, who was afterwards preferred to the Bishoprick of Edinburgh, for divers points of Doctrine delivered by him in his Sermons; and when as he refused to be judged by him and the Laicks that assisted, the said Bailiff did openly threaten them all, that unless they returned to the old form of ministring the holy Communion, the whole people should forsake them. Herein he was assisted by John Hamilton an Apothecary, John Dickson, William Thomson, John Meene, and some other base companions; who being called before the

An. 1624. A Trouble in Edinburgh raised against the Ministers.

An. 1625. the Council were charged to leave the Town, and the Bailiff *William Rigge* deprived of his Bailiwick, and declared incapable of any publick Office in time coming.

This trouble gave occasion of settling the state of that Church in a better case than in former times; the Ministers being ordained to reside in their own Parishes, and have allowed to them a sufficient maintenance; the popular Election of Ministers, when as places by an occasion fell void, discharged, and the Presentation appointed to be made by the Provost, Bayliffs, and Council; the Sessions to be chused yearly by the Magistrates and Ministers for the particular Parishes, who should convene every year some ten daies after the Election of the Magistrates for that business; the Meeting before the Communion, wherein the Ministers were accustomed to be censured by the people, simply prohibited: with divers other particulars serving to the orderly ministration of all things in the Church.

The death of
Lodowick
Duke of *Rich-*
mond and *Len-*
nox.

The 16 of February *Lodowick* Duke of *Richmond* and *Lennox* deceased, to the great regrate of all that knew him; a Nobleman of excellent parts, whose very aspect and countenance did promise much good. He was thrice married, first to a Sister of the Earl of *Gomry* by whom he had no Children; his second Wife was a Sister of the Lord *Loudon*, by whom he had a Daughter and Son that died both young. In his third and last Marriage with the Countess of *Hartford* he found more content than in both the other, but lived with her only some few years, being taken away in the 48 year of his age. His Brother *Esme* a noble Gentleman succeeded, but did not survive him long, for he died the next year, leaving a hopeful succession of Children behind him.

An. 1625.
The death of
James Mar-
quess of *Ha-*
milton.

In the next year, in the month of March, *James* Marquess of *Hamilton* deceased also; a Nobleman of rare gifts, and fitted for the greatest affairs, which he shewed at his Deputation to the Parliament 1621, and at other divers occasions. His death was the more grievously taken, that it was thought it was procured by poison, whereof the monstrous swellings in his face and body afore his death gave great appearance. His Corps brought to *Scotland* by Sea was interred at *Hamilton* with his predecessors.

The King
much affected
with these
deaths, con-
tracts a Fever
and dieth.

These two Deaths affected the King exceedingly; and when it was told him that the Marquess was dead, he said, *If the Branches be thus cut down, the stock cannot continue long*: which saying proved too true, for shortly after he fell into the Fever that the Physicians call *Hemitriteam*, a dangerous Fever to those that are grown in years, and thereof died at *Theobalds* the 27 of March, being Sunday, about twelve of the clock in the forenoon. The Thursday preceeding his death he desired the blessed Sacrament to be ministred unto him, which he received with great devotion, professing to the Prince his Son and those that stood by, that he had received a singular comfort thereby, wishing all men to do the like when they were visited in that sort. From that time to the hour of his death he was still almost praying, and some one sentence or other of Piety ever in his mouth. As he drew near to his end, the Prayer usually said at the hour of death being ended, having repeated once or twice these words, *Veni, Domine Jesu*, he gave up the ghost without any pangs, as are commonly seen in persons that are dying. He was the *Salomon* of this Age, admired for his wise Government, and for his knowledge of all manner of Learning. For his Wisdom, Moderation, love of Justice, for his Patience and Piety (which shined above all his other Vertues, and is witnessed in the Learned Works he left to posterity) his Name shall never be forgotten, but remain in honour so long as the world endureth. We that have had the honour and happiness many times to hear him discourse of the most weighty matters, as well of Policy as Divinity, now that he is gone, must comfort our selves with the remembrance of these Excellencies, and reckon it not the least part of our happiness to have lived in his days.

Many doleful Epitaphs in all Languages were composed to express the sorrow conceived by his Death. This following penned by a learned Divine in our vulgar Language did affect me so, as I thought good to subjoyn it.

An

An Epitaph upon King *JAMES* his death, written by the Reverend Divine, Dr. *Morley C. C. C. Oxon.*

ALL who have eyes awake and weep,
For he whose Waking wrought our Sleep.
Is fallen asleep himself, and never
Shall wake again till wak'd for ever:
Deaths iron hand hath clos'd those Eyes
Which were at once three Kingdoms Spies,
Both to foresee, and to prevent
Dangers as soon as they were meant.
That Head, whose working Brain alone
Wrought all mens quiet but its own,
Now lies at rest. O let him have
The Peace he lent us, in his Grave.
If that no *Naboth* all his Reign
Was for his fruitful Vineyard slain;
If no *Uriah* lost his life
Because he had too fair a Wife;
Then let no *Shimei's* Curses wound
His Honour, or profane his Ground.
Let no black-mouth'd, no rank-breath'd Cur,
Peaceful *JAMES* his Ashes stir.
Princes are Gods; O do not then
Rake in their Graves to prove them Men.
For two and twenty years long care;
For providing such an Heir,
Who to the Peace we had before
May add twice two and twenty more;
For his days travels and nights watches;
For his craz'd sleep, stoln by snatches;
For Two fair Kingdoms joyn'd in One;
For all he did, or meant t'have done;
Do this for him, write on his Dust,
JAMES the Peaceful and the Just.

The End.

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A LIST OF THE
NOBILITY
OF THE

Kingdom of Scotland,
The First of January, 167⁶.

D U K E S.

HIS Royal Highness the Duke
of Albany. | The Duke of } Buccleuch.
The Duke of Hamilton. | } Lauderdale.
| } Lennox.

M A R Q U E S S E S.

The Marquess of } Huntley.
| } Douglas. | The Marquess of } Montrose.
| } Athole.

E A R L S.

The Earl of } Argile.
| } Crawford & Lindsey.
| } Errol.
The Earl Marishall. | Southerland.
| Marre.
| Airth.
| Rothes.
The Earl of } Morton.
| Buchan.
| Glencairne.
| Eglinton.

The Earl of } Caillie.
| } Moray.
| } Nithsdale.
| } Winton.
| } Linlithgow.
| } Home.
The Earl of } Pearth.
| } Dunfermling.
| } Wigton.
| } Kinghorne.
| } Roxburgh.
| } Kellie.

A List of the NOBILITY of Scotland.

| | | | |
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| | Galloway. | | Levin. |
| | Scaforth. | | Annandall. |
| | Louthian. | | Dyfert. |
| | Kinnouie. | | Pannuire. |
| | Loudon. | | Tweddale. |
| | Dumfreise. | | Northesk. |
| | Queensberry. | | Kincardin. |
| The Earl of | Sterling. | The Earl of | Forfar. |
| | Elgin. | | Balcarras. |
| | Southesk. | | Midleton. |
| | Fraquair. | | Aboyne. |
| | Aneram. | | Tarras. |
| | Wemes. | | Newburgh. |
| | Dalhousie. | | Kilmarnock. |
| | Airlie. | | Dundonald. |
| | Findlater. | | Dunbartan. |
| | Carnwath. | | |

VISCOUNTS.

| | | | |
|--------------------|------------|--------------|--------------|
| Viscount Falkland. | | | of Kingston. |
| | Dunbar. | | of Oxford. |
| | Stormont. | The Viscount | Irving. |
| The Viscount of | Kenmore. | | of Kilgith. |
| | Arbuthnot. | | Dumblane. |
| | Frederick. | | |

LORDS.

| | | | |
|----------|-----------|----------|--------------|
| | Forbes. | | Mordington. |
| | Salton. | | Semple. |
| The Lord | Gray. | The Lord | Elphinstone. |
| | Cathcart. | | Oliphant. |
| | Sinclair. | | Lowat. |

The

A List of the NOBILITY of Scotland.

| | | | |
|----------|----------------|----------|--------------|
| | Borthwick. | | Frazer. |
| | Rosse. | | Bargenie. |
| | Torphichen. | | Bamsie. |
| | Lindores. | | Clibank. |
| | Balmerinloch. | | Dunkell. |
| | Blantyre. | | Halkerton. |
| | Cardross. | | Belhaven. |
| | Jedburgh. | | Abercrombie. |
| | Burghlie. | | Carmichael. |
| The Lord | Madertie. | The Lord | Duff. |
| | Cranston. | | Rollo. |
| | Melville. | | Colville. |
| | Napier. | | Ruthven. |
| | Cameron. | | Mc. Donald. |
| | Cramond. | | Rutherford. |
| | Rae. | | Bellenden. |
| | Forrester. | | Newark. |
| | Petsligo. | | Bruntisland. |
| | Kirkcudbright. | | |

A LIST OF THE ARCH-BISHOPS and BISHOPS OF SCOTLAND.

| | | | |
|-------------------------------|------------|---------------|------------|
| The Arch-Bishop of S. Andrew. | | | Rosse. |
| The Arch-Bishop of Glasgow. | | | Brechen. |
| | Edinburgh. | | Dumblane. |
| | Galloway. | The Bishop of | Caithness. |
| The Bishop of | Dunkell. | | the Isles. |
| | Aberdeen. | | Argyle. |
| | Murray. | | Orkney. |

THE END.

AN
APPENDIX
TO THE
HISTORY
OF
The Church of Scotland;

CONTAINING
The Succession of the *ARCHBISHOPS* and *BISHOPS* in their several *Sees*, from the *Reformation* of
Religion, until the year 1676.

AS ALSO
The several *Orders* of *MONKS* and *FRIERS*, &c.
in *Scotland*, before the *Reformation* :

WITH
The Foundation of the *UNIVERSITIES* and *COLLEDGES*,
their *Benefactors*, *Principals*, *Professours* of *Divinity*, and present
Masters :

AND
An Account of the *GOVERNMENT*, *LAWS* and *CONSTITUTION* of the *Kingdom*.

LONDON,

Printed by E. Fleisher, for R. Royston, Bookseller to the KING's most
Sacred MAJESTY, Anno Domini MDC LXXVII.

AN
APPENDIX
TO THE
HISTORY
OF
The Church of Scotland.

A



THE P R E F A C E.

I May be justly ashamed to appear in print near so great an Authour, whose Work is received and entertained with such universal Applause, that it comes to be reckoned among the Patterns of History. But many do still complain of one Defect, that his History being written chiefly for his own Country, those things that relate to the Constitution and Government there, are rather hinted, and supposed to be understood, then fully opened.

This has made many desire a clear Account of those things; and the Humour of writing the present State of Kingdoms being now common to most Nations, many have wished to see the present State of Scotland. Therefore the quick Sale of this excellent History encouraging the Bookseller to give the World a Fourth Edition of it, he was earnest with me, to write such an Appendix to it as might add somewhat to its value and sale.

He was importunate to find out one who would write a Continuation to it: but I knew well, that both my Abilities in writing and my Informations were too defective to adventure on such a Work: therefore all that I could undertake was only to give the Succession of the Bishops from the time where the former History ends, with the Account of Religious Orders and Houses, the Foundations of the Universities, and the Learned Men that flourished in them, together with the true State of that Kingdom in its Government, Laws, and Supreme Courts. Which I have endeavoured to doe as fully as seemed needfull. I did not adventure on so hardy a Work without communicating it to Learned and knowing Persons, by whose directions I have now finished these Sheets.

I have long searched into those things, and have used all the endeavours that were possible, to get any Mistakes that might have crept in with such a variety of Informations rectified: so that I am very confident there are no considerable Errors in matters of fact in the Account that follows.

If my Style or way of writing be not according to what the Reader expects; as I need great Allowances for my Defects, so I know upon what disadvantages I appear after such a grave and Masculine Writer. So that, as when one comes out of a very lightsome place, where his Eyes were filled with Brightness, into a darker Room, it appears quite dark unto him; I have no reason to wonder, if after so clear a Light, all my Informations look like Night and Darknes.

THE CONTENTS.

A List of the ^{KINGS}
^{NOBILITY}
^{ARCH-BISHOPS and BISHOPS} of Scotland.

The First CHAPTER

Containeth *The Succession of the Archbishops and Bishops, in their several Sees, from the Reformation of Religion, to the year 1676.*

The Second CHAPTER

Containeth *The several Orders of Monks and Friars and other Religious persons that were in SCOTLAND, with a Catalogue of their Convents and Founders.*

The Third CHAPTER

Containeth *The Erection of Universities, the Foundation of Colledges, with a Catalogue of the Benefactors, Principals, Professours of Divinity, present Masters and Professours therein, and Learned Writers.*

The Fourth CHAPTER

Containeth *An Account of the Government, Laws and Constitution of the Kingdom; with a Catalogue of the Peers, Shires, Burroughs, Lords of His Majesty's Privy Council, Senatours of the Colledge of Justice, Officers of State, &c.*

Whereunto is added *A Catalogue of the Lord Chancellours of the Kingdom, Writers of the Scottish History, and High Commissioners.*

With *A compleat Catalogue of all the Arch-bishops and Bishops.*

AN

APPENDIX TO THE HISTORY OF THE Church of Scotland.

CHAP. I.

Containing the Succession of the BISHOPS, in their several SEES, from the Reformation of Religion, to the year 1676.

Archbishops of SAINT ANDREWS.

AFTER that Cardinal David Beaton was murdered in his Castle of Saint Andrew, An. Christi 1546. drew by Normand Leslie and his Complices, James Hamilton, Duke of Chastell-rault, Governour of the Realm, did nominate his base Brother John Hamilton, Abbot of Paisley, to the place; who thereupon was elected by the Canons; and soon after confirmed by Pope Paul the Third: who, fearing that Scotland would follow the example of England, in casting off the Yoke of the Roman See, was glad to gratifie the Governour in that particular.

About this time, the Estimation of the Clergy began to decrease, because of their corrupt Lives and gross Ignorance; which induced divers of that number to relinquish their Order, and to make open profession of the Truth: multitudes also of Monks and Friars, leaving their Cloisters, began to exhort the people to renounce the Romish Popperies and Superstitions, and to submit to the Doctrine of Christ, every-where crying out against the Corruptions of the Church. The Prelates, in stead of composing matters calmly, took the contrary course, exercising great Severity against them, and cruelly burning such of the New Religion (as they termed it) as fell into their hands: those who fled they persecuted with the highest Censures of the Church, Burning them in Effigie, and Curling them by Book, Bell, and Candle. But all this Cruelty served to no purpose; for the death of Walter Mill (who was the last Martyr that suffered for Religion) was the very bane of Popery in Scotland; mens minds being now wholly alienated from the Clergy, and their Consciences convinced, that the Doctrine of Jesus Christ did neither allow such cruel Principles, nor countenance such bloody Practices.

To return then to Archbishop John Hamilton, who was attainted of Treason under the Government of the Earl of Murray: He lurked a while amongst his Friends in the West of Scotland; but finding little security there, he betook himself to the strong Castle of Dumbarton, whereof the Lord Fleming was then Governour. But this Fort being negligently kept, was afterwards surpris'd by three Companies of Foot sent thither by the Earl of Lennox, then Regent, commanded by three Captains, Ramsay, Crawford, and

B

and Hume; who seizing upon the Prisoners, sent them to sundry places, and the Archbishop with a strong Guard to Striveling, where he was publicly hanged on a Gibbet erected for that purpose, 1570. He was the only Bishop that suffered by form of Justice in this Kingdom.

1571. At this time the Rents of this Bishoprick were by the Regent conferred upon the Earl of Morton for some years, as a recompence of his great charges in his Embassy to England. That Earl, that he might enjoy them legally, made choice of John Douglas, Provost of the New Colledge of Saint Andrews, (before a Carmelite Friar, and Chaplain to the Earl of Argyle,) to be Titular Bishop; who was, with much opposition of the Presbytery, (for at that time there was no Chapter,) admitted and installed, 1572. This Bishop sat little above two years, and died at Saint Andrews, 1575.

After his death, the Earl of Morton, then Regent, did prefer Patrick Adamson, his Chaplain, to the Bishoprick of Saint Andrews. This Bishop was forely vexed by those of the Kirk-party, who prosecuted him with the highest Censures of their Church, and excommunicated him (very informally) for not submitting to their Judicatory: but the bulliness was afterwards compounded, and the Bishop relaxed. He was a man of great Learning, but an ill Administrator of the Church's Patrimony. He sat fifteen years, and died at Saint Andrews, 1588.

Hereupon the See continued void, and the Profits thereof were by King James the Sixth bestowed on the Duke of Lennox, till the Parliament 1606. wherein the Temporalities of Bishopricks (in former times annexed to the Crown) were restored; the want of which had rendered the Bishops unserviceable both to Church and State. About this time, George Gladstones, Bishop of Cairnes, was translated to Saint Andrews; a man of ready utterance, and of great invention, but of an easie nature, as appears by his being induced so easily to lease out his Benefice for so many Ages to come, to the great detriment of his Successors. But in this he was not singular, for the rest of the Clergy, both Papists and Protestants, did let Leases of their Benefices, to their Friends and others, for Hundreds of years, and that for a pittifull pittance. Which Extravagancy was afterwards restrained by the wisdom of King James, when he was of age; for he enacted, That Bishops should let Leases for nineteen years, Rectours, &c. for their Life-time and three years, and other Beneficed persons for their Life-time and three years, with consent of their Patrons. Bishop Gladstones governed the See ten years, and dying at Saint Andrews 1615, was interred in the South-East Ile of the Parish-Church.

Upon his death, John Spotswood, Archbishop of Glasgow, was translated to Saint Andrews; who procured to this See (whose Rents were almost wholly alienated by his Predecessors) the Revenues of the Priory of Saint Andrews, then in Lay-hands, as also the restitution of three hundred pounds of English money per Annum, of a long time swallowed up in the Crown-rents. The Office of the Chancellery in the State, conferr'd upon him by that Glorious Martyr King CHARLES the First, he discharged to the satisfaction of his Royal Master, and the Church's advantage. He was a person of rare Endowments, and in all things compleatly qualified for his employment. Yet did he not escape the hard measure which other Loyal Subjects afterward tasted of; for by the Covenanters he was forced to retire into England, where he met with entertainment more suitable to his worth. He ended his days in a good old age, and was honourably interred in Westminster-Abby, Anno 1639. after he had governed the See twenty four years.

1637.

About this time our long Peace, and the Plenty which did accompany it, made us wanton, our Prosperity putt us up with Pride, we were Enemies to our own welfare, weary of our present estate, too much desirous of Revolutions, and greedy of Novelties. Our private Discontents begat Jealousies and Animolities, which (since they could be no longer smothered) must needs burst out into a flame. We were afraid of we knew not what; nothing but the Preservation of Religion must be the Pretext, and the Cloak to cover the Knavery which was afterwards acted: and notwithstanding the Satisfaction given unto us by the Best of Kings, in laying aside the Book of Common-Prayer, Book of Canons, and High Commission; yet still we continued dissatisfied. All the Favours conferr'd upon us by the Best of Princes could not ingage us to continue in our Duty and Allegiance to Him. All the good fruit we brought forth was, our ingaging in a most desperate and horrible Rebellion, such as former Ages could hardly parallel. Like Aesop's envious Dog, we would neither be at rest our selves, nor suffer our Neighbours, and such who continued firm in their Allegiance to His Majesty, to be at quiet, and live in Peace. Alas! we metamorphosed our plough-shares into swords; the Son rose up against the

Father,

Father, Brother against Brother; Parishes were divided, Shires went into Factions; yea, the whole Kingdom was divided against it self, sheathing the Sword in its own bowels. Which way soever we look'd, we saw nothing but that which might consume our eyes, and grieve our hearts. If towards the Church, 'twas rent by Schism; the Bishops, and many of the Reverend Clergy, were thrust out, imprisoned, plundered, and banished; the House of Prayer made (in the most literal sense) a Den of Thieves. If towards the State, we saw the Anointed of the Lord thrust out, imprisoned, arraigned, and, under colour of Justice, most barbarously murdered, by those who slew him, like the Heir in the Gospel, that they might seize on his Inheritance. Alas! when Church and State were come to this pass, the case of the poor Land must needs be deplorable. We saw the Loyal Subjects, under the names of Malignants, Traitors, and Rebels, imprisoned, banished, and miserably butchered; their Estates and Lands forfeited and sold; their Houses garri-foned, plundered, and burnt; and their Posterity almost reduced to poverty and misery. Alas! how quickly did our after-games of Loyalty vanish through our own Divisions? Was there any possibility of prospering, so long as we continued Traitors to our selves? When we had almost ruined our selves by our own intestine Divisions, we became a Prey to a Tyrannical Crue of Usurpers: and to compleat our Miseries, our Estates, our Friends, yea our very Consciences groaned under the grievous burthen of that insupportable Yoak, which our own Sins had prepared, and other mens Sins had put on. Nine years did we groan under the Tyranny of these Usurpers; till it pleased Almighty God to red-ress our calamities in mercy, and to free us from the House of bondage, blessing us, after so many Calamities and Miseries, with Peace, by the miraculous Restauration of our most Sacred Sovereign to the Throne of His Ancestours; whom God long preserve, for the Good of this Church and Kingdom.

Now the face of Affairs began to change, and His Majesty, that He might settle the Kingdom, summoned his First Parliament to meet at Edinburgh, January the first 1661: giving a Commission under the Great Seal to John Earl of Middleton, to represent His Person therein. In the First Session, the Solemn League and Covenant was condemned, as an unlawfull and wicked Oath, imposed on the Subjects by a prevailing Faction, contrary to Authority; the pretended Triennial Parliaments from 1640. to 1649. with the Assembly of Glasgow 1638, &c. were annulled; the unjust Transactions at Newcastle 1646. and 1647. condemned; Duke Hamilton's Engagement 1648. approved; the pretended Forfeitures of the Marquesses of Huntly and Montrose, the Earl of Forth, Barons of Glen-gary, Haddo, Dunerub, Delgaty, Harshill, and others, who had suffered for their Loyalty, and all Acts made in prejudice of Lawfull Authority, were rescinded.

In the Second Session, the Hierarchy was restored, which had suffered an Eclipse for twenty four years. Dr. James Sharp, Professour of Divinity at Saint Andrews, (who had been Professour of Philosophy in Saint Leonard's Colledge,) was preferred Archbishop of Saint Andrews, Primate and Metropolitan of Scotland, who now governs the See.

The present Chapter of Saint Andrews (the old one being dissolved with the Priory in the time of the Reformation) had its beginning Anno 1606. by Act of Parliament, and consists of the persons following:

The Prior of Portmollock, Dean;
The Archdeacon of Saint Andrews;

The Vicar of
Saint Andrews;
Couper;
Crail;
Dysert;
Kircaldy;
Pittenweem;
Lewchart;
Kinkell;
Dearlie;

The Vicar of
Fordun;
Kennoway;
Merkinch;
Abercromby;
Forgund;
Fomlin;
Rossie;
Balmerino;
Longforgund;

The Vicar of Eglishgreig; and others, to the number of twenty four.

The Cathedral, which was an ancient and magnificent Fabrick, was demolished with the Priory; since which time the Parish-Church serves for one.

The Diocese of Saint Andrews contains the whole Country of Fife, part of Perthshire, and part of Angus and Mearns.

The Coat of Arms belonging to the Archiepiscopal See of Saint Andrews, is Saphir, a Saltier (being the Cross of Saint Andrew the Apostle) Pearl.

E 2

Bishops

Bishops of EDINBURGH.

THE Bishoprick of *Edinburgh* was founded by King *CHARLES* the First of glorious Memory, about the year 1633. and by him amply endowed.

The first Bishop thereof was *William Forbes*, Doctour of Divinity, one of the Preachers in *Edinburgh*, (before, Principal of the Marischal Colledge of *Aberdene*,) a very worthy Person. His Works shew him to have been a man of vast Learning and sound Judgment. He fate but a little while, and died at *Edinburgh* about the year 1634.

Upon his death, *David Lindsay*, Bishop of *Brischen*, was translated to *Edinburgh*. The Fury of the rude Multitude fell heavy upon this Bishop, even to the manifest danger and hazard of his Life, upon the first reading of the Book of Common Prayer in *Edinburgh*, July 1637. He was thrust out, with the rest of the Bishops, by the Covenanters, 1638.

George Wishart, Doctour of Divinity, was, upon the Restitution of the Hierarchy, Anno 1662. promoted to the Bishoprick of *Edinburgh*. This worthy man was 1638. Preacher at *Leith*, and for his Loyalty had very hard measure from the Covenanters, being thrice plundered of all that he had, and thrice imprisoned in a filthy stinking Gaol. But being delivered from thence, he went beyond Sea with the Marquis of *Moutros* 1646. He was a person of great integrity, and well seen in History. Having in his time seen many Changes and Alterations, from better to worse, and from worse to better, he had his *Nunc dimittis* in peace, at *Edinburgh*, Anno 1670.

Upon his death, *Alexander Young*, Archdeacon of *Saint Andrews*, was preferred to the Bishoprick of *Edinburgh*, who now governs the See.

The Cathedral-Church is that of *Saint Giles*, (of old a Collegiate Church,) a vast and magnificent Structure. It is at present divided into four Partitions, three whereof are allotted to God's publick Worship.

The Diocese of *Edinburgh* containeth the Shires of *Edinburgh*, *Einlishgow*, and *Berwick*, the Constabulary of *Haddington*, and Bailliary of *Lowderdail*.

Bishops of DUNKELD.

AFTER the death of Bishop *Robert Creighton*, *James Patton* was preferred Bishop of *Dunkeld*, Anno 1572. How long he fate I know not. After whose death, the Bishoprick had one or two Titulars, Lay-men; but I cannot recover their Names.

About the year 1606. *James Nicolson*, Parson of *Meigle*, was preferred to the See.

To whom succeeded *Alexander Lindsay*, (Brother to the Baron of *Evelick*,) Rectour of *Saint Madoe*. This Bishop being threatned with the Censures of the Assembly of *Glasgow*, did abjure Episcopacy, and submitted to Presbyterian Government, 1639. and betook himself to the charge of a particular Parish.

Anno 1662. *George Halyburton*, Preacher at *Perth*, was preferred to the See; a very worthy person: he fate little above two years.

Upon his death, *Henry Guthrie*, Rectour of ——— was promoted to the Bishoprick of *Dunkeld*, who died in the year 1676.

The Chapter of *Dunkeld* consists of the persons following:

| | | |
|--|-------------------------------------|---|
| The Chapter of <i>Dunkeld</i> consists of the persons following. | | |
| The Rectour of { | <i>Kinlevin</i> , Dean ; | The Rectour of { <i>Inch-mack-grannoch</i> ; |
| | <i>Tibbermure</i> , Cantor ; | { <i>Logy-Alachie</i> ; |
| | <i>Cooper</i> , Archdeacon ; | The Parfon of <i>Monetidy</i> ; |
| | <i>Leibindy</i> , Chancellour ; | The Rectour of { <i>Blair</i> in <i>Atbol</i> ; |
| | <i>Dunkeld</i> , Thesaurer ; | { <i>Eliot</i> ; |
| The Parfon of <i>Ratray</i> , Subdean ; | | |
| The Rectour of <i>Fungart</i> ; | | The Prebendary of { <i>Fearn</i> ; |
| The Parfon of { | <i>Ruffill</i> ; | { <i>Menmure</i> ; |
| | <i>Kepit-mack</i> in <i>Atbol</i> ; | { <i>Aberdaizy</i> . |

I can give no account of the Cathedral-Church, in what condition it stands at present, seeing I never saw it, nor had any information concerning it.

The Diocese of *Dunkeld* contains the most part of *Perthshire*, part of *Angus*, and part of *West-Lothian*.

Bishops

Bishops of ABERDENE.

THE Bishoprick of *Aberdene* suffered very much by Bishop *William Gordon*; for he alienated the Profits thereof, and in a short time brought the Revenues of that See almost to nothing. And indeed this Benefice was at his death scarce worth the accepting. About the year 1579. *David Cunningham*, Parson of *Saint Nicolas*, was preferred to the See. This Bishop was a grave, learned, and wise man; employed by King *James* the Sixth in an Embassy to the King of *Denmark*, and the Princes of *Germany*, wherein the Bishop did faithfully discharge his trust, to his great commendation. He died about the year 1603.

Unto him succeeded *Peter Blackburn*, Rectour of *Saint Nicolas*, who governed the See about twelve years, and dying Anno 1615. was buried in *Saint Nicolas Church* in *New Aberdene*.

Upon whose death, *Alexander Forbes*, (of the House of *Ardmurd*,) Bishop of *Cathnes*, was translated to *Aberdene*. He fate little above three years, and dying Anno 1618. was buried in the Cathedral-Church.

To him succeeded, upon King *James*'s Nomination, and the Chapter's Election, *Patrick Forbes* of *Corse*. This worthy man, at the earnest importunity of the Bishops of *Aberdene* and *Murray*, did enter into Orders in the forty eighth year of his age, An. 1612. and was preferred to the Benefice of *Keath* in *Strath-Tla*; in which station he continued six years: and after the death of Bishop *Alexander Forbes*, at the importunity both of the Clergy and Laity, he did accept of the Bishoprick of *Aberdene*. He was in great esteem and favour with King *James* and King *Charles*, being Privy Councillour to both Kings. In his old age he was much troubled with the Palfie. Seventeen years did he faithfully and wisely govern the See, and died in his house in *Old Aberdene* 1635. in the seventy first year of his age, being interred in the South Isle of the Cathedral-Church, near the Sepulchre of Bishop *Gawan Dumbur*. His Commentary upon the Revelations, and a Discourse of the Ministerial Office, do shew his Learning and Judgment.

Upon his death, *Adam Bannatyn*, Bishop of *Dumblane*, was translated to *Aberdene*, who being thrust out by the Covenanters, retired into *England*, where he died shortly after. His house in *Old Aberdene*, for magnificence in all things like a Palace, was plundered by a Regiment of the Covenanters, and afterwards quite demolished by the English Usurpers.

Several Learned and Worthy men, in the Diocese of *Aberdene*, were at this time thrust out of their Livings. The most considerable were,

| | |
|---|---|
| <i>John Forbes</i> of <i>Corse</i> , Doctour and Professeur of Divinity in the King's Colledge of <i>Aberdene</i> ; | Principal of the Marischal Colledge of <i>Aberdene</i> ; |
| <i>Robert Baron</i> , Doctour and Professeur of Divinity in the Marischal Colledge of <i>Aberdene</i> ; | <i>Alexander Ross</i> , Doctour of Divinity, Parson of <i>Saint Nicolas</i> ; |
| <i>William Leslie</i> , Doctour of Divinity, Principal or Warden of the King's Colledge of <i>Aberdene</i> ; | <i>James Sibbald</i> , Doctour of Divinity, Minister in <i>Aberdene</i> ; |
| <i>Alexander Scroggie</i> , Doctour of Divinity, Minister in <i>Old Aberdene</i> ; | <i>John Forbes</i> , Parson of <i>Auchterless</i> ; |
| <i>Patrick Dune</i> , Doctour of Physick, Principal of the Restauration of the Hierarchy, His most Sacred Majesty, King <i>CHARLES</i> the Second, prefer'd <i>David Mitchell</i> (one of the Prebendaries of <i>Westminster</i>) to the Bishoprick of <i>Aberdene</i> . This worthy man was Anno 1638. one of the Preachers of <i>Edinburgh</i> ; and being thrust out by the Assembly of <i>Glasgow</i> , retired into <i>England</i> . He lived not a whole year after his Consecration: he died in <i>Old Aberdene</i> , and was interred in the South Isle of the Cathedral-Church, 1663. | <i>Andrew Logie</i> , Parson of <i>Rayne</i> ; |
| | <i>John Ross</i> , Parson of <i>Birse</i> ; |
| | <i>John Gregory</i> , Rectour of <i>Drummauk</i> ; |
| | <i>John Logie</i> , Rectour of <i>Raphan</i> ; |
| | <i>Thomas Thoirs</i> , Minister at <i>Udny</i> . |

After the Restauration of the Hierarchy, His most Sacred Majesty, King *CHARLES* the Second, prefer'd *David Mitchell* (one of the Prebendaries of *Westminster*) to the Bishoprick of *Aberdene*. This worthy man was Anno 1638. one of the Preachers of *Edinburgh*; and being thrust out by the Assembly of *Glasgow*, retired into *England*. He lived not a whole year after his Consecration: he died in *Old Aberdene*, and was interred in the South Isle of the Cathedral-Church, 1663.

To him succeeded *Alexander Burnet*, Rectour of ——— in the County of *Kent*; who fate little above a year, being translated to *Glasgow*, which was then void by the death of Archbishop *Fairfoul*.

Upon this Translation, Anno 1664. the Reverend *Patrick Scougal*, Parson of *Salton*, was promoted to the Bishoprick of *Aberdene*; who is yet alive, and governs the See wisely and piously.

The Chapter of *Aberdene* consists of the persons following:

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Since

Since the Rectory of *Saint Machar* was annexed to the King's Colledge, the Principal thereof is Dean;

The Parson of *Auchterless*, Cantor;
Rayne, Archdeacon;
Birse, Chancellour;
Davies, Thefaurer;

The Rectour of *Saint Peters*, Subcantor;

The Parson of *Kinkell*, who is the Patron of seven Churches, *Kinkell*, *Drumblait*, *Monkeigie*, *Kintor*, *Kemnay*, *Kinnellar*, and *Dyce*;

The Parson of *Morblick*;

The Rectour of *Monimusk*;
Kincairden of *Neill*;

The Cathedral of *Aberdene*, dedicated to *Saint Machar*, was founded by Bishop *Kinninmouth*, who died before the work was raised six cubits high, Anno 1370. Bishop *Leigh-ton*, 1430, built *Saint John's* Isle, laid the foundation of the great Steeple, and of the two lesser Steeples, and advanced the Fabrick mightily. The Roof was laid on, and the Floor paved with free-stone, by Bishop *Lindsay*, Anno 1445. Bishop *Spence* adorned the Chancel with many brave Ornaments 1460. Bishop *Elphinstone* did perfect the great Steeple, (which was a mark for Sailours in those days,) and furnished it with costly and tunable Bells, 1489. Bishop *Dumbar* did perfect the two lesser Steeples, cield the Church, and built the South-Isle, 1522. And his Successour, Bishop *Stewart*, built the Confraternity-house Anno 1539. This glorious Structure (being near ninescore years in building) did not remain twentie years in its integrity, when it was almost ruined by a Cruel of sacrilegious Church-robbers: for Anno 1560, the Barons of *Mernis*, accompanied with some of the Towns-men of *Aberdene*, having demolished the Monasteries of the Black and Gray Friars, fell to rob the Cathedral, which they spoiled of all its costly Ornaments and Jewels, and demolished the Chancel. Having shipped the Lead, Bells, and other Utensils, intending to expose them to sale in *Holland*, all this ill-gotten Wealth sunk (by the just Judgment of God upon Sacrilege) not far from the *Gride-Ness*. The body of the Cathedral was preserved from utter ruine by the Earl of *Huntly*. Afterwards, An. 1607, the Church was repaired, and covered with Slate, at the charge of the Parish, and fo continues yet in pretty good repair.

The Diocese of *Aberdene* contains the Shire of *Aberdene*, most part of *Bamff-shire*, and part of *Mernis*.

Bishops of MURRAY.

After the death of Bishop *Patrick Hepburn*, this Benefice was conferred upon *Alexander Lindsay*, Lord *Spinie*, who possessed it many years; so that the See continued vacant till about the year 1606, at which time *Alexander Douglas*, Parson of *Elgin*, was promoted to the Bishoprick. How long he fate, I cannot learn.

His Successour was *John Guthrie*, one of the Preachers in *Edinburgh*; in whose time fell out our second Reformation. Most of the Bishops left their Bishopricks, having wisely withdrawn themselves into *England*, to avoid the Storm which threatened them; whereas this Bishop stay'd at home till his Bishoprick left him. Being thrust from his Benefice by the Covenanters, he retired to his ancient Inheritance of *Guthrie* in *Angus*, where he lived very contentedly and hospitably, exercising his Charity amongst the Poor. He died much lamented, during our Civil Wars.

Anno 1662. *Murdo Mackenzie*, Rectour of *Elgin*, was preferred Bishop of *Murray*, who now governs the See.

The Cathedral-Church of *Elgin*, founded by *Andrew* Bishop of *Murray*, 1230, was one of the rarest Monuments that this Kingdom afforded, equal almost to *Saint Paul's* in *London* (as I am informed) in length, but surpassing it in breadth. It was demolished at the Reformation, yet some of the stately Ruines are still to be seen and admired.

The Parish-Church, dedicated to *Saint Peter*, was (as I am informed) founded by *George* the second Earl of *Huntly*, about the year 1490. The

The Rectour of *Turreff*;
Belhelvie;
Banchory-Devenice;
Logie-Buchan;
Clart;

The Parson of *Morblick*;
Invernochty;

The Rectour of *Coldstone*;
Oyn;

The Parson of *Crowdan*;
Tillinesill;
Forbes;
Phillorth;
Loumay;

The Prebendary of *Deir*;
Ellen.

The Diocese of *Murray* contains the Shires of *Elgin*, *Neith*, and part of *Inverurie* and *Bamff*-Shires.

Bishops of BRICHEN.

Bishop *Sinclair's* Successour in the See of *Brichen* was one *Comptin* Cousin to the Earl of *Argyle*, about the year 1567. How long he fate, I cannot learn. Anno 16 — *Andrew Lamb*, Rectour of *Burnt-Hill*, was preferred to the See, and afterwards translated to *Galloway*, then void by the death of Bishop *William Cowper*. Upon this Translation, Anno 1619, *David Lindsay*, Parson of *Edinburgh*, was promoted to the Bishoprick of *Brichen*: he was translated to *Edinburgh* 1630, to be Bishop of — Unto whom succeeded *Walter Whitford*, (of the House of *Montrose*) Rectour of — who was ousted by the Covenanters 1639, and his house plundered. He died Anno 1662. *David Stranghan*, Parson of *Fettercairn*, was preferred Bishop of *Brichen*. He fate nine years, and dying 1671, was buried in the Cathedral-Church.

His Successour was *Robert Lowry*, Dean of *Edinburgh*, who now governs the See. The Cathedral-Church of *Brichen* is a pretty handsome Fabrick: it hath on the South-side a small Steeple, not unlike the Monument on *Fish-street-hill*, *London*, save that it is broader at the top than at the bottom; by whom built, I cannot learn: The Chancel was demolished by our first Reformers.

The Diocese of *Brichen* contains part of *Angus* and *Mernis*.

Bishops of DUMBLANE.

About the year 1572, *Andrew Erhame*, Uncle to the Earl of *Montrose*, was preferred Bishop of *Dumblane*.

— and translated to *Orkney* 1615. To whom succeeded *Adam Bannatyn* of *Kilconquhar*, Rectour of *Fawhirk*, who governed the See till Anno 1635, at which time he was translated to *Aberdene*, then void by the death of Bishop *Patrick Forbes*.

His Successour was *James Wedderburn*, Professour of Divinity in *Saint Andrews*, who was thrust out by the Covenanters 1639.

Anno 1662, *Robert Leighton*, Principal of the Colledge of *Edinburgh*, was promoted to the Bishoprick of *Dumblane*. He was a man of singular and wonderful Piety, of great Learning; and in him most of the eminent Vertues we admire in the Primitive Bishops, recommended to be revived. His Life was most exemplary and severe, he preached constantly, and seemed like one in heaven when he preached: his Humility was astonishing; his Meekness and Charity were extraordinary; his expence on himself very small; but all he had he laid out on the poor: he was very tender of all the concerns of his Clergy, and by his excellent deportment, and heavenly discourses, did much edifie and instruct them all: and he studied by the most gentle methods possible to overcome the peevishness of the Schismatics; but all was in vain, for they became more insolent and stubborn. He was translated to *Glasgow* 1670.

Upon which Translation, *James Ramsay*, Dean of *Glasgow*, was preferred to the See, now living 1676.

The Bishop of *Dumblane* is always Dean of the King's Chappel Royal. The Diocese of *Dumblane* contains part of *Perth* and *Striveling*-Shires.

Bishops of ROSS.

John Leslie, Doctor of the Canon Law, and one of the Senatours of the Colledge of Justice, (before Canonist in the King's Colledge, and Official of *Aberdene*), was, upon the death of Bishop *Sinclair*, preferred to the Bishoprick of *Ross* 1564. He was a person of great Integrity, and a faithful servant to Queen *Mary* in the time of her Troubles. He wrote the History of his Nation, together with a Description of the Kingdom. He died at *Brussels* in *Flanders* 1596.

To him succeeded Anno 1599, *David Lindsay*, (of the House of *Edyell*), Preacher at *Leith*.

Leith; a worthy, pious, and learned Prelate. He lived many years, and dying 161— was buried in the Parish-Church of *Leith*.

After his death, *Patrick Lindsay*, Parson of *Saint Vicens* in *Angus*, was preferred to the See, who being translated to *Glasgow*, Anno 1631, left for his Successor

John Maxwell, one of the Preachers of *Edinburgh*, a very Learned man, a great Preacher, and of excellent parts; but was generally censured for meddling too much in Civil Affairs, and for being too violent, which was thought a great occasion of the Troubles that followed. He was thrust out by the Covenanters Anno 1639; and afterwards much persecuted by them as an incendiary.

Anno 1662. *John Kerswell* Preacher in *Aberdene*, was promoted to the Bishoprick of *Ross*, who now governs the See.

The Cathedral of *Orkney* (where the Bishop of *Ross* his Seat is) was demolished by our first Reformers, some part whereof (as I am informed) is lately rebuilt.

The Diocese of *Ross* hath under its Jurisdiction the Shires of *Tain*, *Gromarty*, and the greatest part of *Ullinshire*.

BISHOPS OF CATHNES.

After the death of Bishop *Robert Stewart* 1586, the See continued vacant till the year 1599, at which time *George Gladstones*, Preacher in *Saint Andrews*, was preferred Bishop of *Cathnes*. He was translated to *Saint Andrews* about the year 1606.

Unto whom succeeded *Alexander Forbes*, Rectour of *Fettercairn* in *Mernis*, who was translated to *Aberdene*, then void by the death of Bishop *Peter Blackburn*, 1615.

Upon this Translation, *John Abernethy* was promoted to the See, a Learned and worthy Prelate, thrust out by the Covenanters 1639.

Upon the Restoration of *Hierarchy*, 1662. *Patrick Forbes* was preferred to the See, now living, 1676.

The Diocese of *Cathnes* (whereof *Dornoch* in *Sutherland* is the Bishop's Seat) contains the Shires of *Cathnes* and *Sutherland*.

I can give no account of the Cathedral, having neither seen it, nor received any information concerning it.

Bishops of ORKNEY.

About the year 1565. *Adam Bothwell* was preferred to the Bishoprick of *Orkney*, and deposed 1568. for marrying *Queen Mary* to the Earl of *Bothwell*, but was the year after restored. He exchanged his Bishoprick of *Orkney* (with *Robert Stewart*, one of the base Sons of King *James* the Fifth,) for the Abby of *Holy-rood-house*; by which means he became a Senator of the Colledge of Justice, and a Temporal Lord, being the Ancestor of the Lord *Holy-rood-house*.

Upon this Exchange, *Robert Stewart* became Bishop of *Orkney*, and afterwards (upon the Forfeiture of *James Hepburn* Earl of *Bothwell*, and the obtaining of these Isles for a Temporal Estate,) sole Lord of the Country, being created Earl of *Orkney* 1581.

About the year 1606. *James Law* was Bishop of *Orkney*, and translated to *Glasgow* 1615.

To Bishop *Law* succeeded *Andrew Grabame*, Bishop of *Dumblane*. How long he fate, I cannot learn.

George Grabame was after him preferred Bishop of *Orkney*. This Bishop being terrified with the Censures of the Assembly of *Glasgow*, did abjure Episcopacy, and submitted to Presbyterian Government, betaking himself to the charge of a particular Parish, 1638.

Hereupon King *Charles* the First did promote *Robert Baron*, Doctour and Professour of Divinity in the Marischal Colledge of *Aberdene*, to the Bishoprick. This Learned and worthy man having incensed the Covenanters, by expressing his Loyalty to publickly in the Disputes between the Doctours of *Aberdene*, and Mr. *Henderson*, Mr. *Dickson*, and Mr. *Camp*, the three great Champions for the Covenant, was forced to flee to *Berwick*, where he died shortly after, before his Consecration.

Anno 1662. *Thomas Sydesse*, Bishop of *Galloway*, the onely Bishop then alive of all those who had been ousted by the Covenanters, was translated to *Orkney*. He fate but a few years, and died Anno 1663.

Unto

Unto whom succeeded *Andrew Hamilton*, a learned and pious man, and a good Preacher. This Bishop accompanying the Archbishop of *Saint Andrews* at *Edinburgh*, received a wound in the Arm by Pistol-shot, aimed at the Archbishop by an obscure fellow, 1668. He died Anno 1676. and was buried at *Orkney* in the Cathedral Church.

The Diocese of *Orkney* hath under its Jurisdiction all the Northern Isles of *Orkney* and *Sebetland*.

Archbishops of GLASGOW.

Upon the death of Archbishop *Gavin Dunbar*, Anno 1552, *James Beaton*, of the House of *Balfour* in *Fife*, was preferred to the See. This Prelate, being attainted of Treason, went into France, carrying with him all the Ornaments, Plate and Writings of the Church of *Glasgow*, which he put into the hands of the *Carmuchans* in Paris, to be restored when Scotland became Popish again.

Anno 1572. *James Boyd*, of *Trösch*, was promoted to the Bishoprick; a very worthy and Religious Prelate. He died 1578, and was interred in the Sepulchre of Bishop *Dumbar*.

Unto whom succeeded *Robert Montgomery*, Preacher at *Stirling*; who being much vexed by the Kirk-men, was glad for peace sake, to betake himself to the Charge of a particular Parish in *Kile*, 1587. resigning his Bishoprick in favour of

William Erskine, Parson of *Campsey*, who enjoyed it but a short time: For

Archbishop *Beaton* was by King *James* the Sixth restored. He was a person honourably disposed, faithfull to *Queen Mary*, while she lived, and to King *James*, while Embassadour he was, a Lover of his Country, and liberal, according to his means, to all his Country-men. He died 1603, a full Jubilee of years from his Consecration.

After his death, *John Spotswood*, Parson of *Culder*, was preferred Archbishop of *Glasgow*. He fate twelve years, and was translated to *Saint Andrews*, 1615.

Hereupon *James Law*, Bishop of *Orkney*, was translated to *Glasgow*, who dying Anno 1635.

Patrick Lindsay, Bishop of *Ross*, was preferred to the See, and ousted by the Covenanters Anno 1638.

The first Archbishop after the Restoration of the Hierarchy was *Andrew Fairfoul*, Preacher in *Dunee*, who fate little above a year.

Upon whose death, Anno 1664. *Alexander Burnet*, Bishop of *Aberdene*, was translated to *Glasgow*, and ousted 1669. and

Robert Leighton, Bishop of *Dumblane*, preferred to the See, who resigning Anno 1674. Archbishop *Burnet* was restored, and now governs the See.

The Cathedral of *Glasgow*, a very magnificent Structure, was built by Bishop *John Abernethy* 1135. It oweth thanks to the memory of King *James* the Sixth for its preservation from utter ruins. For the Ministers of *Glasgow* persuaded the Magistrates to pull it down, and to build two or three Churches with the materials thereof: the Magistrates descending, a day is appointed, and workmen ready to demolish it. The Crafts or Tradesmen, having notice given them of this design, convene in Arms, and oppose the Magistrates, threatening to bury the workmen under the ruins of that ancient Building. Whereupon the matter is referred to the King, and Council, who decided the Controverlie in the Tradesmens favours, reproving the Magistrates very sharply.

The Diocese of *Glasgow* contains the Counties or Shires of *Dumbarton*, *Ranfrew*, *Air*, *Lanerick*, part of the Shires of *Roxburgh*, *Dumfries*, *Peebles* and *Selkirk*.

Bishops of GALLOWAY.

About the year 1606. *Gavin Hamilton* was Bishop of *Galloway*, a very worthy person. His Successor, Anno 1614. was *William Cowper*, Preacher at *Pertb*, a Learned and pious Prelate: he died 1619. of whom see the former History, page 540.

Upon whose death, *Andrew Lamb*, Bishop of *Briehen*, was translated to *Galloway*. How long he fate, I cannot learn.

After him, *Thomas Sydesse* was preferred to the See, a learned and worthy Prelate: he was ousted by the Covenanters 1638. and upon the Restoration of the Episcopal Estate, Anno 1662. translated to *Orkney*.

About which time *James Hamilton*, Rectour of *Cambusnethan*, was promoted to the Bishoprick.

C

Unto

Unto whom succeeded Anno 1674. John Paterson, Dean of Edinburgh, who now governs the See.

The Diocese of Galloway hath under its Jurisdiction the Shire of Wigton, Stewartry of Kirkcubright, Regality of Galloway, and part of Dumfries-shire.

Bishops of ARGILE.

After George Laird of Balcornie, (who is the last Bishop of Argile mentioned by our Reverend Authour in his Second Book,) I meet with some who have been Bishops before the Reformation.

The first was Robert Montgomery, one of the Sons of Hugh the first Earl of Eglington. Then, one Campbell, who spoiled the Benefice, about the time of the Reformation.

After the Reformation, there was one Kerwell Bishop of Argile: how long he governed the See, I cannot learn.

To him succeeded ——— Boyd. [See the Addenda.]

To whom succeeded James Fairley, who was thrust out by the Covenanters 1638. and afterwards renounced his Bishoprick, and accepted a private Charge.

Anno 1662. ——— Fletcher, Rectour of ——— was preferred to the See; who dying Anno 1665.

William Scrowgie, Parson of Raphau in Aberdene-shire, was preferred to the place. He governed the See nine years, and died at Dumbriston Anno 1675.

Unto him succeeded Arthur Ross, Parson of Glasgow, who now governs the See.

The Diocese of Argile contains the Countries of Argile, Lorn, Kintire, and Lochabary, with some of the West Isles, such as Lismore, &c.

Bishops of the ISLES.

About the year 1606. Andrew Knox, Rectour of Pasley, was preferred to the See. How long he sat, I know not.

His Successour was John Knox, Rectour of ——— How long he governed the See, I cannot learn.

Anno 162 — John Leslie was Bishop of the Isles, and after translated to the Bishoprick of Rapho, in the Province of Armagh in Ireland.

To him succeeded Anno 162 — Neil Campbell, Rectour of ——— who was thrust out by the Covenanters 1638.

Since the Restauration of Bishops, Robert Wallace, Rectour of Barnwell in the Sherifdom of Air, was made Bishop of this See. He governed it seven years, and died An. 1669. and the See hath been void ever since.

Every Bishop hath under him an Official or Commissary, who is Judge of the Spiritual Court within his Diocese. Unto this Court are referred matters of Testaments, Bastardy, Divorce, Tithes, Perjury, &c. and many Civil cases. It sits in the Months of November, December, January, February, June, and July.

Commissaries of Scotland.

Sir David Falconer
of Glenfarghwar,
Henry Foxon,
James Aikenbeid,
John Wisbart,
John Lindsay, Official of Saint Andrews.
Sir William Fleeming, Official of Glasgow.
John Stewart, Commissary of Dunkeld.
John Scougall, Commissary of Aberdene.
Alexander Mackenzie, Official of Murray.

Commissaries of Edinburgh.

George Paterson, Commissary of Ross.
James Straughan, Commissary of Breichen.
James Innes, Official of Cathnes.
——— Monro, Commissary of ———
William Scrowgie, Commissary of Argile.

The Officials of

Dumblane.
Galloway.
Orkney.
The Isles.

Having given an account of the Succession of the Bishops in their several Sees, let us take a short view of the several Courts, subordinate to them, wherein is exercised Ecclesiastical Discipline.

The

The First and Lowest (which is in every Parish) is called the Session. It consists of the chief and most grave men of the Parish, who are termed Elders and Deacons. In this small Court (whereof the Minister is President) all Fornicators, Adulterers, Blasphemers, Swearers, Prophaners of the Lord's-day, &c. are convicted, and put to make publick Confessions of their Sins, and Professions of their Repentance, according to the degree or hainousness of them. For Fornication, they make publick Confession in the Church three several Lord's-days; in the last of which they receive Absolution. For an Adultery, they make their Profession of Repentance, for half a year, every Lord's-day; and for six Lord's-days they stand in sackcloth at the Church-door half an hour before Morning-prayers: and then in the end receive Absolution. And for other Faults, they doe penance according to their several degrees. The Deacon's Office is, to collect the Money for the use of the Poor, to delate Delinquents, &c. And that of the Elder is, to be carefull of the Fabrick of the Church, to assist in the censuring scandalous persons, and to wait on the Minister at the Celebration of the Lord's Supper, &c. This Court sitteth once a week.

The number of the Parishes in Scotland is uncertain: I conjecture them to be about a Thousand.

The Next Court is called the Presbyterie, consisting of twelve or twenty Ministers, more or less. That sits once in two or three weeks. The Moderatour or President thereof is chosen by the Bishop. In this Court are discussed Appeals from Sessions, and other difficult cases. Here are convicted all those who refuse to submit to Church-Discipline, and all such as apostatize to Popery or Quakerism; who, if they remain obstinate, are prosecuted with the Censures of the Church. Here also all such as enter into Holy Orders are examined, and an account taken of their Learning, and other Qualifications, in a course of many several Trials; as making Homilies, Sermons, and Common-places; which hold two or three months: and then they are returned to the Bishop well qualified, who upon that proceeds to ordain them.

Presbyteries of SCOTLAND.

| | | | | | |
|---------------------|---------------|---------------------|----------------|---------------------|--------------|
| The Presbyteries of | Dunee, | The Presbyteries of | Stranrauer, | The Presbyteries of | Mernia, |
| | Chirnside, | | Aire, | | Aberdene, |
| | Kelfo, | | Irwing, | | Kincairden, |
| | Erfilton, | | Pasley, | | Alford, |
| | Jedburgh, | | Dumbarton, | | Gareloch, |
| | Melrofs, | | Glasgow, | | Deir, |
| | Dumbar, | | Hamilton, | | Turreff, |
| | Haddington, | | Lanerick, | | Fordyce, |
| | Dalkeith, | | Biggar, | | Ellon, |
| | Edinburgh, | | Dunnane, | | Strabogay, |
| | Peeblis, | | Kinloch, | | Aberneithie, |
| | Linlithgow, | | Inneraray, | | Elgin, |
| | Perth, | | Kilmoir, | | Forreft, |
| | Dunkeld, | | Skye, | | Aberlomer, |
| | Auchterardor, | | Saint Andrews, | | Chanrie, |
| | Striveling, | | Kirkaldy, | | Tayne, |
| | Dumblane, | | Cowper, | | Dingwell, |
| The Presbyteries of | Dumfries, | | Dumfermling, | | Dornoch, |
| | Penpont, | | Meegle, | | Week, |
| | Lochmabane, | | Dundee, | | Thurso, |
| | Middlebie, | | Arbroath, | | Kirkwall, |
| | Wigton, | | Forfair, | | Scalloway, |
| | Kirkcubright, | | Brighen, | | Colmkil, |
| | | | | | |

A Third Court (whereof the Bishop is President) is the Provincial Assembly, or Synod. In this Court are discussed all Appeals from Presbyteries, and all other difficult cases. From hence are issued Warrants for visiting of Churches. Here also the Lives of Scandalous Ministers are tried, who, if found guilty of crimes laid to their charge, are either deposed, suspended, or excommunicated.

The Sentence of Excommunication cannot be pronounced against an obstinate person but

but after a long Process of near a years continuance, and many Citations, and much pains to bring the Scandalous person (against whom onely it is denounced) to a due sense of his Sins, and a willingness to submit to the Censures of the Church: and then it must be ratified and approved by the Bishop. The Provincial Synod meets twice in the year, in April, and October.

The Highest Ecclesiastical Court is the *General Assembly*; which, as its Constitution and Authority was settled in King James's Minority, was made up of two Ministers Commissioners from every Presbytery, and one Lay-Elder, a Commissioner from every Royal Burrough, one from every University, and one from the King. These had the Supreme Authority about all Church-matters; and how much trouble they bred King James, the former History has fully discovered. A shadow of this still remains: for the Supreme Ecclesiastical Court is declared to be a National Synod made up of Bishops and Deans, and two Members from every Presbytery, one of whom is of the Bishops nomination, and a Commissioner from every University. But nothing is to be proposed but by the King or His Commissioner: nor can any thing that they do be of any force, till it be ratified by the King. But as the calling of this Synod is wholly in the Crown, so there is little need of it, since the King's Supremacy is so large, that He needs not their concurrence, to add their Authority to any thing that He shall think fit to do about Church-affairs.

The Bishops of Scotland take their places thus: *Saint Andrews, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Galloway*; the rest according to the Seniority of their Consecrations.

CHAP. II.

Containing a short account of the several ORDERS of RELIGIOUS PERSONS in SCOTLAND, together with a Catalogue of their Convents, suppressed at the Reformation.

IN the Infancy of Christianity, when Persecution was grown so hot, that most Cities and populous Places were visited therewith, many Godly men fled into Desarts, there to live with more safety, and serve God with less disturbance. These were called *MONKS*, from *monē*, *solus*, because living alone by themselves.

Their Houses were either Caves, Grotts, or little Cells; what would Hide and Heat, Cover and Keep warm, served them for Cloaths; Herbs and Roots were their Diet, and Water their Drink. In these Solitary places they spent their lives constantly in Prayer, Reading, Meditating, and such like pious employments. They vowed no Poverty, Chastity, or Obedience. Thus continued they during the heat of Persecution; and when Peace was restored, they returned to their former Dwellings, resuming their Callings, which they had not left off, but for a time laid aside.

Afterwards there sprung up another sort of Monks leading a solitary life, when no Persecution forced them thereunto. These considering the inconstancy of humane affairs, that though they had Prosperity for the present, it might be soon changed into a contrary condition, if either the restless endeavours of Satan took effect, or fickle Christians were rewarded according to their deserts, and prompted also thereto by their own Melancholick dispositions, chose a lone life, and lived in Desarts. Afterwards they were gathered together to live under one Roof, because their Company would be chearfull in Health, and needfull in Sickness one to another. They sustained themselves by their Labour, (for every one had a Calling whereby to gain his Livelihood,) and relieved others by their Charity; and very strict were they in their Lives and Conversations. But afterwards, Monks having sufficiency turned lazie, then getting waxed wanton, and at last endowed with

with superfluity became notoriously vicious; and so they continued till they were finally extirpated.

Thus much concerning their Original: proceed we next to their several Orders.

The first are the *Benedictines* or Black Monks, so called from Saint *Benedict* or *Bennet*, an Italian, (who flourished about the year 500.) first Father and Founder of that Order. The *Benedictines* and *Augustinians* came into Scotland about one time.

Their Convents.

1. The Abbey of *Icolmkill*, in the Isle *Jona*, founded by Saint *Columba*, about the year 590.
2. The Abbey of *Dumfermling*, in *Fife*, founded by Saint *David* the First, King of *Scotland*, about the year 1130. The Church whereof was built by King *Malcolm* the Third, and was, for several hundreds of years, the Sepulchre of the *Scottish* Kings. This Abbey was, at the Reformation, annexed to the Crown.
3. The Abbey of *Saint Colme*, in *Inch-Colme* in the River *Forth*, founded by King *Alexander* the First, about the year 1120.
4. The Abbey of *Aberbrothock* or *Arbroath*, in *Angus*, founded by King *William*, 1178. This was the richest of our *Scottish* Abbeys. At the Reformation it was conferred upon *James*, Duke of *Chastelrauld* and Earl of *Arran*, who gave it to his second Son Lord *John Hamilton*. At this day it is in the possession of the Earl of *Panmure*, and the stately ruins thereof are yet to be seen.
5. The Priory of *Urquhart*, in *Murray*, founded by King *Alexander* the Third, 126—
- A Cell belonging to *Dumfermling*.
6. The Priory of *Coldingham*, in the *Mers*, founded by *Edgar* King of *Scots*, 1106.
- A Cell belonging to *Durham* in *England*.
7. The Monastery of *South-Berwick*, founded by King *David* the First.
8. The Monastery of *Three wells*, or *Trefontana*, in *Lammermoor* on the Borders of *Leithian*, founded by the Countess of *March*. A Cell belonging to *South-Berwick*.
9. The Monastery of *Kilconquhar*, in *Galloway*, founded by *Eshred* (or rather *Fergus*) Lord of *Galloway*.

The *Cluniacs* are *Benedictines* sifted through a finer sieve, with some additions invented and imposed upon them by *Odo* Abbot of *Clugny* or *Cluni* in *Burgundy*, who flourished Anno 913.

Their Convents.

1. The Abbey of *Pasley*, in *Ranfrew-shire*, founded by *Alexander* the great Steward of *Scotland*, 12—. The Monks whereof wrote a History of the Nation. At the Reformation it was bestowed upon *Claud Hamilton*, third Son to the Duke of *Chastelrauld*.
2. The Abbey of *Rewls-Croft*, or *Corfraguel*, in *Carriſh*, founded by *Thomas* Earl of *Carriſh*, 126—.

The *Cistercians* are so called from *Robert* Abbot of *Cîteaux* in *Burgundy*, who Anno 1088. did the second time refine the droffie *Benedictines*.

Their Convents.

1. The Abbey of *Sanndell*, in *Kintyre*, founded by Saint *Coule Millicora*. What this Founder was, I know not.
2. The Abbey of *Souls-Seat*, *Sedes Animarum*, in *Galloway*, was founded by *Fergus* Lord of *Galloway*.
3. The Abbey of *Dundrennan*, in *Galloway*, was founded by *Fergus* Lord of *Galloway*.
4. The Abbey of *Melroſe*, in *Teviotdail*, founded by King *David* the First.
5. The Abbey of *Newbottle*, in *Lothian*, founded by King *David* the First.
6. The Abbey of *Culroſe*, in *Clackmannan-shire*, founded by *Malcolm Mackduff*, Earl of *Fife*.
7. The Abbey of *Glenluce*, in *Galloway*, founded by *Roland* Lord of *Galloway*.
8. The Abbey of *Sweet-heart*, *Dulcis Cordis*, or *New Abbey*, in *Galloway*, founded by *Dor-nogilla*, Daughter of *Alan* Lord of *Galloway*, and Wife to *John Balliol*.
9. The Abbey of *Balmerino*, in *Fife*, founded by *Emerganda*, Wife to King *William*.

10. The Abbey of *Duff*, in *Buchan*, founded by *William Cummin* Earl of *Buchan*, 1218.
11. The Abbey of *Comper*, in *Angus*, founded by King *David* the First.
12. The Abbey of *Kells*, in *Teviotdail*, founded by King *David* the First.
13. The Priory of *Machleis*, in *Kile*. A Cell belonging to the Abbey of *Melroth*.
14. The Monastery of *Elcho*, in *Strath-Jern*, founded by *David Lindsay*, Ancestour to the Earls of *Cranford*.

The Monks of the Order of the *Valley of Reeds*, *Valis Caulium*, are a Branch of the Reformed *Cistercians*, whose Institutions, both in Habit, Diet, Divine Offices, &c. they punctually observe; but with greater strictness, confining themselves to much narrower Bills. They possess very mean Revenues, being wholly intent upon their Devotions; and may not goe without the bounds of the Monastery, it being onely lawfull for the Prior and one of the Order to goe abroad upon necessary occasions, and to visit the Monasteries under their charge. They are daily employed in dressing the Gardens of Fruits and Herbs, which are within the bounds of the Monastery, and improved for the use of it.

This Order had four Convents in *Scotland*.

1. The Priory of *Ardehatten*, in *Lorn*, founded by *Duncan Mackenzie* of *Lorn*.
2. The Priory of *Lismabago*, in *Clidisdail*, founded by *Fergus* Lord of *Galloway*.
3. The Priory of *Bewley*, in *Ross*, founded by *John* Lord *Bisset*.
4. The Priory of *Pluscardy*, in *Murray*, founded by King *Alexander* the Second: the Monks whereof did write a *Scottish Chronicle*. It was afterwards turned into a Convent of *Black Monks*.

The *Augustinians* are older in *Europe* then the *Benedictines*. These do observe the Institutions of Saint *Augustine* Bishop of *Hippo*, who was Saint *Bennet's* Senior by sixty years. The *Augustinians* are also called *Regular Canons*.

Their Convents in *Scotland* were,

1. The Abbey of *Jedburgh*, in *Teviotdail*, founded by King *David* the First.
2. The Abbey of *Holy-rood-house*, in *Lothian*, adjoining to the Canon-gate in *Edinburgh*, founded by King *David* the First. This Abbey is now one of the King's Palaces.
3. The Abbey of *Cambuskenneth*, in *Striveling-shire*, founded by King *David* the First.
4. The Abbey of *Luchaffray*, in *Strath-Jern*, founded by *Gilbert* Earl of *Strath-Jern*.
5. The Abbey of *Scoon*, in *Gowry*, founded by *Alexander* the First, King of *Scotland*.
6. The Priory of *Crusa*, in the *West Isles*, founded by Saint *Columba*.
7. The Priory of *Omistai*, in the *West Isles*, founded by Saint *Columba*.
8. The Priory of *Holy-Croft*, at *Peeblis* in *Tweedail*, founded by *Fergus* Lord of *Galloway*.
9. The Priory of *Saint Mary Isle*, in *Galloway*. A Cell pertaining to the Abbey of *Holy-rood-house*.
10. The Priory of *Saint Colomer's Isle*, in *Menteith*, founded by *Edgar* King of *Scotland*.
11. The Priory of *Saint Andrews*, in *Fife*, founded by King *Alexander* the First, 1122. It is annexed to the Archbishoprick of *Saint Andrews*.
12. The Priory of *May*, in the Mouth of *Forth*. A Cell belonging to *Saint Andrews*.
13. The Priory of *Pittenweem*, in *Fife*. A Cell belonging to *Saint Andrews*.
14. The Priory of *Monimuk*, in *Mar*. A Cell belonging to the Priory of *Saint Andrews*.
15. The Priory of *Restennet*, in *Angus*. A Cell belonging to the Abbey of *Jedburgh*.
16. The Priory of *Straphellan*, in *Arbol*, founded by King *Robert* the First, 1322.
17. The Priory of *Blantyre*, in *Clidisdail*. A Cell belonging to the Abbey of *Jedburgh*.
18. The Priory of *Port-Mollock*, in *Loch-Leven* in *Fife*. A Cell belonging to the Priory of *Saint Andrews*. It is annexed to *Saint Leonard's Colledge*.
19. The Priory of *Loch-Tay*, in *Broad Albain*.

The Order of the *Premontstratenses* was founded by *Norbert*, born at *Colein*, and afterwards, as is said, Archbishop of *Memberg*. He is said to have done it at the Command of the Blessed *Virgin*, who appear'd to him; whereupon with some Companions he retired into a desolate place called *Premostratum*, (thence comes the Title of the Order;) where they settled their Society, Anno 1120. They are under the Rule of Saint *Augustine*, which they tell us *Norbert* in a Vision immediately received at the hand of Saint *Augustine* himself. The

The Habit of their Order is a White Garment, and over that a White Cloak or Mantle, with a Cowl upon their head of the same Colour.

The Monks of this Order had five Convents in *Scotland*.

1. The Abbey of *Tungland*, in *Galloway*, founded by *Alan* Lord of *Galloway*.
2. The Abbey of *Holy-wood*, in *Nithisdail*.
3. The Abbey of *Dryburgh*, in *Teviotdail*, founded by *Hugh Morvil*, High Constable of *Scotland*.
4. The Abbey of *Ferne*, in *Ross*, founded by *Fergbuard* Earl of *Ross*. This Abbey is annexed to the Bishoprick of *Ross*.
5. The Priory of *Whitehorn*, in *Galloway*, founded by *Fergus* Lord of *Galloway*.

The *Tironenses* (as I conceive) are not a distinct Order of Monks, but rather young Novices, or fresh-water Monks. In a Catalogue of the Religious Houses in *Scotland*, which I have by me, I find some styled or termed *Ordinm Tironensis*; which if it were written *Turonensis*, it would relate to *Tours* in *France*; and the rather, because there is in *France* a *Conventus Turonensis* of *Augustinian* Monks: but wherein, or whether they differed from others, I know not. But leaving that to the Reader's farther inquiry, let us take a view of

Their Convents.

1. The Abbey of *Kilwinning*, in *Cunninghame*, founded by *Hugh Morvil*, Constable of *Scotland*.
2. The Abbey of *Lindorin*, in *Fife*, founded by *David* Earl of *Huntington*, Brother to King *William*.
3. The Priory of *Fyvie*, in *Forumarsen*. A Seminary belonging to the Abbey of *Arbroath*.

We proceed next to the Monks of the Order of *Saint Antony*, whose Original was from Saint *Antony* an *Egyptian*, who about the time of the later Persecutions, not long after *Decius*, retired into the Deserts, where he lived the best part of an hundred years, and became the Father of an Eremitick life, wherein he educated all those Disciples that resorted to him. After whose Example other Orders were set up. About the time of the Wars in *Palestine*, his Body was translated from *Constantinople* to *Mota*, (now called *Saint Antony*) a Town in the Province of *Viennois* in *France*, where it was honourably laid up in a Church built to his memory, and became famous for miraculous Cures. Among which, *Gasto*, a Nobleman of that Province, and his Son *Girond*, being heal'd of a mortal Plague, dedicated themselves and all that they had to Saint *Antony*, wholly devoting themselves to the curing and attending of the Sick that came thither. To whom shortly after eight more joyned themselves, who combined into a Society. This was about the year 1121. Their Order was confirmed by several Popes, especially *Boniface* the Eighth, Anno 1297. who prescribed unto them Rules, and conferred upon them their Privileges. They observe the Rule of Saint *Augustine's* Order, and as the peculiar and distinguishing Badge of their Order, wear about their Necks the letter T in Gold or Silver hanging upon their Breasts, and carry a little Bell about with them.

The Monks of this Order had onely one Convent in *Scotland*, at *Leith*; but who was the Founder thereof, I cannot learn.

The *Carthusians* were instituted by Saint *Bruno*, a Native of *Colein*, who being a *Parisian* Doctor of Divinity, and a Canon of *Rheims*, abandoned the World, and with six Associates began his austere Eremitical course of life on the *Carthusian* Mountains, in the Diocese of *Gratianopolis*, with the Licence of *Hugh* then Bishop thereof. This *Bruno* flourished under Pope *Urban* the Second, and died Anno Christi 1161. King *James* the First did bring the *Carthusians* into *Scotland*, and built them a Convent in *Perth*, (known afterwards by the name of *Charter-house*;) about the year 1430.

From Monks we proceed to FRIERS. These were differenced from Monks; in that Monks were confined to their Cloisters; whilst more liberty was allowed to Friars to go about, and preach in neighbouring Parishes: as also Monks had nothing in propriety, but all in common; Friars had nothing in propriety nor in common, but, being Mendicants,

Mendicants, begg'd all their subsistence from the Charity of others. But they met with very bountifull Benefactors; and in *Scotland*, when their Nets were pull'd down, were too rich to profess Poverty.

The *Dominicans*, or *Black Friars*, called also *Prædicatores*, *Preaching Friars*, were instituted by Saint *Dominick*, a *Spaniard*, Anno 1206. and confirmed by Pope *Honorius* the Third, Anno Christi 1216.

The *Dominicans* had their Convents

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| At { 1. <i>Wigton</i> , 2. <i>Air</i> , 3. <i>Glasgow</i> , 4. <i>Edinburgh</i> , 5. <i>Perth</i> , 6. <i>Dundee</i> , 7. <i>Striveling</i> , 8. <i>Monroft</i> , | At { 9. <i>Comper of Fife</i> , 10. <i>Aberdene</i> , 11. <i>Elgin</i> , 12. <i>Inverness</i> , 13. <i>Saint Andrews</i> , 14. <i>Haddington</i> , 15. <i>Jedburgh</i> , 16. <i>Dumfries</i> , | At { 17. <i>Comper of Angus</i> , 18. <i>Inverkeithing</i> , 19. <i>Dyffert</i> , 20. <i>Linkithgow</i> , 21. <i>Kingbarn</i> , 22. <i>Forres</i> , 23. <i>Selkirk</i> , |
|--|---|--|

The *Franciscans*, or *Gray Friars*, called also *Minorits*, were instituted by Saint *Francis*, an *Italian*, about the year of our Lord 1198, and confirmed by Pope *Innocent* the Third. His Rule prescribed Chastity, Obedience, Poverty, much Fasting, and other Austerities, to all that should be admitted of that Order. The *Franciscans* are, *Minores tam Observantes, quàm Conventuales*.

The *Conventuals* had their Houses

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| At { 1. <i>Roxburgh</i> , 2. <i>Dumfries</i> , | At { 3. <i>Haddington</i> , 4. <i>Inverkeithing</i> , | At { 5. <i>Lanrick</i> , 6. <i>Dundee</i> , |
|---|--|--|

The *Friars Observant* had their Monasteries

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|---|--|--|
| At { 1. <i>Edinburgh</i> , 2. <i>Striveling</i> , 3. <i>Air</i> , | At { 4. <i>Glasgow</i> , 5. <i>Saint Andrews</i> , 6. <i>Perth</i> , | At { 7. <i>Aberdene</i> , 8. <i>Elgin</i> , |
|---|--|--|

The *Carmelite Friars* had their beginning at, and name from, Mount *Carmel* in *Syria*, being instituted by *Almericus* Patriarch of *Antioch*, Anno 1122. They are also called *White Friars*, and had their Convents

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| At { 1. <i>Dumbar</i> , 2. <i>Linlithgow</i> , 3. <i>Tillilume</i> , | At { 4. <i>Queens-ferry</i> , 5. <i>Aberdene</i> , | At { 6. <i>Irving</i> , 7. <i>Bamff</i> , |
|--|---|--|

The *Trinity Friars*, or *Mathurins*, follow. These were also called *Robertines*, and *De Redemptione Captivorum*, whose work was to beg money of well-disposed people for Ransoming of Christian Captives from the Slavery of the *Turks*.

These *Friars* had their Houses

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| At { 1. <i>Falle</i> , 2. <i>Hosfoun</i> , 3. <i>Dornoch</i> , | At { 4. <i>Cromarty</i> , 5. <i>Scotland-well</i> , | At { 6. <i>Aberdene</i> , 7. <i>Peeblis</i> , |
|--|--|--|

I can give no account concerning the several Orders of *NUNS* in *Scotland*.

Their Convents were,

1. The Priory of *North-Berwick*, in *Lothian*, founded by *Duncan* Earl of *Fife*.
2. The Priory of *Haddington*, in *Lothian*, founded by *Ada* Countess of *Northumberland*, Wife to Prince *Henry*, only Son of King *David* the First.
3. The Priory of *Saint Botbans*, in *Lammer-moor*, founded by *Christiana* Countess of *March*.
4. The Priory of *Maunel*, in *Lothian*, founded by King *Malcolme* the Fourth.
5. The Priory of *Coldstream*, in *Mers*, founded by the Countess of *March*.
6. The Priory of *Ecclis*, in *Mers*, founded by King *David* the First.

The

The *Gray Sisters* had their Houses

- At 1. *Dundee*, | 2. *Aberdene*, | 3. *Sheens* near *Edinburgh*.

What kind of Monks were in the following Monasteries, I have not as yet learned.

1. The Monastery of *Abernesby*, in *Strath-ferne*, founded by *Caranachus*, the — King of the *Picts*.
2. The Monastery of *Saint Andrew de heugh*, founded by King *Constantine* the Second.
3. The Abbey of *Soutre*, in *Lothian*, founded by King *Malcolm* the Fourth.
4. The Priory of *Cannabie*, in *Eskdail*.
5. The Priory of *Star-inch*, in *Lewis*, founded by *Maclewid* Baron of *Lewis*.
6. The Priory of *Romadill* in *Harrigh*, founded by *Maclewid* Baron of *Harrigh*.
7. The Priory of *Inchmahomo*, in *Perth-shire*.
8. The Monastery of *Elbottle*, a Cell belonging to *South Berwick*.
9. The Priory of *Gulane*, in *Lothian*, a Cell belonging to *South Berwick*, founded by King *David* the First.
10. The Priory of *Aberdorn*, in *Fife*.

Thus much concerning Monks and Friars:

Besides the Convents of *Regulars*, there were Colledges erected for *SECULAR PRIESTS*, and amply endowed with Revenues. The chief person of the Colledge of *Secular Canons* was called the *Provost*, and the Colledge it self the *Provostry*. Let us take a view of them.

1. The Colledge of *Bushwell*, in *Clidisdail*, founded by *Archbald* the First, Earl of *Douglas*. It was before a Cloister of Nuns.
2. The Colledge of *Lincolnden*, in *Nithdail*, founded by the same *Archbald*.
3. The Colledge of *Bothans*, in *Lothian*, founded by *William Hay* Baron of *Yester*.
4. The Provostry of *Miniboll*, in *Carriù*, founded by Sir *Gilbert Kennedy* Knight.
5. The Colledge of *Dumbar*, in *Lothian*, founded by *George* Earl of *March*.
6. The Colledge of *Carnwath*, in *Clidisdail*, founded by *Thomas* Lord *Summerville*.
7. The Colledge of *Methuen*, in *Strath-ferne*, founded by *Walter Stewart* Earl of *Arbol*.
8. The Provostry of *Dalkeith*, in *Lothian*, founded by *James Douglas*, the second Earl of *Morton*.
9. The Provostry of *Fowlis*, in *Angus*, founded by *Andrew Gray* of *Fowlis*.
10. The Colledge of *Kilmund*, in *Cowal*, founded by Sir *Duncan Campbell* Knight.
11. The Provostry of *Dirlton*, in *Lothian*, founded by Sir *Walter Haliburton* of *Dirlton*.
12. The Colledge of *Rosseline*, in *Lothian*, founded by *William Sinclair* Earl of *Orkney*.
13. The Provostry of *Dunglas*, in *Mers*, founded by *Alexander Hume* Lord *Hume*.
14. The King's Colledge of *Striveling*, founded by King *James* the Third.
15. *Trinity* Colledge in *Edinburgh*, founded by *Mary*, Widow of King *James* the Second.
16. The Provostry of *Restalrig*, in *Lothian*, founded by King *James* the Fourth.
17. The Provostry of *Seaton*, in *Lothian*, founded by the Lord *Seaton*.
18. The Provostry of *Croftorphine*, in *Lothian*, founded by the Baron of *Croftorphine* Forrester.
19. The Colledge of *Creighton*, in *Lothian*, founded by the Earl of *Bothwell* *Hepburn*.
20. The Provostry of *Sempill*, in *Ranfrew-shire*, founded by the Lord *Sempill*.
21. The Colledge of *Kilmawers*, in *Cunninghame*, founded by the Earl of *Glencarn*.
22. The Colledge of *Hamilton*, in *Clidisdail*, founded by the Lord *Hamilton*.
23. The Colledge of *Dumbarton*, in *Lennox*, founded by one of the Countesses of *Lennox*.
24. The Provostry of *Tillibarden*, in *Strath-ferne*, founded by the Baron of *Tillibarden* *Murray*.
25. The Provostry of *Tayne*, in *Ross*, founded by King *James* the Fourth.
26. The Provostry of *Abernethie*, in *Strath-ferne*, founded by one of the Earls of *Douglas*.

The chief Church in great Towns was a Collègiat-Church; as *Saint Giles* in *Edinburgh*, &c.

D

LAST

LAST of all follow the **KNIGHTS TEMPLARS**.

This Order was instituted by Pope *Grégoire*, about the year of our Lord 1120. Their Office and Vow was, to defend the Temple and the Holy Sepulchre at *Jerusalem*, to entertain Christian Strangers that came thither for Devotion, and to guard them in safety when they went to visit the places of the Holy Land. Their Habit was a White Cloak, with a Red Cross, and a Sword girt about them. They were suppressed by Pope *Clement* the Fifth, about the year 1310. and their Lands were (by a General Council held at *Vienne*) conferr'd on the Knights of the Order of *Saint John of Jerusalem*, called also *Joannites*, and after Knights of the *Rhodes*, and lastly of *Malta*, where they live at this day.

The *Templars* and their Successours (spoken of before) had onely one House in *Scotland*, which was the Hospital of *Saint Germans* in *Lothian*. This House was dissolved Anno 1494. and the greatest part of its Revenues by King *James* the Fourth conferr'd upon the King's Colledge of *Aberdene*, then newly founded by Bishop *William Elphinstoun*.

Though I cannot give an account in what year every particular Monastery in *Scotland* was founded, yet their general Dissolution was about the year 1560.

There was also a Convent of *Red Friars* at the mouth of *Teviot* near *Kelfo*; but by whom built, I cannot learn.

CHAP. III.

The UNIVERSITIES of SCOTLAND.

Here are four Universities in *Scotland*,
SAINT ANDREWS, } *ABERDENE*,
GLASGOW, } *EDINBURGH*.

The Univerſitie of SAINT ANDREWS

WAS founded by Bishop *Henry Wardlaw*, Anno Christi 1412. It is endowed with very ample Privileges.

The Archbishops of *Saint Andrews* are perpetual Chancellours thereof.

The Rectour is chosen yearly, and by the Statutes of the Univerſitie he ought to be one of the three Principals. His Power is the same with that of the Vice-chancellour of *Oxford* or *Cambridge*.

There are in this Univerſitie three Colledges; viz. *SAINT SALVATOR'S*, *SAINT LEONARD'S*, *NEW COLLEDGE*.

SAINT SALVATOR'S Colledge.

James Kennedy, Bishop of *Saint Andrews*, founded this Colledge, built the Edifice, furnished it with costly Ornaments, and provided sufficient Revenues for the maintenance of the Masters and Professours.

Persons endowed at the Foundation were,

A Doctour
 A Bachelour } of Divinitie;
 A Licenciate

Four Professours of Philosophy, who are called *Regents*;
 Eight poor Scholars, called *Bursars*.

Bene-

Benefactours.

I can give little or no account of the Benefactours.
 The Earl of *Cassils* hath founded a Professour of Humanitie to teach the *Latin* tongue.
George Martyn cield the great Hall.

Present Professours.

George Weemis, Doctour of Divinity, Provost.
James Rymer,
George Thomson, } Professours of Philosophy.
Edward Thomson,
James Strachan,

The Arms of *Saint Salvator's* Colledge are the Globe and *Saint Salvator's* Cross.

SAINT LEONARD'S Colledge

Was founded by *John Hepburn*, Prior of *Saint Andrews*, Anno 152—.

Persons endowed are,

A Principal or Warden,
 Four Professours of Philosophy,
 Eight poor Scholars.

Benefactours.

Of these I can give no account.
 The Priory of *Portmuck* is annexed to this Colledge.
 And lately, the Parsonage of *Kinkell* in *Aberdeneshire*.

Present Professours.

James Weemis, Doctour of Divinity, and Dean of *Saint Andrews*, Principal.
William Sanders,
Alexander Skene, } Professours of Philosophy.
Alexander Grant,

NEW COLLEDGE

Was founded by *James Beaton*, Archbishop, Anno 153—.

The Professours and Scholars endowed are of Divinity; for no Philosophy is taught in this Colledge.

Present Professours.

Walter Comrie, Doctour and Professour of Divinity, Principal.
David Faulconar, Professour of Divinity.

There was lately founded in the Univerſitie of *Saint Andrews* a Professour of *Mathematicks*.

The present Rectour of the Univerſitie is *Andrew Bruce*, Doctour of Divinitie, Archdeacon of *Saint Andrews*.

The short and bad Account which I have given of this Univerſitie proceeds meerly from want of Information.

Learned men and Writers.

John Mayor, Provost of *Saint Salvator's*, a person, according to the Learning of those Times, very famous. His History of the *Scottish* Nation is not so much esteemed, being very short, and in the style and way of writing Scholastical and Quodlibetical. He wrote also on the Master of the Sentences: but see his Character page 68. He flourished about the year 1520.

Andrew Melvill, Professour of Divinitie in the *New Colledge*, a man well seen in the *Hebrew* Language and the Rabbinical writings. He was the first who kindled the great Combustions in this Church, by introducing the Discipline of *Geneva* amongst us, as may be more fully seen in the foregoing History.

John Baron, Doctour and Professour of Divinitie in the *New Colledge*, was a person of great Worth and Learning, and of great Candour. He died in the time of our late Com-bustions.

Sir John Wedderburn was a Professour of Philosophy in this Universitie; but that was too narrow a place for so great a Person, who became since so celebrated for his great Learning and skill in Physick: and though his infirmities and great age forced him to retire from publick practice and business, yet his fame attracts all the Nation to him, and his noble Hospitality and kindness to all men that are learned and vertuous makes his Conversation no less loved than his Advice is desired.

Samuel Rutherford, Professour of Divinitie in the *New Colledge*, was very famous in those Times, for quickness and subtilty in disputing and writing. He was judged to be very devout: he wrote *Exercitationes de Gratia*, and *Disputationes de Providentia*: he was a wonderfull Assertour of the *Supralapsarian Hypothesis*: he wrote also many Books in English; some Controversial, as the *Divine right of Presbytery*, others pieces of Devotion and Sermons: he wrote also a Seditious Book, condemned by Law, about the Power of the King, and the Priviledges of the People, called *Lex Rex*. He died 1661.

Alexander Colvill, Doctour and Professour of Divinitie in the *New Colledge*: he was before Professour at *Sedan*. He was learned in the *Hebrew*, and was a great Textuary, and well seen in Divinitie. He died about the year 1664.

James Wood, Professour of Divinitie, and Provost of *Saint Salvator's*, was a person both judicious and wise, as also of considerable Learning: he wrote a Book against Independency: he died about the year 1664.

John Johnston, Professour of Divinitie in the *New Colledge*, wrote a Paraphrase of the *Psalms*, and other most excellent Poems, and for his skill in the *Latin* tongue and Poetic was second to none in his time: he flourished about the year 1610.

David Calderwood, a man of great reading and study, but very unhappy in his way of expressing himself, both which appeared in his *Altare Damascenum*. He was at first very factious, and banished the Kingdom by King *James*; yet was afterwards much neglected by that violent Party, who judged him too moderate, though from his Book none would imagine him guilty of it.

James Durham, a Gentleman of a good Family and learned, was bred in this famous University: he wrote a judicious Book of *Scandal*, with good Learning in it: there are also Expositions of his upon the *Revelation*, and on the *Song of Solomon*, and the *Ten Commandments*, all published since his death.

George Gillespie was also bred here, who was a very pregnant young man, had great freedom of expression and much boldness, which raised him to make a very considerable figure among the Covenanters. He had some good Learning, but was very factious; he wrote against the Ceremonies, and many pieces against the *Erasians*. He died *An. 1649*.

James Gregory, Professour of the *Mathematicks* in this University, was a person of most extraordinary Learning in those Sciences. He had a strange faculty of resolving the hardest Problems, and seems to have found a *Non plus ultra* in Geometry. He was Fellow of the Royal Society, and much admired both in *England*, *France* and *Italy*, where he travelled; but lost both his eyes, and soon after died, 1674.

In this Universitie many of the chief Nobility are bred, among whom none has done greater honour to *Saint Leonard's Colledge*, where he was bred, than his Grace the Duke of *Lauderdale*: to whom as Learning seemed entailed, (his Family for four Descents having been most famed for Learning of any of their Quality;) so he received those impressions in this University, that, being since much improved, have rendered him so eminent for Learning; of which onely my Subject leading me to speak, I shall say nothing of his other extraordinary Qualities.

Archbald Lord Napier of Merchiston was a profound Scholar, and of great worth. His *Logarithms* have rendered him famous throughout the whole world: he wrote also an Exposition on the *Revelation*. He died 1621.

Sir Robert Murray, a great Promoter and Fellow of the Royal Society, was a person of wonderfull abilities, vast apprehensions, great depth of Judgment, and universally knowing in every thing, but more particularly in the *Mathematicks*. He was a great Ornament to the Age he lived in, and an honour to his Country. He died *Anno 1674*.

The

The Universitie of GLASGOW

WAS founded *Auspiciis, Pietate & Benignitate Eximii Principis, Jacobi Secundi, Scotlandum Regis Serenissimi, indulgentiam faciente, & jus ac facultatem Studii Generalis sanciente, Nicolao Quinto, Pontifice Romano; ejus Erektionem & Constitutionem magno labore & sumptibus procurante Reverendo Antistite Gulielmo Turnbullo, Episcopo Glasgouensi.*

The words of the Bull are, *Ut Studium Generale vigeat tam in Theologia ac Jure Canonico & Civili, quam Artibus & qualibet alia Facultate; quodque Doctores & Magistri ibidem omnibus & singulis Privilegiis, Libertatibus, Honoribus, Immunitatibus, Exemptionibus, per Sedem Apostolicam vel alios quomodolibet Magistris, Doctores & Studentibus, in Studio nostra Civitatis Cononienfis concessis, gaudeant & utantur.*

The Persons founded were, a Rector, a Dean of Facultie, a Principal or Warden, who was to teach Theologie, three Professours to teach Philosophy. Afterwards some Clergy-men professed the Laws here, being invited to that Profession rather by the commodity of a Collegiate life, and the Immunities of the University, than by any considerable Salary. King *James* the Sixth, *Anno 1577*. did establish Twelve persons in the Colledge; viz. a Principal, three Professours of Philosophy called Regents, four Scholars called Bursars, an *Oeconomus* or Provisor, who furnisheth the Table with provisions, the Principal's servant, a Janitor, and a Cook.

Benefactors.

The Kings of Scotland have been great Benefactors to this University.

King *James* the Second, the Founder of it, did bestow considerable Revenues, and endue it with many Privileges and Immunities. The words of the Letter under the Great Seal 12. Kal. Maii 1453. are, *Omnes & singulos Rectores qui pro tempore fuerint, Facultatum Decanos, Procuratores Nationum, Regentes, Magistros & Scholares in hac Universitate studentes, sub nostra firma pace & custodia, defensione & sustententia suscipimus; eosdemque Rectores, &c. ab omnibus tributis, exactionibus, taxationibus, collectis, vigiliis, custodiis, eximimus, & postea eximendos statuimus.*

The same Privileges were confirmed by King *James* the Third, *Anno 1472*. by King *James* the Fourth, 1509. by King *James* the Fifth, 1522. and by Queen *Mary*, 1547.

About the time of the Reformation, the University was almost brought to desolation, and had been ruined, had not King *James* the Sixth, in his Minority, restored it by his Royal Bounty and munificence. He confirmed all its Privileges, and bestowed upon it the Tithes of the Church of *Govan*, *Anno 1577*. Afterwards he ratified all the former Acts made in favour of the University, and made some new Donations, *Anno 1617*.

King *Charles* the First did ratify all the old Privileges, and bestowed money for repairing the Fabrick.

King *Charles* the Second, by the advice of the Estates of Parliament, gave also money for the same purpose.

Bishop *William Turnbull*, by whose procurement the Pope's Bull was obtained, was very liberal to the Colledge, bestowing upon it both Lands and Revenues; and so were several of the Bishops and Archbishops who succeeded him.

The Cite of *Glasgow* were also Benefactors to the Colledge.

The Ground on which the Colledge stands, with a Field adjacent thereunto, was the donation of *James Lord Hamilton*.

Since the Reformation, sundry private men have given considerable sums of money towards the maintenance of poor Scholars or Bursars; as *William Struthers*, *Zachary Boyd*, *Thomas Crawford*, Ministers.

Others have bestowed money for repairing the Fabrick, as *Alexander Boyd*, *Matthew Wilson*, Ministers.

James Law, Archbishop of *Glasgow*, was very bountifull to the Colledge; for he much augmented the Revenues thereof, and bestowed many choice Books, which are in the Library.

William Earl of Dundonald, *Anno 1672*. gave about 1000 pounds sterling towards the maintenance of Bursars.

John Snell hath of late bestowed 6000 Marks *Scotish* for enriching the Library, and adorning the Fabrick.

The Archbishops of *Glasgow* are perpetual Chancellours of the Univerſitie. The Rectour is choſen once every year. *David Cadyow*, Canon of *Glasgow*, was the firſt Rectour; and *William Elphingſton*, Official of *Glasgow*, afterwards Biſhop of *Aberdene*, was the firſt Dean of Facultie.

Principals.

1454. *David Bimb* firſt Principal.
His Succeſſours are not known, becauſe the old Records and Registers of the Colledge were either deſtroyed or taken away at the Reformation.

- 1577. *Andrew Melvin*.
- 1580. *Thomas Smetou*.
- 1600. *Patrick Sharp*.
- 1615. *Robert Boyd* of *Trochbrig*.
- 1622. *John Cameron*.
- 1626. *John Strang*, Doctour of Divinitie.
- 1650. *Robert Ramsay*: he lived but a month after his Inſtalment.
- 1653. *Patrick Gillespie*.
- 1660. *Robert Bailie*.
- 1662. *Edward Wright*, preſent Principal.

Profeſſours of Divinitie.

The Principals taught Theologie till Anno 1640. at which time there was a Salarie ſettled for maintenance of a Profeſſour of Divinitie.

- 1640. *David Dickſon*.
- 1649. *Robert Bailie*.
- 1660. *John Young*.
- 1668. *Gilbert Burnet*.
- 1674. *David Liddell*, preſent Profeſſour of Divinitie.

There is not a Coat of Arms peculiar to this Univerſitie, but they uſe the Arms of the Citie of *Glasgow*.

Preſent Profeſſours.

- Sir William Fleming* of *Ferm*, Rectour.
- Doctour *Matthew Britban*, Dean of Facultie.
- Edward Wright*, Principal or Warden.
- David Liddell*, Profeſſour of Theologie.
- William Blair*,
- Thomas Nicolson*,
- John Tran*,
- John Boyd*,

Profeſſours of Philoſophy.

Learned men and Writers.

John Sharp, Doctour and Profeſſour of Divinitie, a man well learned, and a good Textuary.

John Cameron, Principal, of whom I need ſay no more, but that he was the Great *Cameron* ſo well known to the World by his excellent Prelections on the New Teſtament. He acquired ſo much fame in *France*, where he was Profeſſour of Divinitie in *Saumur*, that King *James* brought him to *Scotland*, hoping that his Learning and Worth would have had ſome effects on the Puritans: but he finding them untractable, went back to *France*, where he lived and died in great eſteem.

Robert Boyd, Principal, was a very excellent Perſon, and of conſiderable Learning: he wrote a large Commentary on the *Ephesians*.

John Strang, Doctour of Divinity, Principal, a man of great Parts, extraordinary Subtilty, and of a moſt ſolid Reaſon, as appears by his excellent Books *De voluntate Dei in actibus humanis*, and *De Scriptura Sacra*.

David Dickſon, Profeſſour of Divinitie, a man wonderfully eſteemed and revered for his Piety by the Covenanters, not unlearned: he wrote a Commentary on S. *Matthew's* Goſpel, on the *Pſalms*, and the *Epistles* to the *Romans* and *Hebrews*; alſo a Book of *Practical Divinitie*, called *Therapeutica Sacra*, which he wrote in *Latin*.

Robert

Robert Bailie, Profeſſour of Divinity, and afterwards Principal, a learned and modeſt man: though he publiſhed ſome very violent Writings, yet thoſe flowed rather from the inſtigatation of other perſons, than his own inclinations. He has left a great evidence of his Diligence and Learning in his *Opus Chronologicum*.

Alexander Nubet and *James Ferguson*, two Miniſters much eſteemed, were bred in this Univerſity: they wrote each of them Commentaries on ſome of the *Epistles*.

George Hutchinson was alſo bred here, who was accounted one of the greateſt Preachers of the Presbyterian party, and was a Learned man: he wrote on the *Twelve Minor Prophets*, on *Job*, and on the Goſpel of Saint *John*. He died Anno 1674.

George Buchanan was a perſon that deſerves a higher Character than I can give him: but it is done to ſuch advantage in the foregoing Hiſtory, that I muſt referre the Reader to it, page 325.

The Univerſitie of ABERDENE.

IN the Reign of King *Alexander* the Second, Anno 1211— there was a *Studium Generale* in *Collegio Canonorum*, where there were Profeſſours and Doctours of Divinitie, and of the Canon and Civil Laws, and many Learned men have flouriſhed therein.

King *James* the Fourth, and *William Elphingſton*, Biſhop of *Aberdene*, procured from Pope *Alexander* the Sixth the Privilege of an Univerſitie in Chriſtendom; and particularly the Foundation relates to the Privileges of *Paris* and *Bononia*, but hath no reference to *Oxford* or *Cambridge*, becauſe of the Wars between *Scotland* and *England* at that time. The Privileges were afterwards confirmed by Pope *Julius* the Second, *Clement* the Seventh, *Leo* the Tenth, and *Paul* the Second; and by the Succeſſours of King *James* the Fourth.

The Biſhop of *Aberdene* is perpetual Chancellour of this Univerſitie, and hath power to viſit in his own perſon, and to reform Abuses: and although he be not a Doctour of Divinitie, yet the Foundation gives him power of conferring that Degree.

The Office of Vicechancellour reſides in the Official or Commiſſary of *Aberdene*. The Rectour, who is choſen yearly, with the aſſiſtence of his four Aſſeſſours is to take notice of Abuses, &c. in the Univerſitie, and to make a return thereof to the Chancellour. If one of the Maſters happen to be Rectour, then is his power devolved upon the Vicechancellour.

The Colledge was founded by Biſhop *William Elphingſton*, Anno 1500. and was called the *King's Colledge*, becauſe King *James* the Fourth took upon him and his Succeſſours the ſpecial Protection of it.

Perſons endowed were,

- A Doctour of Theologie, who was Principal;
- the Canon Law;
- the Civil Law;
- Phyſick;

- A Profeſſour of Humanity to teach Grammar;
- A Subprincipal to teach Philoſophy;

- A Cantor;
- A Sacriſt;
- Six Students of Divinitie;
- Three Students of the Laws;
- Thirteen Students of Philoſophy;
- An Organist;
- Five Singing-boys, who were Students of Humanity.

Benefactors.

Biſhop *William Elphingſton*, the Founder, built moſt part of the Fabrick, furniſhed the great Steeple with ten Bells, gave many coſtly Ornaments, as Hangings, Books, &c. King *James* the Fourth beſtowed upon the Colledge the Rents of the Hoſpital of *Saint Germans* in *Lothian*, whereof the Tithes of the Pariſhes of *Aberlueth* in *Mernis*, of *Glenmuik* and *Glenigairden* in *Mar*, are a part; as alſo the Tithes of the Pariſhes of *Slanes* and *Furvie* in *Buchan*.

King

King James the Sixth bestowed upon it the Rents of the Carmelite Friars of Bamff, the Chaplainries of Westhall and Fallowrout.

King Charles the First gave to the Colledge two parts of the Revenues of the Bishoprick of *Aberdene*, so long as the See should remain vacant, Anno 1641. Upon which Donation, eight Bursars more were endowed, and the Universitie was called the *Caroline* Universitie.

King Charles the Second, by the advice of the Estates of Parliament, did bestow upon it, Anno 1672. the Stipends of all those Churches which should happen to be vacant within the Dioceses of *Aberdene*, *Murray*, *Ross*, and *Cathnes*, and that for seven years following the date of the A&S.

Gavin Dumber, Bishop of *Aberdene*, built the South-quarter of the Colledge, and the houses belonging to the Prebendaries, and did perfect whatsoever Bishop Elphinstoun left unfinished.

William Stewart, Bishop of *Aberdene*, built the Library, Chapter-house, Vestry-house, a School, and Chambers for the Chaplains.

Duncan Sherar, Parson of *Clat*, gave certain Lands towards the maintenance of Bursars.

Nicolam Hay, Professour of the Civil Law, and Official of *Aberdene*, gave maintenance to Bursars.

Robert Maitland, Dean of *Aberdene*, procured the annexation of the Deanry to the Colledge, 1579.

Walter Stewart, Principal, procured the annexation of his Rectory of *Mesbick* to the Colledge.

Sir Thomas Burnet of *Leyn* endowed three Bursars.

James Wat, Rectour of *Snaish* in *Torkyshire*, gave certain Landstowards the maintenance of a Student of Divinitie.

Alexander Reid, Doctour of Physick, left in legacy to the Colledge two hundred pounds of English money: he also left his Books to the Library.

John Forbes, Doctour and Professour of Divinitie, did purchase two houses, and left the one for the accommodation of his Successours Professours of Divinitie, and the other for the use of the Cantor.

The following persons left their Books to the Library.

Andrew Strachan, Doctour and Professour of Divinitie.

George Clerk, a Minister.

Thomas Garden.

George Anderson.

Sir Francis Gordon.

Alexander Blackhall, Student of Divinitie, resident at *London*.

Thomas Mercer, Burgess of *Aberdene*.

Principals.

150—. Hector Boeth, or Boyes, (descended from the Boeths of Panbride in *Angus*;) born in *Dundee*, and bred up in Letters in the Universitie of *Paris*, was the first Principal. Besides his History of the Scots, he wrote the Lives of the Bishops of *Aberdene*.

153—. William Hay, Subprincipal, was his Successour.

1552. John Bissait continued six years, and resigned his place (because of his infirmities proceeding from long sickness) to

1558. Alexander Anderson, Subprincipal, who was also Parson of *Tyrie*, and Vicar of *Kinkell*. This man was a great Scholar, and a subtil Disputant, but no great friend to the Colledge. For the hatred he bare to the Reformed Religion, he alienated some of the Colledge-Revenues, destroyed many of its Writings and Evidences, whereby many Lands and other Rents belonging to *Saint Germans* are quite lost; sold the Ornaments, Books, and other Furniture belonging to the Colledge. Commendable he was in one thing; for when some of the Reformers would have taken away the Lead and Bells, *reputis vim ferro*. He was afterwards turned out, and the Place conferred upon

1569. Alexander Arbuthnot, (Brother to the Baron of Arbuthnot,) Parson of *Arbuthnot* and *Logy Buchan*, a modest, learned, and pious Divine.

1584. Walter Stewart, Subprincipal, was his Successour, a very hopefull person, taken away in the thirty-sixth year of his age.

1593. Upon his death, David Rait, (of the House of *Halgreen* in the *Mernie*;) Subprincipal,

principal, was preferred to the place. He continued Principal fortie two years.

1634. To him succeeded William Leslie, Doctour of Divinitie, Subprincipal, a man of great Learning. In his time, Anno 1634. a storm of wind beat down the top of the great Steeple, which afterwards was built more stately, consisting of four Arches supporting a Crown with a Globe and Cross. Principal Leslie was for his Loyalty thrust out by the Covenanters, and in his room was elected

1640. William Guild, Doctour of Divinitie, Minister in *Aberdene*, and one of the Chaplains to King Charles the First; a Learned and worthy person. He built the Tradesmens Hospital in *Aberdene*, left considerable Legacies to the Poor, and bequeathed his Books to the Library of *Saint Andrews*.

Anno 1649. the General Assembly gave a Commission to some Ministers and Lay-Elders to reform the Colledge, and to expell the Malignants.

Persons thrust out.

Doctour William Guild, Principal;

Alexander Middleton, Subprincipal;

Patrick Gordon,

George Middleton, } Professours of Philosophy.

Persons put in.

The Commissioners at that time did not unanimously agree whom to put in; and considering (Winter drawing near) that the Colledge could not be well governed, unless there were a Principal or Subprincipal, therefore they ordered the Subprincipal to continue, till his place were supplied by another. Shortly after, the Masters restored the Principal (in despite of all opposition) to his place. But Anno 1651. General Monk sent five Colonels to reform the Colledge; Colonel Fennick, Moseley, Owen, Daborough, and Smith. At this Reformation both Principal and Subprincipal were again turned out: Gilbert Rewle was substituted in the room of the latter, and the place of the former was conferred upon

1652. John Row, an Independent Minister in *Aberdene*, a person well seen in the Latin and Greek Languages, and not ill in the Hebrew. In his time, Anno 1657. was laid the foundation of the New work in the North-East corner of the Colledge, of six stories high, consisting of twenty four Chambers with Chimneys and Conveniences, a School, and a Bulliard-house. The Money that built it was given by the Masters, and other well-disposed persons, whose Names are written in a Register called *Album amicorum Collegii Regii Aberdonensis*. Mr. Row continued Principal till Anno 1661.

At which time William Rait, Minister at *Brichen*, was preferred to the place. He stayed onely a year, and returned to *Brichen*.

1662. Alexander Middleton, Minister in *Old Aberdene*, and Subprincipal, of whom before, succeeded him.

Professours of Divinitie.

The Professour of Divinitie was founded by the Bishop, Synod, and Colledge of *Aberdene*, Anno 162—. The first Professour was

162—. John Forbes, Doctour of Divinity, a most pious, peaceable and learned Divine. He continued till the year 163—. and being by the Magistrates of *Aberdene* chosen to be one of the Ministers of the Town, left for his Successour

1634. Andrew Strachan, Doctour of Divinity, who lived little above a year after his Instalment.

1635. Doctour Forbes was chosen Professour again, and continued till for his Loyalty he was thrust out by the Covenanters, Anno 1639. Shortly after he went over into *Holland*, where he published his *Institutiones Historico-Theologicæ*, and returning home died in his house of *Corfe*, Anno 165—.

164—. William Douglas, Minister at *Forgue*, succeeded Doctour Forbes. He died Anno 1665.

1673. Henry Scogal, Parson of *Achterless*, was after some years Vacancy preferred to the place.

The Election of the Rectour, Dean of Facultie, Professour of the Oriental Languages, Professours of Philosophy, Janitor, &c. is by the major part of the Masters: but the Principal and the rest of the Prebendaries are chosen not onely by the major part, but also by four Procuratores Nationum. In all the Elections the Foundation gives the Principal one great Privilege: *Volumus enim ut in omnibus hisce Electionibus, Principalis habeat vocem*

E

Nominati-

Nominativum, Electivum, & Conclufivum: which seems to be a Negative voice inherent in him.

If a Place be vacant, a Bursar (*Alumnus*) is to be preferred before any other, if he be sufficiently qualified.

If a vacant Place be not filled within one month, then it falls to the Chancellor *Jure devoluto*, who presents one for that time.

The *Procuratores Nationum* their having a voice in the Elections, imports the like to be in the Scholars, from whom they derive their power of voting. The Scholars are divided into four Classes, according to the number of the Dioceses or Provinces wherein they live. The Provinces are these.

1. *Provincia Aberdonensis* contains the Shires of *Aberdene* and *Bamff*.
2. *Provincia Moraviensis* includes all those Countries that lie on the North side of the River *Spey*.
3. *Provincia Angustiensis* contains *Angus* and *Mernis*.
4. *Provincia Laudoniensis* comprehends (besides *Lothian*) all the rest of *Scotland*.

The Students of each Province do chuse a Procurator to give up their Vote in the Election.

Every *Michaelmas*, the Masters convene after the ending of the ten weeks Vacation, and a Probleme is affixed on the Colledge-Gates, inviting young Scholars to come and dispute for a Bursie, (which is their maintenance at the Colledge.) To these are prescribed Exercises or Themes to make, then *Latin* Authours in Prose and Verse to expound: and the first four (for so many Bursies are void at every Commencement) who are reckoned to be the best Scholars, are preferred.

In *October* the Students begin to convene. They wear a Red or Scarlet Gown with hanging Sleeves; but those who are Bursars, a Black Gown with a Girdle. Their time of continuance at the University is four years. They are ranked into four Classes.

To those of the first Class is taught the *Greek* Language.
The Students of the second Class do learn *Logicks* and *Metaphysics*.
Those of the third Class (who at the year's end are Bachelours of Arts) do learn *Ethicks* and *General Physics*.

The fourth and highest Class do compleat their Course with *Special Physics* and *Mathematics*.

The time of the Commencement of Masters of Arts is in *July*; the manner thus.
Before the day appointed, those who are to receive their Degree do publish their *Theses*, inviting all Learned men and Scholars to come and dispute.

At the day appointed, great preparation is made, the *Candidati* are apparelled in Black, with Black Gowns, and at ten of the clock all go into the publick School, where the Professour of Philosophy or Regent, who is to conferre the Degree, makes a long Speech (beginning with a Prayer) to the Auditours: which being ended, the Disputes begin, and continue till four or five of the clock. Then they take a little refreshment, and so return to the Graduation, (Laureation.)

The Regent doth tender to the *Candidati* the following Oath:

Ego, A. B. coram Omnisio & Omnipotenti Deo, Religionem & Fidem, unicam & solam Orthodoxam, in Ecclesia Scotiana palam propositam, professurum me, & ab omnibus Pontificiorum & aliorum quorumcumque Heresibus longe abhorrentem, spondeo, voveo, juro. Insuper, Universitati huic, almae Parenti, cui hanc Ingenii culturam debeo, liberaliter relaturum me nutritiam quam potero, eadem fide solenniter promitto. Quod si fidem sciens & volens fefellerò, arcanorum cordis recessuum Scrutatorum Deum, ultorem & vindicem non recuso. Ita me adjuvet Deus.

After the Oath one of the *Candidati* ascends the Desk, and the Regent taking into his hand a Hat or Cap, with these following words doth give him his Degree.

Ego eadem auctoritate, quam Summi ac Potentissimi Principes Almae huic Universitatis amplissimam indulgere, te A. B. in Artibus Liberalibus, & Disciplinis Philosophicis, Magistrum creo, proclamo, constituo, renuncio: tibi que potestatem do, Legendi, Scribendi, omniisque id genus alia committendi, qua hic, aut ubivis Gentium, Artium Magistris concedi solet. Et in signum munusculi tui, Caput tuum hoc Pileo (putting the Cap on the Scholar's Head) adorno: quod ut tibi felix faustumque sit, Deum Optimum Maximum precor. Insuper, Librum hunc tibi apertum trado: ut Ingenii tui aliquod Specimen coram celebri hoc cœtu edas, rogo.

Then the Graduate hath a short Speech to the Auditours, and so the Ceremony is ended

ded with clapping of hands, sounding of Trumpets, shouting, &c. Thus are all the *Candidati* graduated one after another. The same way almost is used in all the Universities of *Scotland*.

Concerning the Graduation of Bachelours and Doctors of Divinitie, Law, and Physick, I can give no account.

Present Masters and Professours.

John Menzeis, Professour of Divinitie in the *Marischal* Colledge of *Aberdene*, Rectour.

Doctour *Lewis Gordon*, Dean of Facultie.

Alexander Middleton, Dean of *Aberdene*, Principal.

Henry Scougal, } Professour of } Divinitie.

George Nicolson, } the Laws.

Patrick Urquhart, Doctour and Professour of Physick.

Andrew Massie, Subprincipal.

Patrick Gordon, Professour of Humanitie, and of the Oriental Languages.

Robert Forber, } Professours of Philosophy.

George Middleton, }

John Buchan, }

There are also

A Student of Divinitie,

Fifteen Bursars of Philosophy,

A Cantor, who is Master of the Musick-School in the Town;

An *Oeconomus*,

A Janitor,

A Cook,

A Gardener, and other inferiour Servants.

Learned men and Writers.

Helior Boeth, Principal, according to the Learning of the Times he lived in, was very considerable: for whose Character see Page 68. in the foregoing History.

John Leslie, Canonist in the *King's* Colledge, and Official of *Aberdene*, was a very worthy person, and of great Learning in those days he lived in: he suffered much for his Loyalty to his Princess Queen *Mary*.

John Forber, Doctour and Professour of Divinity. All I shall say to this great man is, that he was one of the best Scholars that ever our Kingdom bred, as will appear to all that ever read his *Institutiones Historico-Theologicæ*, which these unhappy Times suffered him not to finish, to the great regret of all Learned men. His *Irenicum* does also shew both his Learning and Moderation. But his Piety and Devotion was so signal, that his Name will be alwaies remembred there with great honour.

William Guild, Doctour of Divinity, Principal. He wrote Commentaries on several Books of the Old Testament, a Systeme of Divinity, and many Treatises against the Papists. He had a fair Estate, which he left wholly to pious uses.

Arthur Johnston, Doctour of Physick, and Rectour of the University, was an excellent Poet.

William Douglas, Professour of Divinity, a man of great Industry: he wrote some little Treatises.

There were also three Brothers descended from a Noble Family, *Duncan, Thomas*, and *Gilbert Burnet*, who were bred here, and were in great esteem. The first was a Doctour of Physick, and practised in *Normich*: he was a learned, holy, and good man. The second was of the same Profession, and likewise in great esteem in *Brainrey*, where he practised Physick. The third was a Professour of Philosophy, first at *Basil*, then at *Montaubon*; and was in such esteem there, that a National Synod of the Protestants in *France* appointed his Philosophical Writings to be printed at the expence of the Clergy. But he dying before his Manuscripts were put in order, onely his Book of *Esbicks* was printed. They all three flourished about the year 1630.

George Middleton, Doctour of Physick, was once a Professour of Philosophy here; a man of considerable Parts, of good Learning, and well skilled in the practice of Physick. He died very lately.

William Gordon, Doctour and Professour of Physick here, was a very worthy person, of great Judgment, and well seen in that Science. He died Anno 1641.

James Sandilands, Doctour and Professour of the Laws here, and Official of *Aberdene*, was a Learned man, and a great Civilian. He died *Anno 164*—.

Many other Learned men have been Professours here, besides those who have had their Education in this Colledge.

THE MARISCHAL Colledge of *Aberdene* was founded by *George Keith Earl Marischal*, *Anno 1593*.

Persons endowed were,

- A Principal,
- Three Professours of Philosophy.
- Since that time there have been added,
- A Professour of $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Divinitie,} \\ \text{Mathematicks,} \end{array} \right.$
- A fourth Professour of Philosophy,
- Twenty four poor Scholars.

Benefactours.

George Earl Marischal, Founder, gave towards the maintenance of the Professours certain Lands lying near *Aberdene*, and at *Bervie* in *Mernis*.

The Town of *Aberdene* built most part of the Edifice.

Thomas Reid left an annual Salary to a Library-keeper.

Bernard Cargill gave a considerable summe of money towards the maintenance of a Professour of Divinitie.

Duncan Liddell, Doctour of Physick, left a considerable summe of money towards the maintenance of a Professour of Mathematicks.

Sir Alexander Irwing of *Drum* left in Legacy towards the maintenance of poor Scholars, or Bursars, of Philosophy and Divinity, a thousand pounds Sterling money.

King Charles the First bestowed on the Colledge the third part of the Rents of the Bishoprick of *Aberdene*, so long as the See should continue vacant, *Anno 1641*.

Alexander Reid, Doctour of Physick, left in Legacy to the Colledge and Grammar-School two hundred pounds of English money.

Alexander Ross, Doctour of Divinity, Minister in *Aberdene*,

William Guild, Doctour of Divinity, Minister in *Aberdene*,

Patrick Dune, Doctour of Physick,

Each of them gave money to maintain Bursars.

Several of the Benefactours left their Books to the Library.

Principals.

- 1593. *Robert Howy*, first Principal.
- 159— *Gilbert Gray*.
- 160— *Andrew Aidie*.
- 161— *William Forbes*, Doctour of Divinity, afterwards Bishop of *Edinburgh*.
- 162— *Patrick Dune*, Doctour of Physick.
- 1639. *William Moir*.
- 1663. *James Leslie*, Doctour of Physick.

Professours of Divinity.

- 162— *Robert Baron*, Doctour and Professour of Divinity, afterwards Bishop Elect of *Orkney*.
- 164— *John Menzies*.

Present Professours.

- George Meldrum*, Minister in *Aberdene*, Rectour.
- James Leslie*, Doctour of Physick, Principal.
- John Menzies*, Professour of Divinity.
- Duncan Liddell*, Professour of Mathematicks.
- Robert Paterson*,
- George Peacock*,
- John Farquhar*,
- John Paton*,

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Professours of Philosophy.} \end{array} \right\}$

The

The Earl Marischal is the onely Patron of this Colledge.

Learned men and Writers.

William Forbes, Doctour of Divinity, Principal, was a person of rare Endowments, vast Learning, and a celebrated Preacher. He was the first Bishop of *Edinburgh*, and indeed a most holy person, of whom all that ever knew him give this Character, that they never saw him but they thought his heart was in heaven. He was indeed a fit pattern to all that should come after him.

Robert Baron, Doctour and Professour of Divinity, was a person of incomparable worth and Learning. He had a clear apprehension of things, and a rare facultie of making the hardest things to be easily understood. He is well known by his Book *De objectis formali Fidei*, and his Metaphylicks and other small Treatises: there are many other excellent Manuscripts of his that are not yet published: and he bare the greatest share of that famous Debate *Anno 1638*, between the Doctours of *Aberdene* and the Covenanters.

Alexander Reid, Doctour of Physick, was bred here: he grew very famous in *London*, and left a great part of his Estate to pious uses in and about the places of his Education.

Duncan Liddell, Doctour of Physick, was a person much esteemed for his learned Writings, as his Book *De Febribus*, and several other Books which he wrote.

But since I have named some Physicians educated in *Aberdene*, I must not pass over *Sir Alexander Frazer*, His Majestie's First Physician, whose great Learning and happy Practice of Physick, as they have raised him to such esteem and dignity, so his constant Loyalty and high Generosity do answer that Noble race of the *Frasers* from whom he is descended.

The University of EDINBURGH

WAS founded by King *James* the Sixth of blessed memory; for *Anno 1580* upon the Magistrates of that Citie's Supplication and Address to him for that effect, he granted to them a Charter under the Great Seal, allowing them the full Liberty and Privilege of an University within their Town. But the Foundation was not perfected till *Anno 1582*.

The Privileges of this University are the same with those of any other University in the Kingdom.

The Dignity of Chancellour and Vice-chancellour doth reside in the Magistrates and Town-Council of *Edinburgh*, who are the onely Patrons. I do not find that ever the Dignity was conferred upon any single person.

The Persons founded were,

- A Principal or Warden,
- A Professour of Divinitie,
- Four Masters or Regents (for so they are called) of Philosophy,
- A Professour or Regent of Humanitie (*Humanarum literarum*) and Philologie.
- Since the first Foundation, the Town hath added a Professour of Hebrew, *Anno 1640*.
- and Doctour *Conradus Otto*, a Learned Jew, was the first Professour:
- And a Professour of Mathematicks, preferring *James Gregory*, Fellow of the Royal Society, to the place, *Anno 1674*.

Benefactours.

King *James* the Sixth, Founder.

The Colledge was built, and the Masters and Bursars are maintained, by the publick and private Benevolence of the Citizens of *Edinburgh*.

Some Donations have been by others, but not considerable.

All the Benefactours Names are inserted in the Books of the Town-Council, and in the Register of the Library; and are also drawn in Gold Letters upon several places on the Walls of the Library, together with their several Donations; and also at the time of the publick Commencement (which is once every year) they are recited (*vivat voce*) in the hearing of all.

The Library was founded by *Clement Little*, one of the Officials or Commissaries of *Edinburgh*,

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Principals.

1600. *Henry Charters.*

1620. *Patrick Sands.*

1622. *Robert Boyd.*

1625. *John Adamson.*

1652. Robert Leighton, who was afterwards preferred to be Bishop of Dunblane.

1662. *William Colvill.*

1675. *Andrew Cant.*

Professours of Divinitie.

162—*Andrew Ramsay.*

1620. *John Sharp*, Doctor of Divinity.

1650. *David Dickson.*

1664. *William Keith*, Doctor of Divinity.

1675. *Laurence Charters.*

Present Professours.

Andrew Cant, Principal.

Laurence Charters, Professour of Divinity.

Alexander Dickson, Hebrew Professor.

James Pillan,

John Wishart,

John Wood,

William Paterson,

Gilbert Mackmurdo, Professour of Humanity.

William Henderson, Library-keeper.

No Professour of Mathematicks since Mr. Gregorie's death.

There is no Coat of Arms peculiar to this Univerſitie; but the Magiſtrates allow them to uſe the Arms of the City.

Learned men and Writers.

Robert Rollock, Principal, a person of great worth and Learning. He wrote Commentaries on the *Psalms* and some of the Prophets : some Sermons and Pieces of Devotion were also published by him : but of him see the former History, Page 454.

Henry Charters, Principal, a person of great modesty and humility, and well seen in Theological Learning.

Theological Learning.
Patrick Sands, Doctor of Divinity, Principal, a man very learned in the Mathemat-
ticks.

sicks. **Alonso** Principal, a man of great Learning, and of very quick Parts.

John Adamson, Principal, a man of great Learning, and of City
Alexander Henderson, Rector of the Universitie, and one of the Ministers in the City,
the greatest Ring-leader of the Covenanters, and often employed by them in the affairs of
Church and State, both in *Scotland* and *England*, was a person of great gravity and com-
posedness, and of considerable Learning. That Debate between His late Majesty and him
at *Newcastle* 1646. about Church-Government, and the occasion he then had of knowing
that Blessed Martyr, wrought much upon him, so that he went back to *Scotland* much chan-
ged in his Principles; and it was believed, that if he had lived, he would have been very
instrumental in the King's service; but he died soon after, and was much lamented, being
the most universally-esteemed man of all the Party.
He was a man of a very moderate temper. He was deposed by the

the most universally-esteemed man of all the Party. *William Colvill*, Principal, a man of a very moderate temper. He was deposed by the Covenanters, and yet he would never accept Perferment, though divers Bithopricks were profered to him. He wrote divers Pieces, which are printed, in *English*, and *Ethica Christianiana* in *Latin*. *William*

Williams

William Keith, Doctor and Professor of Divinity, a man of great Learning, who had diligently studied both the Fathers and Schoolmen, and was a great Master of Languages, being very well skilled in the *Hebrew* and Rabbinical Learning. He was wholly mortified and denied to the world, and led a most severe and ascetical kind of life. He died *Anno 1674.*

I forbear to mention those Learned Professours in the Four Universities who are yet alive
and therefore I leave it to those who shall follow, to celebrate their fame to posterity.

CHAP. IV.

Of the GOVERNMENT and LAWS
of SCOTLAND.

THE Kingdom of Scotland hath been governed by Kings in as long a Succession as any Nation in the world. The King is an absolute and unaccountable Monarch, and (as the Law calls him) a Free Prince, of a Sovereign Power; having as great Liberties and Prerogatives by the Laws of this Realm, and Privilege of His Crown and Diademe, as any other King, Prince or Potentate whatsoever. So that it is delivered as a Maxim in the Heads of our Law, That all Jurisdiction stands and consists in the King's Person, by reason of His Royal Authority and Crown, and is competent to no Subject, but flows and proceeds from the King having Supreme Jurisdiction, and is given and committed by Him to such Subjects as He pleases.

The Crown of Scotland descends by Inheritance, the Heir female not being excluded; and the undoubted Right to it has been for above three hundred years in the Family of the *Stewarts*, and is now in the Person of King *CHARLES* the Second, whom God long preserve.

Upon the death of a King, the next Heir is presently King, and the Coronation is only a solemn Instatement in that which was his Right before. All the difference between our Kings before and after their Coronation is, that they hold only Conventions of Estates, but no Parliaments, before they are Crowned : of the distinction of which an account shall be given afterwards.

When a King is Crowned, he swears the Oath appointed to be taken at the Coronation, which before the Reformation was no other then the Oath fet down in the Roman Pontifical to be sworn by Kings; for there is no Provision made about it in our Laws: but at the Reformation it was enacted, That all Kings at the time of their Coronation should make their faithfull Promise by Oath, &c. which Oath is to be found in that Act, and to it the Reader is referred.

The Prerogatives of the Crown are great ; the Power of Peace and War, the Power of raising and arming the Subjects, the Power of the Mint, the Nomination of all Officers, both of the State, and of War and Justice, (except some Sheriffs that are such by Inheritance,) the Power of Calling, Adjourning, (Prorogation is not in our Law) and Dissolving of Parliaments, the giving the Votes of Parliament the Authority of Laws, the executing of the Law, and the pardoning of Offences, are clearly and only in the Crown.

But to these, other great Additions have been made in the two Parliaments held since His MAJESTY's Restauration. For whereas the Supremacy in Ecclesiastical affairs was always in the Crown since the Reformation; yet in the Reign of King *James the Sixth* the Power of the General Assembly was raised very high by Law, which was the chief foundation of the late Troubles; it being pretended, that it was contrary to Law for the King to introduce any thing into the Church without the consent of a General Assembly. It was therefore enacted in Parliament, *That the External Government and Policy of the Church should wholly in the King's power; and that his Orders sent to the Privy Council, and published by them, about all Ecclesiastical matters, Meetings and Persons, were to be obeyed by the Subjects* any

Akt 1.2. Par. held by the Duke of Lauderdale.

any Law or Practice to the contrary notwithstanding. So that in all matters that relate to the Church-Government the King's Power is absolute.

The Second Point is about the *Militia*. By the ancient Laws of Scotland, * all the King's Subjects were to assist him in his Wars. Upon which a great enlargement of the King's Prerogative was grafted of late by two Acts of Parliament; the Kingdom of Scotland offering to the King, to raise and arm Twenty thousand Foot and Two thousand Horse, and to furnish them with forty days Provision, to march into any of His Majesty's Dominions of Scotland, England or Ireland, for suppressing any Foreign Invasion, Intestine Trouble or Insurrection, or for any other Service wherein His Majesty's Honour, Authority or Greatest may be concerned. And these Forces, by another Act, are to give due Obedience to all such Directions as they shall receive from His Majesty's Privie Council.

A Third Point is the Ordering and disposing of Trade with Foreign Nations, and the laying of Restraints and Impositions upon Foreign imported Commodities; which is declared a Prerogative of the Crown.

With these Sacred Rights is the Crown of Scotland clothed.

The King's Revenue consisted anciently most in the Crown-Lands, which could not be alienated but by Act of Parliament, and in the Wards and Marriages of the Vassals of the Crown. But most of these have been of late years given away, and most of the Tenures of Lands are changed, although there has been no general Law for taking away the Wards. The Revenue is now raised out of the Customs and the Excise. The last is given to this King for life, but the former is in the Crown for ever. The rest is raised out of what remains of the Crown-Lands and the Wards.

The Persons nearest in blood to the King are, first, all the Issue of King James and King Charles; which are so well known to every one, that they need not be repeated. Next to them are all that are descended from the Daughter of King James the Second, (since whom, till the Queen of Bohemia, no Collateral Branch sprung from the Royal Family of whom any Issue remains,) who was married to James Lord Hamilton, and had issue, first, James; created Earl of Arran, whose Son was the Duke of Chastelherault, from whom by two Sons and two Daughters are descended the Families of Hamilton and Abercorn, and the Families of Huntly and Lauderdale. And by an Act of Parliament, signed by all the Three Estates, (the Original whereof is yet extant,) in the Reign of Queen Mary, the Duke of Chastelherault's Family is declared, next the Queen and her Issue, the rightful Heir of the Crown. The Sister of King James the Third bore likewise to the Lord Hamilton a Daughter, married to the Earl of Lennox, from whom descended the Family of Lennox. There is no other Branch of the Royal Family, since it was in the Line of the Stewarts, except the Earl of Caillie's Family, whose Ancestour, the Lord Kennedy, married King James the First's Sister, from which Marriage that Family is descended. And so much of the Royal Family.

The Chief and Supreme Court is the High Court of Parliament, which is made up of Three Estates. The First is the Ecclesiastical, that of old consisted of the Bishops and Mitered Abbots, but since the Reformation consists onely of Archbishops and Bishops. The Second Estate is the Nobility, who were anciently divided into the Greater Barons and the Lesser, (for every man that holds Lands of the Crown with a Privilege of holding a Court, much like the Lord of a Manour in England, is called a Baron,) and all were obliged to appear personally in Parliament, (for Proxies were never allowed by the Law of Scotland,) and give the King Counsel. This proved a very heavy burthen to the small Barons, upon which they desired to be excused from their attendance in Parliament: and this was granted to them as a favour in King James the First's reign. And though by that Act they might have sent two or three, or more, to represent them from every Shire; yet they made no use of that for above 150 years: but King James the Sixth, to balance the Nobility, got them restored to that Right; so that ever since there are two sent from every Shire, who are Commissioners for the Shires. The Third Estate is the Burroughs, every one of which chuseth one Commissioner; onely the City of Edinburgh, as the Metropolis, chuseth two. The Parliament is summoned by Proclamation made at the Head-Burrough of every Shire 40 days before they meet; upon which the Shires and Burroughs meet about their Elections. Every man that holds Lands of the Crown, that in the Rolls of the Taxation (the ancient Name of Subsidies or Assessments) are valued at 40 shillings Scottish money of Taxation to the King, which will be in real value about Ten pounds Sterling a year, is an Electour, and may be Elected, so he be rightly vested in the Land, or (according to the Scottish terms) in feoff and seised, and be not at the King's

Horn,

Horn, (that is, under an Outlawry.) The Electours subscribe the Commissions they give, and so their Commissioner is returned: and if there be cross Elections, the Parliament is the onely Judge. In the Burroughs the Common-Council of the Town makes the Election.

When the day comes in which the Parliament is to be held, the Regalia, the Crown, Sceptre, and Sword of State, which are kept in the Castle of Edinburgh, are brought down in State to the King's Palace, and are to be carried by three of the ancientest Earls that are upon the place, bare-headed, before the King or His Commissioner. In the great Court before the King's Palace all the Members of Parliament do mount on Horseback with Footcloaths, &c. The Burgeses ride first, the Commissioners of the Shires next; then the Lords, Viscounts, and Earls, in their Robes, the last of whom do carry the Regalia, the Lion Herald, with some Heraulds and Pursevants riding before the Honours; last of all, when the King is present in person, rides the Lord Chancellor, bearing the Great Seal: but this is not done before a Commissioner. After these rides the King or His Commissioner, with the High Constable (who is by Inheritance the Earl of Arroll) on his right hand, with a white Batton in his hand; and the great Marischal (who is also by Inheritance the Earl Marischal) on his left hand, with a silver Batton in his hand. If the King be present in person, the Marqueesses and Dukes ride after the Earls; but if His Commissioner onely be there, they follow him at some distance. At the outward Gate of the Parliament-house they all alight off their horses, and the Earl Marischal receives and conducts the King to the inner Gate, where he is received by the High Constable, and the Throne is raised six steps high, led into the House where the Parliament is held. The Throne is raised six steps high, with a State over it; and there the King, or the Commissioner in His absence, sits. And in the first step under him, on a Bench, sits the Lord Chancellor, with other Officers of State on both hands of him. In the next step under these sit the Lords of Session, or Judges. On the right hand of the Throne is the Bishops Bench, that rises up three steps and rows of Benches. On the highest the two Archbishops sit, and in the lower steps sit the Bishops according to the dignity of their Sees. On the left hand of the Throne there is another great Bench of three steps and rows of Benches, on which sit the Nobility according to their precedence. In the middle of the Floor there are two Tables; on one of them the Regalia are laid, and in two great Chairs by them sit the Constable and the Marischal: at the other Table sits the Lord Clerk of Registers with his Deputy, and the Clerks of the Parliament. There are also Fourms placed on the floor: those on the right side are for the Commissioners of the Shires, and those on the left hand are for the Commissioners of the Burroughs.

When all are placed, the Parliament is fenced (as the phrase is) in the King's Name. Then the King speaks to them, (if He be present,) sitting in His Robes, with the Crown on His Head, all standing up bare-headed: but when a Commissioner represents Him, he is in an ordinary Sute, and stands and speaks also bare-headed, (nor is the Commissioner covered but when there is pleading at the Bar, but continues bare-headed, as all the Members are,) and tells them the reason for which they are called together; which is enlarged upon by the Lord Chancellor. Then they goe about the chusing of the Lords of the Articles, who are Eight for every State, who have been chosen in different ways. Sometimes the Bishops did chuse the eight Lords of the Nobility, and the Nobility eight for the Bishops; at other times the Bishops did chuse their own eight, and the Nobility their eight: but now it is settled by an Act of Parliament, that the King or His Commissioner names eight of the Bishops, the Lords chuse eight for themselves: and those sixteen do chuse eight Commissioners for the Shires, and as many Commissioners for the Burroughs. These Thirty two are the Committee of Parliament to prepare Matters. When a Bill is drawn by them, it is brought into the Parliament. And anciently all these Bills were brought in the last day of Parliament, on which the Members ride in the same State as they do the first day: the Bills being read, they were put to the Vote of Parliament, and either were approved, or not: and then being approved, were presented to the King, who by touching them with the Sceptre gave His Assent to them, which also is done by His Commissioner in His absence; if he refused to touch them, they were of no force. But of late times matters have been at full length and freely debated in Parliament. They sit all in one House, and every one answers distinctly to his Name, and gives his Vote, which is in these Terms, *I approve, or not*: onely those who are not satisfied one way or another, say, *Non liquet*; which is a great ease to those who are conscientious, and a common refuge to the cunning Politician: the major Vote carries it. No Dissents or Protests are allowed in publick

publick Acts, but are accounted treasonable; but in private Acts, that relate to mens Properties and Rights, any one may protest for his Interest. After all business is ended, the King or His Commissioner makes a Speech to them, and dissolves them.

A Convention of Estates is made up of the same Members that constitute a Parliament, but can make no Laws; only they can lay Impositions on the Subjects: they do not sit in state, and have been most used before the Kings were Crowned. The Lord Chancellor is President in both these Courts, and the Votes are taken and numbered by the Clerk of Registers. And whatever Acts are passed in Parliament or Convention, are to be proclaimed soon after their Dissolution at the publick Mercat-Cross of Edinburgh, by the Lion Herald, (who is at present Sir Charles Erskine of Cambo,) with a great deal of state and Ceremony; after which they are obligatory on the Subjects. And so much for the Parliament and the Three Estates, whose Authority is supreme: and it is Enacted, that none of the Lieges shall presume to impugn the Dignity and Authority of the Three Estates, or to seek or procure the Innovation or Diminution of the Power and Authority of the same Three Estates, or any of them, in time coming, under the pain of Treason.

The Government of the Kingdom being wholly in the Crown, the King administers it by His Officers of State and Privy Council.

The Officers of State are Eight.

The First is the Lord Chancellor, who is Keeper of the Great Seal, and President in all Courts where-ever he is, except in the Exchequer. This Office is now in the person of the Right Honourable John Leslie Earl of Rothes.

The Second Officer is the Lord High Treasurer, who governs the Revenue, and presides in the Exchequer. This Office is now in Commission.

The Third Officer is the Lord Privie Seal, who is at present the Marquess of Athol. These three take place of all the Nobility.

The Fourth Officer is the Lord Secretary, who keeps the Signet, and is a Lord by his Office, and takes place of all of his rank. The Office of Secretary is executed by his Grace the Duke of Lauderdale.

The Fifth Officer is the Lord Clerk of Registers, who has the charge of all the publick Records, Rolls and Registers, and names all the Clerks of Parliament and Session, and the Keepers of publick Registers.

The Sixth Officer is the King's Advocate, who is also called the Lord Advocate. He is commonly a Judge, except in Causes in which the King is concerned; and in those he pleads in the King's Name. The present Advocate is Sir John Nisbet of Dirleton.

The Seventh Officer is the Lord Treasurer Deputy, who is assistant to the Lord High Treasurer, and is a Check upon him, and presides in the Exchequer in his absence. This Office is executed by Sir Charles Maitland of Hatton.

The Eighth Officer is the Lord Justice Clerk, who assists the Lord Justice general in Criminal causes. The present Justice Clerk is Sir Thomas Wallace of Craigie.

All these have the Title of Lord, and the precedence of all under Noblemen and their eldest Sons.

The Privy Council is chiefly employed about publick Affairs, and judges of Riots and any Disturbance given to the Peace of the Kingdom. Anciently the Lords of the Session were the King's Council, and so are still called the Lords of Council and Session: but the Power of the Privy Council has been most raised since King James got the Crown of England, that by reason of the King's necessary absence from Scotland, the King hath lodged much of His Power with the Privy Council. Lawyers do plead the causes of Riots before them; and when Sentence is given, every Privy Councillour gives his Vote, and the major Vote carries it.

Lords of His Majestie's Privy Council.

| | |
|--|--|
| John Earl of Rothes, Chancellor of the Kingdom, Lord President of the Privy Council. | John Duke of Lauderdale his Grace. |
| James Lord Archibishop of Saint Andrews his Grace. | Alexander Lord Archibishop of Glasgow his Grace. |
| | William Marquess of Douglas. |
| | John Marquess of Athol. |

Archbald

Archbald Earl of Argyle.
John Earl of Errol.
George Earl Marischal.
William Earl of Morton.
Alexander Earl of Murray.
Charles Earl of Mar.
— Earl of Linlithgow.
John Earl of Wigton.
Patrick Earl of Kinghorn.
Alexander Earl of Kelley.
David Earl of Weem.
James Earl of Arley.
William Earl of Dundonald.

George Lord Ross.
Sir Charles Maitland of Hatton.
Sir James Dalrymple of Stair.
Sir John Nisbet of Dirleton.
Sir Thomas Wallace of Craigie.
Sir James Fowles of Collington.
Sir William Sharp of Stainibill.
Sir William Scot of Ardross.
Sir George Kinnaird of Rossie.
Sir John Waclop of Nidrie.
Sir George Munro of Culcainn.
Lieutenant General Thomas Dalrymple.

The Supreme Court of Judicature about the Property of the Subject is called the Colledge of Justice, or the Session; which was anciently an ambulatory Court, but was settled as it now is by King James the Fifth, Anno Christi 1532. to consist of fourteen, who are called Senatours of the Colledge of Justice, or Lords of Council and Session, and a President; to whom are added the Lord Chancellor, and four extraordinary Lords, who are of the chief Nobility. The extraordinary Lords have no Salary, and are not obliged to attendance; but when they come, they have a Vote. This Court sits from the first of June till the last of July, and from the first of November till Christmas-Eve, and from the first of January till the last of February: they sit from 9 a clock in the Morning till 12, all the days of the Week except Sunday and Monday. There is an Outer Houfe, and an Inner. In the Outer there is a Bench, where one of the Senatours sits a Week, (and all of them except the President have their turns in it,) who hears all Causes originally; and where the Cause is clear, he gives Sentence: But if it be difficult, or if either party desires it, he reports it to the rest of the Senatours; who either send out their Answer by him, or if it be very intricate, and the parties or either of them desire it, do appoint it to be heard before themselves. This is a Court of great dispatch. But besides the Judge on the Bench, there is a Side-Bar, to which one of the Judges comes out weekly by turns, as in the former, and receives and answers all Petitions and Bills. The Inner Houfe, where all the rest of the Senatours sit, is a Court of great State and Order. The Senatours sit in a semicircle in Robes: under them sit their Clerks, who write the most material heads of all that is pleaded at the Bar, where the Pleadings are long and very learned. When the Senatours have (after all the parties are removed) reconsidered their Arguments, they give their Sentence, and the major Vote carries it. Their final Sentence determines the business, there lying no Appeal from them, (only the Parliament, as the Supreme Court, may review and repeal their Sentence:) and they are called Decretors, from the Latin Decreta.

Senatours of the Colledge of Justice.

| | |
|--|---------------------------------|
| Sir James Dalrymple of Stair, President. | Sir Peter Wederburn of Gosford. |
| Sir John Nisbet of Dirleton. | Sir John Baird of Newbyth. |
| Sir Thomas Wallace of Craigie. | Sir John Lockart of Castlehill. |
| Sir Charles Maitland of Hatton. | Sir Richard Maitland of Pirrie. |
| Sir James Fowles of Collington. | Sir David Balfour of Forrester. |
| Sir Robert Nairn of Strathbuck. | Sir Thomas Murray. |
| Sir David Nevoy of Nevoy. | Sir James Fowles of ———. |
| | Sir David Falconer of Newton. |

The Law of Scotland is made up of the Municipal and Civil Laws. The Municipal consists either of Acts of Parliaments, or of the Customes and Practicks of the Colledge of Justice, which are held of no less force than Acts of Parliament: and where neither of these contradicts the Civil Law, the Roman Law is of force. This makes our Lawyers generally great Civilians; for they goe either to Leiden, Poitiers, or Bourges, and study the Civil Law, in which some are learned to a high degree.

The Law of Scotland is easie and regular, by reason of our Registers, which are so full, that Titles are much more easily cleared here then can be done where those Registers are not: which may appear from the following Instances.

No man can have a Right to any Estate but by his being seised of it, which is done by the delivery of Earth and Stone; upon which an Instrument is formed called a *Safine*, and this must be registred within 60 days, otherwise it is of no force: by which means all secret Conveyances are cut off: for if no *Safine* be passed upon them, or if these be not put in the publick Registers, (which every one may search,) the Conveyance is of no force.

All Bonds have a Clause in them for inserting them in the publick Registers; and they being registred, without any farther action, by a charge of six days the Debitor must make payment, otherwise Writs called *Letters of Horning*, *Caption* and *Poynding*, are given out: by the first of which the party is under Outlawry and Rebellion, and forfeits to the King his personal Estate; and if he continues a year under it, the Life-rent of his real Estate: in which the Creditor is to be preferred for his interest, the rest goes into the Exchequer. By the Letters of Caption the party is seised on, and put in prison: nor is his House a place of security, but may be searched for him. By the Letters of Poynding the Debitor's Goods may be distrained, where-ever they can be found.

A third Instance, to which I shall adde no more, is, that any Creditor may serve a Writ on his Debitor, called *Letters of Inhibition*, by which he can make no Disposition of his Goods or Estate, till the party be satisfied; and all is null that he does after that, if these Letters be returned and registred within 21 days after they are served, otherwise they have no force.

The next Supreme Court is the *Justice Court*, where all Criminals are tried. It consisted anciently of a Lord Justice General, and a Lord Justice Clerk, who was his Assistant. The Earls of *Argyle* had this Office by Inheritance: but King *Charles* the First agreed with the Earl of *Argyle*, and gave him the hereditary Justiciarship in the *High-lands*, for which he laid down his Pretensions to the other. The Justice General is not bound to serve in person, but might do it by Deputies, and he commonly named two: but the Parliament changed this *Anno* 1669. and appointed four of the Judges to sit in this Court with the Lord Justice General and the Lord Justice Clerk. All Trials for Life are in this Court, which sits every Friday in the time of Session in the afternoon. Here all the Subjects, Peers as well as Commons, are tried: nor is there any difference between the Trial of a Peer and of a Commoner, but that the greater part of the Peers Jury (called by the *Scottish Law* an *Affize*) must be Peers. Fifteen make a Jury. The Foreman, who is called the *Chancellor of the Affize*, gathers and reports their Votes: the major Vote determines the matter. The present Justice General is the Earl of *Murray*.

The next Supreme Court is the *Exchequer*. That consists of the Lord Treasurer, (or the Commissioners of the Treasury, when it is in Commission,) the Lord Treasurer Deputy, and some Assistants, called the *Lords of Exchequer*, who have little power, the Lord Treasurer and the Lord Treasurer Deputy carrying all matters in it as they please. Here all the King's Grants, Pensions, Gifts of Wards, Letters Patents, and such like, are to be passed.

And these are the Supreme Civil Courts.

The Seat of those Courts is *Edinburgh*, which has been long the chief Seat of the Government: and though the making of Circuits for giving Justice has been oft begun; yet the charge it puts the Country to is found a greater inconvenience, then the bringing up all their Affairs to *Edinburgh*.

Next to these Supreme Courts there are other inferiour Courts. And,

First, there are many Regalities in the Kingdom, where the Lord of the Regality has a Royal Jurisdiction within his grounds, and power of Life and death, besides many other great Immunities and Privileges. This began chiefly in Church-Lands; for all the Bishops and most of the Abbots had these Regalities granted them: some of the ancient and great Peers likewise got the same power bestowed on them, but many more have lately got their Lands erected into Regalities.

The Judge is called the *Bailif of the Regality*, who sits as often as there is cause. Most of the Bailifs of the Bishops are so by Inheritance; for these were given by the King, since a Church-man cannot give a Commission in *Causa Sanguinis*.

There are also in all the Shires of *Scotland* Sheriffs, who are the Judges in all matters of *Murm* and *Tuum*, in Thefts, and in all lesser Crimes, as likewise in Murthers, if the Murtherer be taken in hot blood, as they call it, when the person is newly slain. But though there lies no Appeal in any Court in this Kingdom, yet there is somewhat equivalent to it; for the Supreme Courts by a Writ called an *Advocation* may take any Cause out

out of the hands of inferiour Judges, and order it to be brought before themselves. Most of the Sheriffs were anciently such by Inheritance: and it being in this Kingdom no matter of charge, but of profit, it gave the Hereditary Sheriffs so great a power in their Shires, that our Kings of late have thought fit to agree with many of those Sheriffs for their Rights, by which it comes to pass that divers of them are now in the King's gift. The Sheriffs may either sit and give Judgment themselves, or do it by a Deputy; which they most commonly doe, except in some greater cases.

SHIRES or COUNTIES of SCOTLAND, and their SHERIFFS.

| SHIRES. | SHERIFFS. |
|--|--|
| The Shire of <i>Edinburgh</i> containeth <i>Middle Lothian</i> . | Sir <i>Charles Maitland</i> of <i>Hatton</i> . |
| The Shire of <i>Berwick</i> containeth <i>Mers</i> . | The Earl of <i>Hume</i> . |
| The Shire of <i>Peebles</i> containeth <i>Tweeddale</i> . | The Earl of <i>Tweeddale</i> . |
| The Shire of <i>Selkirk</i> containeth the Forrest of <i>Etterick</i> . | |
| The Shire of <i>Roxburgh</i> containeth <i>Teviotdale</i> , <i>Liddisdale</i> , <i>Eskdale</i> , <i>Embsdale</i> , &c. | Duke of <i>Bucklenburgh</i> . |
| The Shire of <i>Dumfries</i> containeth <i>Nithisdale</i> , and <i>Annandale</i> . | Earl of <i>Queensbury</i> . |
| The Shire of <i>Wigton</i> containeth the West part of <i>Galloway</i> . | Sir <i>Patrick Agnew</i> of <i>Lochnaw</i> . |
| The Shire of <i>Aire</i> containeth <i>Kyle</i> , <i>Carriell</i> , and <i>Cunninghame</i> . | Earl of <i>Dumfries</i> . |
| The Shire of <i>Renfrew</i> containeth the Barony of <i>Renfrew</i> . | Earl of <i>Eglington</i> . |
| The Shire of <i>Lanerick</i> containeth <i>Clidisdale</i> . | Duke of <i>Hamilton</i> . |
| The Shire of <i>Dumblinton</i> containeth <i>Lennox</i> . | Duke of <i>Lennox</i> . |
| The Shire of <i>Bute</i> containeth the Isles of <i>Bute</i> and <i>Arran</i> , &c. | Sir <i>James Stewart</i> of ——— |
| The Shire of <i>Innerara</i> containeth <i>Argile</i> , <i>Lorn</i> , <i>Kintyre</i> , the most part of the West Isles, as <i>Ila</i> , <i>Jura</i> , <i>Mull</i> , <i>Wyit</i> , <i>Terife</i> , <i>Coll</i> , <i>Lismore</i> , &c. | Earl of <i>Argile</i> . |
| The Shire of <i>Perth</i> containeth <i>Athol</i> , <i>Gowrie</i> , <i>Glenflee</i> , <i>Strath-Ardel</i> , <i>Braid Albain</i> , <i>Rainach</i> , <i>Balwhidder</i> , <i>Glenurquhazy</i> , <i>Storrmont</i> , <i>Menteith</i> , and <i>Strath-Jern</i> . | Marquis of <i>Athol</i> . |
| The Shire of <i>Striveling</i> lieth on both sides of the River <i>Forth</i> . | Earl of <i>Mar</i> . |
| The Shire of <i>Linlithgow</i> containeth <i>West Lothian</i> . | Earl of <i>Calendsr</i> . |
| The Shire of <i>Clackmannan</i> containeth a small part of <i>Fife</i> lying on the River <i>Forth</i> towards <i>Striveling</i> . | Sir <i>David Bruce</i> of <i>Clackmannan</i> . |
| The Shire of <i>Kinross</i> containeth so much of <i>Fife</i> as lieth between <i>Loch-Leiven</i> and the <i>Ochell Hills</i> . | Earl of <i>Morton</i> . |
| The Shire of <i>Comper</i> containeth the rest of <i>Fife</i> . | Earl of <i>Rother</i> . |
| The Shire of <i>Forfar</i> containeth <i>Angus</i> with its pertinents, as <i>Glen-Ila</i> , <i>Glen-Esk</i> , <i>Glen-Proffin</i> , &c. | Earl of <i>South-Esk</i> . |
| The Shire of <i>Kincairdens</i> containeth <i>Mer-</i> | Earl <i>Marischal</i> . |

SHIRES.

The Shire of *Aberdene* containeth *Mar* with its pertinents, as *Birs,* *Glen-Taner,* *Glen-Muik,* *Strath-Dee,* *Strath-Don,* *Bray of Mar* and *Cromar*, most part of *Buchau,* *Forumarten,* *Gareoch,* and *Strathbogie-land.*

The Shire of *Bamff* containeth a small part of *Buchan,* *Strath-Dovern,* *Boyn,* *Enzie,* *Strath-Amin* and *Balveny.*

The Shire of *Elgin* containeth the Eastern part of *Murray.*

The Shire of *Nairne* containeth the West part of *Murray.*

The Shire of *Innerness* containeth *Badenoch,* *Lochabyr,* and the South part of *Ross.*

The Shire of *Cromarty* containeth a small part of *Ross* lying on the South side of *Cromarty* Fiith.

The Shire of *Taine* containeth the rest of *Ross,* with the Isles of *Sky,* *Lewis,* and *Harrigh.*

The Shire of *Dornoch* containeth *Sutherland,* and *Strath-Navern.*

The Shire of *Weik* containeth *Cathnes.*

The Shire of *Orkney* containeth all the Isles of *Orkney* and *Scheland.*

The Constabularie of *Hadington* containeth *East Lothian,* and *Lauderdail.*

STEWARTRIES.

Strath-Jern,
Menteith,
Annandail.
Kirkubright containeth the East part of *Galloway.*

BAILIARIES.

Kile.
Carrieth.
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Besides these, every man that holds a Barony of the King has a Baron-Court, in which lesser matters are also judged, and they may Fine and Distrain. Anciently these Baron-Courts might judge of Life and death; but that is now out of use.

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The Court of Admiralty sits in *Leith*, the chief Sea-port of this Kingdom; but has not much business, except in times of War to judge of Prizes. The present High Admiral is His Royal Highness, *James Duke of York*.

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Earl of *Murray.*

Sir *John Urquhart* of *Cromarty.*

Earl of *Seaforth.*

Earl of *Sutherland.*

Earl of *Cathnes.*

Duke of *Lauderdail.*

STEWARDS.

Earl of *Pentb.*
Earl of *Menteith.*
Earl of *Annandail.*
Earl of *Nithisdail.*

BAILIFFS.

Earl of *Cassils.*
Earl of *Eglington.*

lity, or Burghs of Barony. The former have Commissioners in Parliament, and besides are a State apart, for they meet yearly in a Convention called the *Convention of Burroughs*, to which a Commissioner comes from every one of them. There they make Laws for themselves about Trade, and other things relating to their Corporations. They hold these Meetings in a Circuit around the chief, or, as they call them, the *Head Burghs*: and at the end of one Convention, they name the time and place for the next.

In these Burghs there is a Provost, who has the chief Power; and there are four Bailiffs that are next to him in the Government: there is also a Dean of Guild, who is the chief Judge among the Merchants, likewise a Treasurer, and a Common Council; the one half of which is chosen yearly by the Merchants, the other half by the Tradefmen; who have likewise a Court of their own, in which there is one from every Trade, who is called the *Deacon* of the Trade, and a *Deacon Conveener*, who is their President, and calls a Meeting of them when he pleases. Those Deacons are chosen yearly by all the Freemen of their Trade, and have a little Jurisdiction over them. There are in most Burghs great Animosities and Factions between the Merchants and Tradefmen.

The Burghs of Regality are the Towns where these Lords hold their Courts. The chief Magistrates are named by the Lord, the rest they chuse themselves. They have also great Freedoms, little inferiour to the Royal Burghs; onely they have no Commissioners in Parliament.

The Burghs of Barony are Mercat-Towns, where the Lord of the Barony names some of their Magistrates, and the Corporation chuses the rest. In all these Burghs the Magistracy is no matter of burthen nor charge, but of Power and Advantage; from whence arise great Factions almost in them all.

A Catalogue of the Free CORPORATIONS or Royal BURGHs in SCOTLAND.

| | | | |
|-----------------------|------------------|---|------------------|
| <i>Edinburgh,</i> | } in Lothian. | <i>Elgin,</i> | } in Murray. |
| <i>Linlithgow,</i> | | <i>Nairn,</i> | |
| <i>Hadington,</i> | | <i>Forres,</i> | |
| <i>North-Berwick,</i> | | } in Roxburghshire. | |
| <i>Dumbar,</i> | | | <i>Ranfrew,</i> |
| <i>Saint Andrews,</i> | <i>Palley,</i> | | |
| <i>Cowper,</i> | } in Mar. | <i>Ruglen,</i> | } in Ross. |
| <i>Dunfermlin,</i> | | <i>Aberdene,</i> | |
| <i>Kirkaldy,</i> | | <i>Kintor,</i> | |
| <i>Craill,</i> | } in Fife. | <i>Bamff,</i> | } in Boyne. |
| <i>Anstruther,</i> | | <i>Cullen,</i> | |
| <i>Pittenweem,</i> | | <i>Innerness,</i> | |
| <i>Dyfert,</i> | } in Angus. | <i>Tayne,</i> | } in Ross. |
| <i>Earles-ferry,</i> | | <i>Air,</i> in <i>Kyle.</i> | |
| <i>Kinghorn,</i> | | <i>Irving,</i> in <i>Cunninghame.</i> | |
| <i>Burnt-Island,</i> | } in Galloway. | <i>Rothsay,</i> in <i>Bute.</i> | } in Clidisdail. |
| <i>Culrofs,</i> | | <i>Dumbarton,</i> in <i>Lennox.</i> | |
| <i>Clackmannan,</i> | | <i>Innerara,</i> in <i>Argile.</i> | |
| <i>Queens-ferry,</i> | } in Galloway. | <i>Jedburgh,</i> in <i>Teviotdail.</i> | } in Nithisdail. |
| <i>Dundee,</i> | | <i>Peebles,</i> in <i>Tweeddail.</i> | |
| <i>Montross,</i> | | <i>Selkirk,</i> in <i>Forrethshire.</i> | |
| <i>Forfar,</i> | } in Clidisdail. | <i>Striveling,</i> upon <i>Forth.</i> | } in Nithisdail. |
| <i>Brichen,</i> | | <i>Dumblane,</i> in <i>Menteith.</i> | |
| <i>Arbroath,</i> | | <i>Innerkeithing,</i> in <i>Fife.</i> | |
| <i>Kirkubright,</i> | } in Clidisdail. | <i>Dornoch,</i> in <i>Sutherland.</i> | } in Nithisdail. |
| <i>Wigton,</i> | | <i>Annand,</i> in <i>Annandail.</i> | |
| <i>Whithorn,</i> | | <i>Dumfries,</i> | |
| <i>Stranraer,</i> | } in Clidisdail. | <i>Sanghuar,</i> | } in Nithisdail. |
| <i>Glasgow,</i> | | <i>Bervie,</i> in <i>Mernis.</i> | |
| <i>Lanrick,</i> | | <i>Innerowrie,</i> in <i>Gareoch.</i> | |

The People of *Scotland* are naturally candid and honest, stout and resolute, which makes

makes them so much valued beyond the Seas, the onely School of War to them since the happy Conjunction of this Island under one King. They naturally love their King.

The Nobility have great Power, chiefly in the *High-lands*, where their Families (commonly called *Clanners*) depend absolutely upon the head of the Name, whom they commonly call their *Chief*. But the great Power of the Nobility of late years is much abated, yet they are still very considerable.

The Property of the Subject is fully secured by Law: and though the King has great Prerogatives, yet the People have also great Liberties and Freedoms.

The COMMISSIONERS that have represented our KINGS since K. JAMES was settled on the Throne of England were as follows.

KING JAMES the VI.

John Grahame, Earl of Montrose, Commissioner, 1604.
George Hume, Earl of Dunbar, Commissioner, 1606.
George Keith, Earl Marischal, Commissioner, 1609.
Alexander Seaton, Earl of Dunfermlin, Commissioner, 1612.
James Hamilton, Marquess of Hamilton, Commissioner, 1621.

Anno 1625. KING CHARLES the I. Crowned Anno 1633.

James Hamilton, Marquess of Hamilton, Commissioner, 1638.
John Stewart, Earl of Traquair, Commissioner, 1639.
James Grahame, Marquess of Montrose, Commissioner, 1644.

Anno 1649. KING CHARLES the II. Crowned Anno 1651.

John Middleton, Earl of Middleton, Commissioner, 1660.
John Leslie, Earl of Rother, Commissioner, 1663.
John Maitland, Duke of Lauderdale, Commissioner, 1669.

A Catalogue of the CHANCELLOURS of the Kingdom, since the year 1198. collected out of Histories.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1198. William Malvoisin, Bishop of Glasgow. | 1444. James Bruce, Bishop of Dunkeld. |
| 1220. William de Bosco, Bishop of Dunblane. | 1448. Patrick Lyon, Lord Glammas. |
| 1226. Matthew Kinninmonth, Bishop of Aberdeen. | 1453. William Sinclair, Earl of Orkney. |
| 1239. William Babington, Bishop of Glasgow. | 1463. George Shorwood, Bishop of Breichen. |
| 1247. ———— Abbot of ———— | 1474. John Lang, Bishop of Glasgow. |
| 1248. Richard of Innerkeithing, Bishop of Dunblane. | 1476. Andrew Stewart, Lord Evendail. |
| 1259. Gamelinus, Bishop of Saint Andrews. | 1484. William Elphinston, Bishop of Aberdeen. |
| 1273. William Wihart, Bishop of Glasgow. | 1494. Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus. |
| 1280. William Fraser, Bishop of Saint Andrews. | 1497. George Gordon, Earl of Huntly. |
| 1298. Maurice, Bishop of the Isles. | 1502. James Stewart, Archbishop of Saint Andrews. |
| 1363. Adam, Bishop of Breichen. | 1512. Alexander Stewart, Archbishop of Saint Andrews. |
| 1372. Patrick, Bishop of Breichen. | 1518. James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow. |
| 1380. John Lyon, Lord Glammas. | 1526. Gavin Dunbar, Archbishop of Glasgow. |
| 1390. Gilbert Grimlaw, Bishop of Aberdeen. | 1534. William Stewart, Bishop of Aberdeen. |
| 1409. William Lawder, Bishop of Glasgow. | 1539. Cardinal David Beaton, Archbishop of Saint Andrews. |
| 1434. John, Bishop of Breichen. | |
| 1436. Sir William Creighton of Creighton. | |

1561.

Bishops of the ISLES.

277. 1. Amphibalus
518. 2. Macilla
3. Michael
1203. 4. Nicolas
1217. 5. Reginald
1257. 6. Richard
1289. 7. Onacur

8. Mauricius
9. Marcus, Lord Chancellor.
1606. 10. Andrew Knox
11. John Knox
1630. 12. John Leslie
13. Neil Campbell
1662. 14. Robert Wallace

Vacat Sedes.

Those Bishops who have been the Sons of Kings, &c. or Noblemen, are marked with an Asterisk *.

ADDENDA.

Page 4. after the Bishops of Edinburgh, *adde*,
The Arms of the See of Edinburgh are, *Azure*, a *Saltier Argent*, in Chief a *Miter* of the Second, garnished *Or*.

Page 8. after the Bishops of Ross, *adde*,
The Arms of the Bishoprick of Ross are, *Argent*, a Bishop standing on the Sinister, habited in a long Robe close girt, *Purple*, Mitred and holding in his left hand a *Crozier Or*, and pointing with the right to *S. Boniface* on the Dexter side, clothed, and both his Hands placed on his Breast, *Proper*.

Page 10. after the Bishops of Galloway, *adde*,
The Coat Armorial belonging to the See of Galloway is, *Argent*, *S. Ninian* standing full-faced *Proper*, clothed with a Pontifical Robe *Purple*, on his head a *Miter*, and in his Dexter hand a *Crozier*, *Or*.

Ibid. in the Bishops of Argile, *adde*,
Then was—Boyd promoted to this See, *An. 1624*—who, as he was descended from one of the Noblest families in the Kingdom, being Brother to the Lord Boyd, so he was a very Extraordinary person: he found his See full of Ignorance and Barbarity, scarce any Churches or Schools in it; and in many places the very Name of *Christ* was not known: he set himself wholly to the Work of the Gospel, and planted many Churches: he resided constantly in his Diocese, and was a great Example of Piety and Vertue. And for all the prejudices that are in these parts against that Order, yet he is never named among them to this day but with great honour as an Apostolical person.

Ibid. after the Bishops of Argile, *adde*,
The Arms of the See of Argile are, *Azure*, two *Crosiers* disposed in *Saltier*, and in Chief a *Miter*, *Or*.

THE END.

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Craill,
Anstruther,
Pittenweem,
Dysert,
Earles-ferry,
Kinghorn,
Burnt-Island,
Culrofs,
Clackmannan,
Queens-ferry,
Dundee,
Montross,
Forfar,
Briehen,
Arbroath,
Kirkubright,
Wigton,
Whithorn,
Stranraer,
Glasgow,
Lantrick,

} in *Lothian*.

} in *Fife*.

} in *Angus*.

} in *Galloway*.

} in *Clidisdail*.

Elgin,
Nairn,
Forres,
Ranfrew,
Pasley,
Ruglen,
Aberdene,
Kintor,
Banff,
Cullen,
Inverness,
Tayne,
Air, in *Kyle*,
Irwing, in *Cunninghame*,
Rothsay, in *Bute*,
Dumbarton, in *Lennox*,
Innerara, in *Argile*,
Jedburgh, in *Teviotdail*,
Peebles, in *Tweeddail*,
Selkirk, in *Forrestshire*,
Striveling, upon *Forth*,
Dumblane, in *Menteith*,
Inverkeithing, in *Fife*,
Dornoch, in *Sutherland*,
Annand, in *Annandail*,
Dumfries, } in *Nithisdail*,
Sanquhar,
Bervie, in *Mernis*,
Innerowrie, in *Gareoch*.

} in *Murray*.

} in *Ranfrenshire*.

} in *Mar*.

} in *Boyn*.

} in *Rofs*.

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James Hamilton, Marquess of Hamilton, Commissioner, 1621.

Anno 1625. KING CHARLES the I. Crowned Anno 1633.

James Hamilton, Marquess of Hamilton, Commissioner, 1638.
John Stewart, Earl of Traquair, Commissioner, 1639.
James Grahame, Marquess of Montrose, Governour, 1644.

Anno 1649. KING CHARLES the II. Crowned Anno 1651.

John Middleton, Earl of Middleton, Commissioner, 1660.
John Leslie, Earl of Rother, Commissioner, 1663.
John Maitland, Duke of Lauderdale, Commissioner, 1669.

A Catalogue of the CHANCELLOURS of the Kingdom, since the year 1198. collected out of Histories.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1198. William Malvoisin, Bishop of Glasgow. | 1444. James Bruce, Bishop of Dunkeld. |
| 1220. William de Bosco, Bishop of Dunblane. | 1448. Patrick Lyon, Lord Glammes. |
| 1226. Matthew Kinninmouth, Bishop of Aberdene. | 1453. William Sinclair, Earl of Orkney. |
| 1239. William Babington, Bishop of Glasgow. | 1463. George Shorwood, Bishop of Brichen. |
| 1247. ——— Abbot of ——— | 1474. John Lang, Bishop of Glasgow. |
| 1248. Richard of Innerkeithing, Bishop of Dunblane. | 1476. Andrew Stewart, Lord Evendail. |
| 1259. Gamelinus, Bishop of Saint Andrews. | 1484. William Elphinston, Bishop of Aberdene. |
| 1273. William Wishart, Bishop of Glasgow. | 1494. Archbald Douglas, Earl of Angus. |
| 1280. William Fraser, Bishop of Saint Andrews. | 1497. George Gordon, Earl of Huntlie. |
| 1298. Maurice, Bishop of the Isles. | 1502. James Stewart, Archbishop of Saint Andrews. |
| 1363. Adam, Bishop of Brichen. | 1512. Alexander Stewart, Archbishop of Saint Andrews. |
| 1372. Patrick, Bishop of Brichen. | 1518. James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow. |
| 1380. John Lyon, Lord Glammes. | 1526. Gavin Dumbar, Archbishop of Glasgow. |
| 1390. Gilbert Grimlaw, Bishop of Aberdene. | 1534. William Stewart, Bishop of Aberdene. |
| 1409. William Lawder, Bishop of Glasgow. | 1539. Cardinal David Beaton, Archbishop of Saint Andrews. |
| 1434. John, Bishop of Brichen. | |
| 1436. Sir William Creighton of Creighton. | |

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|---|--|
| 1561. <i>George Gordon</i> , Earl of <i>Huntlie</i> . | 1604. <i>Alexander Seaton</i> , Earl of <i>Danfermlin</i> . |
| 1563. <i>James Douglas</i> , Earl of <i>Morton</i> . | 1622. <i>George Hay</i> , Earl of <i>Hinnoule</i> . |
| 1567. <i>George Gordon</i> , Earl of <i>Huntlie</i> . | 1635. <i>John Spotiswood</i> , Archbishop of <i>Saint Andrews</i> . |
| 1570. <i>James Douglas</i> , Earl of <i>Morton</i> again. | 1641. <i>John Campbell</i> , Earl of <i>Lowdown</i> . |
| 1572. <i>Archbald Campbell</i> , Earl of <i>Argile</i> . | 1660. <i>William Cunnighame</i> , Earl of <i>Glencairn</i> . |
| 1575. <i>John Lyon</i> , Lord <i>Glammes</i> . | 1665. <i>John Leslie</i> , Earl of <i>Rothes</i> , present Lord High Chancellor of <i>Scotland</i> , 1676. |
| 1578. <i>John Stewart</i> , Earl of <i>Asbol</i> . | |
| 1579. <i>Coline Campbell</i> , Earl of <i>Argile</i> . | |
| 1584. <i>James Stewart</i> , Earl of <i>Arran</i> . | |
| 1591. <i>John Maitland</i> , Lord <i>Thirlstane</i> . | |
| 1598. <i>John Grahame</i> , Earl of <i>Montross</i> . | |

Writers of the Scottish History.

Cornelius Hibernicus.

Veremundus, a Spaniard, Archdeacon of *Saint Andrews*, wrote the History of the Nation from its original till the reign of King *Malcolm* the Third.

Joannes à Campo Bello, or *Campbell*.

Turgot, Prior of *Durham*, and Bishop of *Saint Andrews*, wrote the Lives of King *Malcolm Canmoir* and of his Queen *Margaret*.

Liber Scone, a Chronicle written by the Monks of *Scone*.

Liber Pasletensis, the Black Book of *Paislay*, a Chronicle written by the Monks of *Paislay*.

Liber Pluscartensis, a Chronicle written by the Monks of *Pluscardy*.

One Blind *Henry* wrote the History of Sir *William Wallace* in Scottish Meeter.

John Barbour, Archdeacon of *Aberdene*, did write the Life of King *Robert Bruce* in Scottish Meeter.

John Major, Provost of *Saint Salvator's* Colledge in *Saint Andrews*, wrote the History of the Nation.

William Elphinston, Bishop of *Aberdene*, wrote a Treatise of the Scottish Antiquities.

Heitor Boeth, or *Boyes*, Principal of the King's Colledge of *Aberdene*, wrote the History of the Nation till the Reign of King *James* the First; continued till the Reign of King *James* the Sixth by *John Ferrerius* a *Piemontoise*, a Monk of *Pluscardy*.

John Balenden, Archdeacon of *Murray*, did translate *Boyes* History into English.

George Buchanan, Schoolmaster to King *James* the Sixth, wrote the History of the Nation till the year 1572.

Robert Johnston wrote a continuation of the Scottish History from the year 1572. to the year 1628. in Latin, Folio.

John Leslie, Bishop of *Ross*, wrote the History of the Nation till the year 158—.

Raphael Holinshed, wrote the History of the Nation till the Reign of King *James* the Sixth, continued by *Francis Thyn*.

William Cambden wrote a Description of the Kingdom.

John Dempster wrote an Introduction to the Scottish History.

David Chalmer wrote a Treatise of the Scottish Saints.

David Hume of *Godscroft* did write the History of the Earls of *Douglas* and *Angus*.

William Drummond of *Hawthornden*, did write the Lives of the Five King *Jameses*.

William Sanderfon wrote the Lives of Queen *Mary*, King *James* the Sixth, and King *Charles* the First.

John Spotiswood, Archbishop of *Saint Andrews*, did write the History of the Church of *Scotland*, from the first Plantation of the Christian Faith therein, till the death of King *James*.

George Wubart, Doctor of Divinity, did write the Actions of *James* Marquess of *Montross*.

Robert Gordon of *Stralagh* did write the *Theatrum Scotie*, being a Description of the whole Kingdom, with the Maps of every particular Country, Printed by *John Jansson Bleaw* at *Amsterdam*; a very excellent Work. The Mercenary Printer did him a double injury. First, in printing with his Book, *Buchanan's* Seditious Pamphlet *de Jure Regni apud Scotos*; it being sufficiently known that the Authour was of no such Principals, but always loyal. Then, in Dedicating that Work to the Usurper *O. Cromwell*; whereas the

Authour sent over to the Printer, a Dedication of his Book to His most Sacred Majesty, at that time Prince of Wales: and the Copy of that Dedication, written with his own hand, is yet in the custody of his Son, the Reverend James Gordon, Parson of Rothinay. Thus much I thought fit to say in vindication of that worthy Gentleman, who was one of the most learned persons of the Age he lived in.

Dempster, in his *Apparatus* to the *Scotish* History, has promised a great many things to the World which he never performed: some have thought, that he onely amused people by the undertaking he mentions in that Book: Others believe that he knew of a great many *Scotish* Manuscripts beyond the Seas, which were carried thither by Monks and Friars at the Reformation. In most Religious houses there was a Chronicle written of the times, divers of which I have seen, that yet remain in *Scotland*, some written in rithme, *English* and *Latine*, some in prose: but there cannot be much made out of them, they being full of Legends and Idle stories. There are besides, very considerable Manuscripts in *Scotland*, that relate to private Families; but give an account of several publick Transactions: as, the History of the Families of the *Drummonds*, the *Gordons*, &c. But for a publick History of the Kingdom, there is little more to be expected of past times, then what hath been already published: for as when *Edward* the First conquered *Scotland*, he carried the Records and Registers of that Kingdom with him to *London*; so in the late Invasion, *Cromwell* thought it a very valuable pledge of the *Scotish* Nation to send up to the Tower of *London*, all the publick Records, Rolls, and Registers of the Kingdom, which lay there till His MAJESTY's happy Restauration: after which, by the KING's Orders, they were sent down by Sea, to be laid up in the Castle of *Edinburgh*; but the Ship that was loaded with them was cast away near the Holy Island. So they were all irrecoverably sunk and lost: Therefore we must rely upon the credit of our ancient Historians, since there are no means left to correct them by.

A compleat Catalogue of the BISHOPS and ARCH-BISHOPS succeeding each other in their several SEES.

Bishops in *SCOTLAND* before its division into Dioces.

277. 1. *Amphibalus*
370. 2. *Regulus*
450. 3. *Ninian*
460. 4. *Palladius*
490. 5. *Hildebert*
606. 6. *Columba*
520. 7. *Servanus*
650. 8. *Colman*
669. 9. *Adamannus*
689. 10. *Wiro*

681. 11. *Plehelmus*
700. 12. *Bonifacius*
700. 13. *Macharius*
700. 14. *Glacianus*
700. 15. *Gervadius*
496. 16. *Tervannus*
600. { *Thamianus*
 Chromonius } Bishops
 Daganus
 Bathanus

Bishops and Archbishops of *SAINT ANDREWS*.

840. 1. *Adrian*
872. 2. *Kellach*
896. 3. *Malifius*
904. 4. *Kellach* 2^d.

939. 5. *Malmore*
6. *Malifius* 2^d.
7. *Alwinus*
8. *Maldwin*

970. 9. *Tuthaldus*
 10. *Fothadus*
 1010. 11. *Gregorius*
 12. *Edmundus*
 1063. 13. *Turgot*
 1098. 14. *Godricus*
 1110. 15. *Eadmerus*
 1114. 16. *Robert*
 1159. 17. *Arnold*
 1161. 18. *Richard*
 1178. 19. *Hugo*
 1188. 20. *Roger* *
 1202. 21. *William Malvoisin*, Lord Chancellour.
 1231. 22. *David Benham*
 1251. 23. *Abel*
 1253. 24. *Gamelinus*, Lord Chancellour.
 1274. 25. *William Wishart*
 1280. 26. *William Frazer*, Lord Chancell.
 1300. 27. *William Lamberton*
 1328. 28. *James Bane*
 1332. 29. *William Landels*

1385. 30. *Stephen*
 1386. 31. *Walter Trail*
 1401. Vacat Sedes annis 13.
 1409. 32. *Henry Wardlaw*
 1444. 33. *James Kennedy* *
 1466. 34. *Patrick Grhame*, first Archbishop *.
 1478. 35. *William Shevez*
 1497. 36. *James Stewart* *
 1503. 37. *Alexander Stewart* *
 1513. 38. *Andrew Forman*
 1522. 39. *James Beaton*, Lord Chancell.
 1539. 40. *David Beaton*, Chardinal and Lord Chancellour.
 1545. 41. *John Hamilton*
 1572. 42. *John Douglas*
 1575. 43. *Patrick Adamson*
 1591. Vacat Sedes annis 15.
 1606. 44. *George Gladstones*
 1615. 45. *John Spotiswood*, Lord Chanc.
 1639. Vacat Sedes annis 23.
 1662. 46. *James Sharp*.

Bishops of DUNKELD.

1130. 1. *Gregorius*
 1172. 2. *Richard*
 1176. 3. *Cormacus*
 1180. 4. *Walder de Bidden*
 1186. 5. *John Scot*
 1206. 6. *Richard Provand*
 1213. 7. *John Leicester* *
 1217. 8. *Hugo de Sigillo*
 1226. 9. *Matthem*, Lord Chancellour.
 1236. 10. *Galfride Liverance*
 1249. 11. *Richard*
 1250. 12. *Richard of Jennerkething*, Lord Chancellour.
 1272. 13. *Robert Suteville*
 1300. 14. *Matthew*
 1312. 15. *William Sinclair*
 1338. 16. *Duncan*
 1364. 17. *Michael of Monimusk*
 1376. 18. *John Peeblis*

1396. 19. *Robert Carden*
 1436. 20. *Donald Macknaughtan*
 1437. 21. *James Kennedy* *
 1439. 22. *Alexander Lawder*
 1441. 23. *James Bruce*, Lord Chancellour.
 1447. 24. *John Ralston*
 1450. 25. *Thomas Lawder*
 1476. 26. *James Levington*
 1484. 27. *George Brown*
 1514. 28. *Gawan Douglas* *
 1522. 29. *George Creighton*
 1572. 31. *Robert Creighton*
 1572. 31. *James Patton*.
 1603. 32. *Peter*.
 1607. 33. *James Nicolson*
 34. *Alexander Lindsay*
 1662. 35. *George Haliburton*
 1665. 36. *Henry Guthrie*

Bishops of ABERDENE.

1010. 1. *Beanus*
 1040. 2. *Bornotius*
 1082. 3. *Cormachus*
 1121. 4. *Neclanus*
 1154. 5. *Edward*
 1163. 6. *Matthew Kinninmouth*.
 1197. 7. *John*
 1206. 8. *Adam*
 1227. 9. *Matthew*, Lord Chancellour.

1228. 10. *Gilbert Striveling*
 1239. 11. *Radolph*
 1246. 12. *Peter Ramsay*
 1256. 13. *Richard Pottock*
 1269. 14. *Hugh Benham*
 1281. 15. *Henry Cheen* *
 1329. 16. *Alexander Kinninmouth*
 1341. 17. *William Deyn*
 1351. 18. *John Rais*

- 1357.19. *Alexander Kinninmonth*
 1380.20. *Adam Cunningham*
 1390.21. *Gilbert Greinlaw*, Lord Chan-
 cellour.
 1424.22. *Henry Leighton*
 1441.23. *Ingram Lindsay*
 1457.24. *Thomas Spence*
 1480.25. *Robert Blaceader*
 1484.26. *William Elphington*, Lord
 Chancellour.
 1514.27. *Alexander Gordon*

- 1518.28. *Gawan Dumbur*
 1532.29. *William Stewart*, Lord Chan.
 1546.30. *William Gordon*
 1579.31. *David Cunningham*
 1603.32. *Peter Blackburn*
 1615.33. *Alexander Forbes*
 1618.34. *Patrick Forbes*
 1635.35. *Adam Ballanden*
 1662.36. *David Mitchel*
 1663.37. *Alexander Burnet*
 1664.38. *Patrick Scougal*

Bishops of *MURRAY*.

1150. 1. *William*
 1171. 2. *Simon*
 1184. 3. *Richard*
 1203. 4. *Bricius*
 1227. 5. *Andrew*
 1247. 6. *Simon*
 1256. 7. *Archbald*
 1303. 8. *David Murray*
 1330. 9. *John Pitmore*
 1367.10. *Alexander Barre*
 1397.11. *William Spinie*
 1406.12. *John Innes*
 1414.13. *Henry Leighton*
 1424.14. *Columba Dumbur*

- 1434.15. *John Winchester*
 1448.16. *James Stewart*
 1450.17. *David Stewart*
 1464.18. *William Tulloch*
 1469.19. *Andrew Stewart* *
 1488.20. *Andrew Forman*
 1513.21. *James Hepburn*
 1528.22. *Robert Schaw*
 1530.23. *Alexander Stewart* *
 1537.24. *Patrick Hepburn*
 1573. Vacat Sedes annis 33.
 1606.25. *Alexander Douglas*
 26. *John Gusbry*
 1662.27. *Murdo Machenzie*.

Bishops of *BRICHEN*.

1260. 1. *Edward*
 2. *Turpinus*
 3. *Rodolpbus*
 4. *Hugo*
 5. *Gregorius*
 1275. 6. *William*
 1311. 7. *John*
 1363. 8. *Adam*, Lord Chancellour.
 1372. 9. *Patrick*, Lord Chancellour.
 1384.10. *Stephen*
 1414.11. *Walter Forrester*
 1434.12. *John*, Lord Chancellour.

- 1463.13. *George Shoreswood*, Lord Chan-
 cellour.
 1483.14. *John*
 1500.15. *Walter Meldrum*
 1542.16. *John Hepburn*
 1556.17. *Henry Sinclair*
 1567.18. ——— *Campbell*
 1606.19. *Andrew Lamb*
 1619.20. *David Lindsay*
 1634.21. *Walter Whitford*
 1662.22. *David Straughan*
 1671.23. *Robert Lowry*

Bishops of *DUMBLANE*.

1160. 1. *Jonathus*
 1203. 2. *Simon*
 1210. 3. *Abraham*
 1218. 4. *William de Bosco*, Lord Chan.
 5. *Osbert*
 1233. 6. *Clement*
 1256. 7. *Robert*
 8. *Alpin*

9. *Nicolaus*
 10. *Maurice*
 11. *William*
 1363.12. *Walter Cambuslang*
 1400.13. *Finlaw*
 1419.14. *William Stephen*
 15. *Michael Ochiltree*
 16. *Robert Lawder*

1471.17.

- 1471.17. *John Hepburn*
 1508.18. *James Chisholme*
 1534.19. *William Chisholme*
 1572.20. *Andrew Grhame* *

- 1615.21. *Adam Ballanden*
 1635.22. *James Wedderburn*
 1662.23. *Robert Leighton*
 1671.24. *James Ramsay*

Bishops of *ROSS*.

1132. 1. *Gregorius*
 2. *Reynaldus*
 1213. 3. *Andrew Murray*
 4. *Robert*
 1274. 5. *Matthew*
 6. *Thomas Dundie*
 7. *Roger*
 8. *Alexander*
 9. *Thomas Urghuart*
 10. *Alexander Kilbuinte*
 11. *William Bullock*
 12. *Thomas Tulloch*
 13. *Henry Cockburn*
 14. *James Woodman*

15. *Thomas Hay* *
 16. *John Gusbry*
 17. *John Fraser* *
 18. *Robert Cockburn*
 19. *William Elphington*
 1481.20. *James Hay* *
 1534.21. *Robert Carncroft*
 1544.22. *David Panter*
 1550.23. *Henry Sinclair*
 1564.24. *John Leslie*
 1597.25. *David Landsay*
 1614.26. *Patrick Lindsay*
 27. *John Maxwell*
 1662.28. *John Paterson*

Bishops of *CAITHNES*.

1066. 1. *Darrus*
 1110. 2. *Andrew*
 3. *John*
 4. *Adam*
 1223. 5. *S. Gilbert Murray*
 1245. 6. *William*
 1261. 7. *Walter*
 1271. 8. *Archbald*
 1288. 9. *Andrew*
 1301.10. *Ferguard*
 1328.11. *David*
 1348.12. *Thomas Fingask*
 1360.13. *Alexander*

- 1404.14. *Malcolm*
 1421.15. *Robert Strabock*
 1440.16. *John Innes*
 1448.17. *William Mudie*
 1460. Vacat Sedes annis 24.
 1484.18. *Andrew Stewart*
 1517.19. *Andrew Stewart* *
 1542.20. *Robert Stewart* *
 1586. Vacat Sedes annis 13.
 1599.21. *George Gladstanes*
 1606.22. *Alexander Forbes*
 1617.23. *John Abernethy*
 1662.24. *Patrick Forbes*

Bishops of *ORKNEY*.

1390. 1. *William*
 1450. 2. *William Tulloch*
 1468. 3. *William*
 4. *Andrew*
 1498. 5. *Edward*
 1530. 6. *Robert Maxwell*
 1546. 7. *Robert Reid*
 1559. 8. *Adam Boshwell*

1569. 9. *Robert Stewart* *
 1606.10. *James Law*
 1615.11. *Andrew Grhame* *
 12. *George Grhame*
 1639.13. *Robert Barron Elect.*
 1662.14. *Thomas Sydserfe*
 1665.15. *Andrew Honniman*

Bishops of *EDINBURGH*.

1633. 1. *William Forbes*
1634. 2. *David Lindsay*

1662. 3. *George Wishart*
1671. 4. *Alexander Young*

Bishops and Archbishops of *GLASGOW*.

599. 1. *S. Mungo*
1129. 2. *John Achaian*
1146. 3. *John*
4. *Herbert*
5. *Angelramus*, Lord Chancel.
6. *Joceline*
7. *Eugenius*
8. *Hugo*, Lord Chancellour.
9. *William Malvoisin*
1200. 10. *Florentius* *
1207. 11. *Walter*
1234. 12. *William Babington*, Lord Chan.
1261. 13. *John de Chyan*
1268. 14. *Nicolas Moffat*
1270. 15. *William Wishart*, Lord Chancel.
1274. 16. *Robert Wishart*
1316. 17. *John Lindsay*
1325. 18. *Stephen Dundie*
19. *John Wishart*
20. *William Rae*
1367. 21. *Walter Wardlaw*, Cardinal.
1387. 22. *Matthew Glendunning*

1408. 23. *William Lawder*, Lord Chanc.
24. *John Cameron*
1446. 25. *James Bruce*
26. *William Turnbull*
27. *Andrew Moorehead*
28. *John Lang*, Lord Chancellour.
1481. 29. *Robert Blaccader*, first Archbish.
1500. 30. *James Beaton*
1522. 31. *Gawan Dumbear*, Lord Chanc.
1552. 32. *James Beaton*
1572. 33. *James Boyd*
1581. 34. *Robert Montgomery*
1587. 35. *William Erskine*
Vacat Sedes
James Beaton restored
1603. 36. *John Spotswood*
1615. 37. *James Law*
1634. 38. *Patrick Lindsay* *
1662. 39. *Andrew Fairford*
1664. 40. *Alexander Burnes*
1670. 41. *Robert Leighton*
1674. *Alexander Burnes* restored

Bishops of *GALLOWAY*.

450. 1. *S. Ninian*
681. 2. *Plechelmus*
740. 3. *Frithwaldus*
768. 4. *Pethumus*
778. 5. *Ethelbert*
6. *Radulphus*
7. *John*
1440. 8. *Thomas Spence*
9. *David*
10. *Alexander*

11. *Henry*
12. *George*
1550. 13. *Andrew Dury*
1557. 14. *Alexander Gordon*
* 15. *Gawan Hamilton*
1615. 16. *William Cowper*
1619. 17. *Andrew Lamb*
18. *Thomas Sydsferfe*
1662. 19. *James Hamilton*
1974. 20. *John Paterson*

Bishops of *ARGILE*.

1200. 1. *Evaldus*
2. *William*
1240. 3. *William*
1350. 4. *David*
1425. 5. *Finlaw*
6. *George Learmouth*
7. *Robert Montgomery*

8. ——— *Boyd*
9. ——— *Campbell*
10. ——— *Kerfwell*
1636. 11. *James Fairlis*
1662. 12. *David Fletcher*
1666. 13. *William Scrowgie*
1675. 14. *Arthur Ross*

Bishops

Bishops of the I S L E S.

- 277. 1. *Amphibalus*
- 518. 2. *Macilla*
- 3. *Michael*
- 1203. 4. *Nicolus*
- 1217. 5. *Reginald*
- 1257. 6. *Richard*
- 1289. 7. *Onacus*

- 8. *Mauricius*
- 9. *Marcus*, Lord Chancellor.
- 1606. 10. *Andrew Knox*
- 11. *John Knox*
- 1630. 12. *John Leslie*
- 13. *Neil Campbell*
- 1662. 14. *Robert Wallace*

Vacat Sedes.

Those Bishops who have been the Sons of Kings, &c. or Noblemen, are marked with an Asterisk *.

ADDENDA.

Pag. 4. after the Bishops of Edinburgh, *adde*,

The Arms of the See of Edinburgh are, *Azure*, a Saltier *Argent*, in Chief a Miter of the Second, garnished *Or*.

Pag. 8. after the Bishops of Ross, *adde*,

The Arms of the Bishopricks of Ross are, *Argent*, a Bishop standing on the Sinister, habited in a long Robe close girt, *Purple*, Mitred and holding in his left hand a Crozier *Or*, and pointing with the right to S. Boniface on the Dexter side, clothed, and both his Hands placed on his Breast, *Proper*.

Pag. 10. after the Bishops of Galloway, *adde*,

The Coat-Armorial belonging to the See of Galloway is, *Argent*, S. Ninian standing full-faced *Proper*, clothed with a Pontifical Robe *Purple*, on his head a Miter, and in his Dexter hand a Crozier, *Or*.

Ibid. in the Bishops of Argile, *adde*,

Then was—Boyd promoted to this See, *An.* 162—who, as he was descended from one of the Noblest families in the Kingdom, being Brother to the Lord Boyd, so he was a very Extraordinary person: he found his See full of Ignorance and Barbarity, scarce any Churches or Schools in it; and in many places the very Name of *Christ* was not known: he set himself wholly to the Work of the Gospel, and planted many Churches: he resided constantly in his Diocese, and was a great Example of Piety and Vertue. And for all the prejudices that are in these parts against that Order, yet he is never named among them to this day but with great honour as an Apostolical person.

Ibid. after the Bishops of Argile, *adde*,

The Arms of the See of Argile are, *Azure*, two Croziers disposed in Saltier, and in Chief a Miter, *Or*.

THE END.

29011218

A Catalogue of some Books Reprinted, and of other New Books printed since the Fire, and sold by R. Roylton, viz.

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THE WORKS of KING CHARLES I. Defender of the Faith. With the History of His Life: As also of His Trial and Martyrdom.

Books written by H. Hammond, D. D.

A Paraphrase and Annotations upon all the Books of the New Testament, in *Folio*. Fourth Edition.

The Works of the said Reverend and Learned Authour, containing a Collection of Discourses chiefly Practical, with many Additions and Corrections from the Authour's own hand; together with the Life of the Authour, enlarged by the Reverend Doctour Fell, Dean of Christ-Church, in Oxford. In large *Folio*.

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